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PERSIAN POETRY AND LIFE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By the end of the twelfth century Persia, though paying nominal allegiance to the 'Abbâsîd Caliphate, had not only asserted her independence in the spheres of religion and politics, but had produced a large and varied literature in which the genius of the race expresses itself unmistakably. Of this literature the best part, in every sense of the phrase, was composed by poets; for while there are many excellent and valuable Persian books written in prose, it remains true that few of these possess the classical quality that has made the names of Firdaûsî, Sa'dî and Hâfiz familiar to us. Naturally, both the form and the ideas of the earliest Persian poetry are based, to a great extent, on Arabic models; yet original features are not wanting. The Arabic system of prosody is modified and developed, new metres are introduced, and side by side with the time-honoured *qasida* several new verse-forms spring up, for example, the *rubâ'i* (which was chiefly cultivated by minor poets, like Omar Khayyâm), the *ghazal*, and the *Mathnawî*. While the *qasida* and the *ghazal* are limited in length and conventional in structure, the *mathnawî*, consisting of rhymed couplets and free from all restrictions of size, form and subject-matter, enables the poet to handle the largest themes in any way he may choose. The first great poems of this type are in the field of epic and romance, and, though often imitated, have never been equalled. Firdaûsî can hold his own anywhere; Nizâmî whose subtle and difficult style is much admired by Persian critics, does not appeal to European lovers of romance so readily as Jâmî, a fifteenth century poet surpassing him in sweetness and grace but far inferior in power and originality. Meanwhile the art of panegyric had reached its culmination in Anwarî, and before the death of Nizâmî in A.D. 1203 it was becoming clear that henceforth the main stream of Persian poetry would turn away, alike from the historical or legendary past and from superficial pictures of contemporary court life, into wider and deeper channels of human interest.

The movement in this direction had been gathering strength for a long time. From the tenth century onwards, such notable poets as Nâsir-i-Khusraw, Sanâ'î of Ghazna, and Nizâmî's contemporary, Farîdu'ddîn 'Attâr of Nishâpûr, not to mention others of less importance, devoted their talents to expounding the religious, philosophical, ethical, and mystical ideas that have enthralled the noblest minds of Persia and have exercised so powerful an influence upon the life and character of her people. It is the case, no doubt, that almost every first-class Persian poet is in some degree didactic. In the *Shahnama* we find many passages of moral wisdom, solemn meditations on mortality, and even touches, here and there, of the mystical aspiration which, running as an undersong through the scenes of romantic passion depicted by Nizâmî, appears without disguise in the second part of the *Iskandar-nama*, the last work of the poet who in his earliest *mathnawî*, the *Makhzanu'l-Asrar*, had sought to imbue his readers with the ideals of Sûfî asceticism. But while Nizâmî foreshadows the triumph of ethical and mystical poetry over all its rivals, three of the greatest poets contemporary with him, namely, Anwarî, Khâqânî, and Zahîr of Fâyâb, were panegyrists and courtiers. During this period, the late twelfth century, Sûfî ethics and mysticism found a voluminous exponent in Farîdu'ddîn 'Attâr, but it was only after the Mongol invasion that these ideas became, for the first time, the dominating element in Persian poetry. *Post hoc*, and also *propter hoc*. In nations, as in individuals, intense and prolonged suffering demands an anodyne. No wonder that Persia, too exhausted to help herself, turned for comfort to those who offered her on the one hand an ideal representation of things all the more prized because they seemed to have vanished from the earth—order, security, justice, beneficence, the social virtues bound up with established custom and tradition and forming the basis of any organised national life; and on the other hand, the mystic's vision of everlasting peace and joy to be attained by the pure in heart who contemplate within themselves the spiritual world that alone is real and enduring.

The flood of ravage let loose by Chingiz and Hulagu was more destructive to poetry than to some branches of learning which on account of their practical utility found favour with the Mongol barbarians. Under the new régime bards of the second and third rank continued to arise, if not to flourish, in Persia itself; but almost all the

greater poets of the thirteenth century lived and wrote in foreign lands—Amîr Khusraw at Delhi, ‘Irâqî at Multân in the Panjâb and at Qoniya or Iconium in Asia Minor, while Qoniya was also the adopted home of Jalâlu’d-dîn Rûmî. Sa’dî of Shîrâz who composed the *Bustan* and the *Gulistan* in his native town, is hardly an exception to the rule; for southern Persia escaped the worst fury of the Tartars and, as Browne says, “the life of Shîrâz seems to have gone on fairly tranquilly and suffered relatively little disturbance during these stormy days.”

Of the poets just mentioned, ‘Irâqî, remarkable as he is, stands far below the other three. Moreover, his work both in verse and prose is entirely mystical, and what I have to say about the mysticism of the period will be said in connexion with Jalâlu’d-dîn Rûmî and Sa’dî. As for Amîr Khusraw, who followed in the track of Nizâmî, I must confess that I have not read his historical romances and therefore cannot judge of their merit. One of these, the tragic love-story of Prince Khidrkhân and the Princess Duwalrânî, was composed at the request of the hero, who supplied the author with a narrative written by his own hand. It would be interesting to see whether the style of this poem is any less conventional and the treatment any more realistic than it usually is in Persian romance. I doubt it. If the Prince’s love-letters had survived, we should probably find that they were modelled upon the sentiments and the language which Nizâmî puts into the mouths of his heroes; but it would by no means follow that the sentiments of the royal lover were insincere, or that the language in which he expressed them was devoid of spontaneity. Although in some respects Persian literature seems to us to be very artificial and remote from life, it has, in fact, shaped and moulded Persian life in every sphere of thought, feeling, and action; and this is pre-eminently true as regards a subject in which feeling and language are inextricably interwoven with each other. But apart from the fantastic modes of expression peculiar to Persian love-poetry, there are reasons why it does not, as a rule, attract the Western reader; and I purpose to confine myself on this occasion to the didactic poetry of the thirteenth century which is represented by three famous works—each of them supreme masterpieces of their kind—the *Bustan* and *Gulistan* of Sa’dî and the *Mathnawî* of Jalâlu’d-dîn Rûmî. The two former are delightful epitomes of Persian ethics illustrated by anecdotes and reflections which exhibit the author—if we

refrain from looking at him too searchingly—as a wise, witty, accomplished and much-travelled man of the world, a pious Muslim with a somewhat shallow vein of mysticism but a singularly broad and flexible code of morality ; while the *Mathnawî* may be described as a vast labyrinth leading those who traverse its profundities into the world of the dervîsh and giving a wonderful panorama of Persian religious life with all its lights and shadows, its idealism, antinomianism, arrogance and humbleness, exaltation and despair, sordid hypocrisy and sublime self-devotion. The two poets have often been contrasted ; yet in some ways they are not unlike. To depict Sa'dî as the type of worldly wisdom and Jalâlu'ddîn as “the God-intoxicated man,” though it may be nearly the whole truth so far as Sa'dî is concerned, is only half the truth in regard to Jalâlu'ddîn. The visionary enthusiast of the odes collected under the name of his preceptor, Shamsuddîn of Tabrîz, was also the founder and head of a great religious order—the Mevlevis ; and any one who reads the *Mathnawî* attentively will soon discover that its author was no child in the affairs of this world, that he had an intimate knowledge of human nature, and that he could adapt himself to all sorts and conditions, whether he chose to exert the powers of his mind in serious conversation or to amuse the company by displaying his talents as a raconteur. What my old teacher, the late Professor Browne, says of Sa'dî, that “in his works is matter for every taste, the highest and the lowest, the most refined and the most coarse,” is equally applicable to Jalâlu'ddîn Rûmî. though even here we must distinguish Sa'dî's catholicity from Rûmî's universality. At bottom there is a profound difference in the characters of the two men and in their views of life—a difference which naturally manifests itself in their methods of expression. This is what I want to bring out ; and to revert for a moment to the coarseness of certain anecdotes related in the *Gulistan*, the *Bustan* and the *Mathnawî*, it should be observed that these stories are told by Jalâlu'ddîn in the plainest and crudest language, without any of the frills and trimmings with which Sa'dî embellishes them. The inculcation of moral and spiritual truth by means of such anecdotes is a curious phenomenon, which I will not discuss now : it suited the taste of the time and required no justification. When tales of this kind were written with the sole object of raising a laugh, some formal apology might be expected, and in the preface to his *Mudhikat* Sa'dî asks pardon of God and excuses himself for having yielded to the pressure put upon him by a

noble patron, coolly adding, however, that no gentleman will blame him, since "a joke in speech is like salt in food." Jalâlu'ddîn, who always sees the soul of goodness in things evil, draws into his net all the facts of experience, and seeks to unify them. Some of them are ugly, and he paints them naked, just as they are. Sa'dî's elegantly draped figures may be more presentable in polite society, but they are infinitely more offensive.

The use of concrete images for the conveyance of abstract ideas is one of the most obvious characteristics of Persian poetry. Too often the idea merely serves as a prop for ingenious, far-fetched, and hyperbolical imagery, which overgrows it in such luxuriance that the reader is apt to be sickened. In this respect, as in others, Sa'dî keeps the safe middle course. With him, the image generally accompanies the idea or at least remains separable from it: the idea has not been so closely and intensely fused with its external form at the moment of conception that the two appear as one; and here the inferiority of Sa'dî's poetic genius to that of Jalâlu'ddîn Rûmî betrays itself. For example, the maxim that an evil nature cannot be eradicated by education is expressed in the *Gulistan* in the following lines:

"Good men to an ill race
No grace reflected give:
Like water in a sieve
Is virtue in the base."

And again:

"Never will flawed steel make a tempered brand,
The rogue instructed must a rogue remain.
Lilies the gentle purity of rain
Breeds in the garden, burrs in brackish sand."

The tyrant is in danger from those whom he has inspired with fear of him, even if they be weak.

"Dread him who dreads thee—aye, albeit not much
Ado thou'dst make to fight a hundred such.
See how the cat in desperation flies,
A clawing Fury, at the panther's eyes.
The viper, darting, wounds the boy in dread
That he will lift a stone and crush its head."

Sa'dî excels in this species of illustration. In description, when no moral idea is involved, he is less happy. "I have heard," he says in the *Bustan*, "that Hâtîm of Tâyy had an Arab horse," and he proceeds to describe it.

“ Fleet as the zephyr was this sable steed ;
 Thunder his snort ; no lightnings match his speed.
 He gallops : o’er hill and plain the pebbles fly,
 As ’twere an April hail-cloud passing by.”

Or take the lines in which, after having described the miserable night he spent amongst the idolaters at Somnath, he depicts the sudden rise of dawn :

“ Night, as a black-robed preacher risen to pray,
 From willing scabbard drew the sword of Day ;
 The fire of Morning fell on cindery Night,
 And in a moment all the world was bright.”

This is clever, but compare it with the verse of Jalâlu’d-dîn Rûmî :

“ The promised hour arrived, and day broke, and the sun, rising from the East, began to burn the stars.”

Here we have a single image, which in the Persian is contained in a single epithet—*akhtar-suz*, “star-burning.” A few lines further on, we read :

“ The king himself, instead of the chamberlains, went forward to meet his guest from the Invisible.
 Both were seamen who had learned to swim,
 the souls of both were knit together without sewing.”

The idea is that their spiritual affinity was founded on the union of their souls in the state of pre-existence when, before the bodies had been created, the souls were, so to speak, swimming in the ocean of God’s consciousness.

“ The king opened his hands and clasped him to his breast and received him, like love, into his heart and soul.”

“ Like love” : what could be more expressive than these two words ? Sa’dî never writes like that, for between him and Jalâlu’d-dîn there is all the difference between intellectual and imaginative poetry. On the whole, however, Persian poetry is intellectual and fanciful rather than imaginative, and Oriental critics award the highest praise to the poet who delights them by the invention and combination of subtle ideas, or who creates the most original and perfect forms for ideas that may have been expressed less admirably by hundreds before him. Here Sa’dî, as his countrymen would put it, “ carries off the ball ” from Jalâlu’d-dîn. He is the finer artist. What he says is often commonplace enough, but he possesses the Horatian gift of saying it in the best way—neatly, tersely and with unfailing urbanity. No other Persian poet has

a style so classical. Moreover, he dwells very near the centre of Persian life and thought, and owing to his literary genius his works have become the standard of popular morality. The standard is perhaps as respectable as ideals based on good sense and enlightened self-interest are likely to be. There is nothing heroic about Sa'dî, he was no saint, and some traits in him remind us of Hâjî Bâbâ, but he was thoroughly human. We can forgive a good deal to the man who wrote :

“ Men are but limbs of one vast frame,
Their seed original the same.
Suffering in one limb manifest
Diseases each and all the rest.
Unmoved by other's woe, you can
Deserve no more the name of man.”

Since his teaching is always directed to a practical end, he warns the inhuman oppressor that his crime will be followed by punishment in this world and the next.

“ 'Tis sin to grasp with giant arm and twist
A child's weak fingers in a brawny fist.
Well may the ruthless fear, themselves low laid,
That none will stretch a pitying hand to aid.”

If not here, then hereafter :

“ Thine ears are stopped against thy people's cries
With cotton—pluck it out ! Be just, be wise,
Judge as thou shalt be judged the Day of God's
assize.”

It is easy to pick holes in Sa'dî's character. He pays more regard to expediency than to truth, and in relating his adventures of travel he seems to have acted upon his own maxim—“ The man who has seen the world tells many lies.”

If his attitude towards friends is cynical and towards enemies ferocious, we must remember that the times in which he lived were steeped in treachery and cruelty. And though he lacks the spirit of love and faith which, in the beautiful words of Jalâlu'ddîn Rûmî, “ makes kindnesses grow out of the causes of hatred,” his ethic does on occasion approach that level. “ Enemies,” he says, “ can be disarmed by gentleness ; severity turns a friend into a foe.” “ The virtuous man's rule of life is this : to suffer injury and show kindness.” If mysticism were only a matter of words, no one could deny Sa'dî's right to be included among the elect. In his youth he studied Sûfism at Baghdad under the celebrated Shaykh Shihâbuddîn

Suhrawardi and composed a large number of odes in which the fashionable ideas of mystical love-poetry are mixed up with moral reflections and even with compliments to his patrons, while much of his later ethical teaching is derived from Sûfî literature. The Odes are exceedingly graceful, and the Third Book of the *Bustan*, where Sa'dî discourses on mystic love, contains some exquisite passages, such as the well-known allegory of the Moth and the Candle. Yet they do not ring true. Their formal perfection cannot disguise—rather, it forces into sharper relief—the absence of what is essential. We miss the glow of inward feeling; the picture is dead, it has no soul. Those familiar with the writings of genuine mystics will not be deceived by Sa'dî's brilliant imitations; but I may mention that in one of his minor works he tries to amuse his readers by parodying a mystical treatise written by himself¹. Perhaps the less said about his sincerity, the better. In order to appreciate him fully, we must detach ourselves, so far as we can, from the moral judgment which pronounces much of his poetry to be insincere, and also from the æsthetic judgment (prevalent in Europe since the beginning of the 19th century), which condemns it for its intellectual moderation and cold reasonableness. The qualities that render Sa'dî the most popular and, within his limits, the most admirable of Persian poets would readily have obtained recognition in the age of Dryden, Pope and Addison. Although Sa'dî outlived Jalâlu'ddîn Rûmî, he wrote the *Bustan* and the *Gulistan* about twenty years before A. D. 1273, when Jalâlu'ddîn passed away, leaving his *Mathnawî* unfinished. The infinite riches of the *Mathnawî* are not contained in a little room, and it would be ridiculous to attempt any description of them here. I will conclude this paper with some remarks on Jalâlu'ddîn regarded as a poet. At the same time, since his mysticism is related to his poetry as the spirit to the form, no separation of the one from the other is really possible. While Sa'dî, for the most part, deals with the relation of the individual to society, Jalâlu'ddîn makes all depend upon his relation to God. He teaches that man in his essential nature is one with God, and that this unity is realised through love, and through the knowledge which love brings. Jalâlu'ddîn writes from the standpoint of the perfect man who has attained Truth, and who feels, acts, and speaks in harmony with the Truth. Whatever view we may take of emotional mysticism, its effects upon the mystics themselves are

1. The reference is given by Professor H. H. Schaeder in *Islam*. Vol. xiv, p. 189.

beyond dispute. The sense of being in immediate contact with the Divine has left its mark on Persian life and literature. It rises to astonishing heights in the Odes which Jalâlu'ddîn consecrated to the memory of Shams-i-Tabrîz; the *Mathnawî*, a didactic work addressed to Sûfis, generally moves on a lower plane; but though the poet often wanders far from the fountain-head of his inspiration, he never loses it altogether, and even in the duller passages it makes its presence felt, if only by the free and unconventional language in which he clothes his ideas. As he stands closer than Sa'dî to the heart of things, his representations of the external world assume a deeper significance. Whereas Sa'dî touches incidentally upon many details of Persian life, which may or may not illustrate his theme, but in any case are so handled as to furnish an artistic setting for it, Jalâlu'ddîn sees in life and nature nothing but symbols of that Reality which it is the whole object of his art to reveal; hence *his* pictures of life and nature are introduced not for art's sake but for truth's sake, and his manner of drawing them is correspondingly direct. The following passage illustrates the difficulty of seeing one's own faults and the need of seeking a spiritual physician who can diagnose them and apply the proper remedy.

“ When a thorn darts into any one's foot, he sets his foot upon his knee,

And keeps searching for its head with the point of a needle, and if he does not find it, he keeps moistening the place with his lip.

A thorn in the foot is so hard to find : how is it, then, with a thorn in the heart ? Answer that !

Somebody sticks a thorn under a donkey's tail : the donkey does not know how to get rid of it : he starts jumping.

He jumps, and the thorn only strikes deeper : it needs an intelligent person to extract a thorn.

In order to get rid of the thorn, the donkey from irritation and pain went on kicking and dealing blows in a hundred places ;

But that thorn-removing physician was an expert : putting his hand on one spot after another, he tested it—”

and the narrative proceeds to set forth how the physician, who was a wise and holy man, discovered that his patient, the king's handmaiden, was in love with a goldsmith of

Samarcand, and how he cured her by giving her in marriage to the goldsmith, whom he afterwards caused to be put to death. The whole allegory may be read in the First Book of the *Mathnawi*.

Equally plain, direct and lifelike is the poet's description, in the Third Book, of a scene which, perhaps, he had actually witnessed. He describes it in connexion with the subject of temptation and tribulation: *quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat*.

"The mountain-goat runs up the high mountain, unharmed, for the purpose of getting some food.

Whilst he is browsing, suddenly he sees a trick played by the ordinance of Heaven.

He casts his gaze upon another mountain: on that other mountain is a she-goat.

Straightway his eye is darkened: he leaps madly from this mountain to that.

To him it seems so near, and as easy as running round the sink in the court of a house.

Those thousands of ells are made to appear to him as two ells, in order that from mad infatuation the impulse to leap may come to him.

As soon as he leaps, he falls midway between the two pitiless mountains.

He had fled to the mountain to escape from the hunters: his very refuge shed his blood.

The hunters are seated between the two mountains in expectation of this awesome decree of God."

Let the reader compare that with any description of life or nature in Sa'dî, and ask himself whether the greatest literary skill can compensate for lack of true poetic feeling and imagination.

Here are a few more pictures taken at random from the *Mathnawi*:

A druggist's shop:

"Look at the trays in front of a druggist—each kind put beside its own kind,

Things of each sort mixed with things of the same sort, and a certain elegance produced by this homogeneity.

If his aloes-wood and sugar get mixed, he picks them out from each other, piece by piece."

Just so, when the world was created,

"The trays were broken and the souls were spilled :
good and evil ones were mingled with each other.
God sent the prophets with Scriptures, to pick out and
sort the grains on the dish."

Dancing dervishes :

"They ate the viands and began the mystic dance :
the monastery was filled with smoke and dust up
to the roof—

Smoke of the kitchen, dust raised by the beating of
feet, tumult of soul caused by longing and ecstasy.

Now, waving their hands, they beat the ground with
their feet ; now, prostrate in prayer, they swept
the floor with their foreheads."

The harvest season :

"At winnowing-time—is it not so ?—the labourers on
the threshing-floor beseech God for wind,

So that the grain may be parted from the chaff and go
into a barn or be stored in pits.

When the blowing wind is long delayed, you may see
them all turning to God with humble entreaty."

Jalâlu'ddîn's powers as a poet are shown to the best
advantage in lofty and sustained flights of imagination.
Many such occur in the *Mathnawî*, but they are too long
to be quoted here. I must confine myself to a few brief
extracts, which seem to me characteristic.

On moral responsibility :

"Although the wall casts a long shadow, yet at last
the shadow turns back again towards it.

The world is the mountain, and our action the shout :
the echo of the shouts comes back to us."

On love :

"Whether love be from this side or from that, in the
end it leads us yonder."

On friendship :

"A friend is like gold, tribulation like fire : the pure
gold is glad in the heart of the fire."

On truth and falsehood :

"Words and names are like pitfalls : the sweet flat-
tering word is the sand that sucks up the water
of our life.

The one sand whence water gushes is seldom to
be found : go, seek it !"

The next two passages—the last I shall quote—have parallels in the works of two great English poets of the 19th century.

- “Let us implore God to help us to discipline : he that lacks discipline is deprived of the grace of the Lord. Through discipline this heaven has been filled with light, and through discipline the angels became immaculate and holy.”

So Wordsworth in his Ode to Duty :

“Stern Lawgiver !—

Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong ;

And the most ancient heavens, through Thee, are fresh and strong.”

The thought expressed by Shelley—

“Dust to the dust ; but the pure spirit shall flow

Back to the burning fountain whence it came.”

Is Jalâlu'ddîn's

“That which is of the sea is going to the sea : It is going to the same place whence it came—

From the mountain-top the swift-rushing torrents,
and from our body the spirit whose motion is mingled with love.”

These are not mere coincidences ; Jalâlu'ddîn has certain affinities to Wordsworth and much in common with Shelley. If Sa'dî's outlook is wholly medieval, that cannot be said of the poet who describes woman as “a ray of God” and anticipates the lesson of Goethe's *Faust* in a memorable line—

“From Satan logic, and from Adam love.”

Jalâlu'ddîn has been called the Dante of Persia. The comparison, though imperfect, explains itself if we regard the *Mathnawî* as reflecting, through all its variety of fact and fable, those universal principles and eternal realities which the poet's eye discerns beneath the forms and outward circumstances of his own age.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

THE VIGIL OF HAFIZ

He bowed his head before the veil of Doom
 When in lone vigils did around him close,
 Like clouds, the shadowy wings of voiceless woes ;
 And all was dark till, through the glow and gloom
 Of Suns that set to rise beyond the tomb,
 Unto his longing eyes did Heav'n disclose
 Life's mystic symbol—Beauty's perfect Rose,
 Blooming on earth with Eden's primal bloom !

Then darkness fled from out the heart of Night,
 And, trailing glory, blissful visions came,
 Floating on golden pinions, swift and strong ;
 Then in new worlds of rapture and of light
 All nameless yearnings found in Love a name,
 All voiceless passions found a voice in Song.

THE PERSIAN POET AND THE NIGHTINGALE

From starlit groves the nightingale her song
 Sends forth upon the night to greet his ear,
 To wake his brooding soul that fain would hear
 A voice that in his heart lay prisoned long.
 Some chord it touches at whose bidding throng
 Commingling joy and pain and hope and fear,
 And yearnings dumb that waited many a year
 The tranced ecstasy her notes prolong.
 Her voice is but the voice of his own soul,
 The voice of rapture melting into pain :
 Both yearn for happier haunts, serener skies,
 His heart's song pulsing 'neath the soft control
 Of hers, that soars and sinks and soars again
 Till ' mongst the fading stars it fails and dies.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

THE GREAT MOSQUE OF GULBARGA

SOME years ago the Hon'ble Mr. R. I. R. Glancy, whose interest in the monuments of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions will be long remembered, and but for whose warm support the Archæological Department, Hyderabad, perhaps would not have come into existence, inquired of me what I thought of the alleged Hindu origin of the Great Mosque at Gulbarga. The idea was suggested to him by a local Maulawi—and although it was not adumbrated for the first time, for Mr. Eastwick in the seventies of the last century had observed that the building was “the temple of Raja Kalchand, which the king Gangu Baihmani converted into a mosque,” yet I had not much difficulty in convincing Mr. Glancy of the untenability of the view, for shortly before that, I had acquired some old photographs of the mosque which clearly show that it was built wholly of original material and possesses such architectural features as are purely Moslem. Another question which has often been put to me regarding this monument is, whether the mosque is a replica of the Grand Mosque at Cordova. The idea was mooted first by Colonel Meadows Taylor, evidently in the spirit of a romance-writer rather than that of a scientific observer, but since his time it has gained such popularity that, in spite of the authoritative refutations of experts like Fergusson and others, it still prevails. The interesting point is that the special feature of having no open court-yard, for which people compare the building to the Mosque of Cordova, is not to be found at the latter edifice for it has an extensive court-yard—*Patio de los Naranjos*—on which the arches of the prayer-hall open. The object of this paper is therefore to dispel these fanciful theories on the one hand, and on the other to point out the supreme importance of the building in the synthesis of the Musalman architecture of the Deccan.

Now before discussing the merits of the monument it will be advantageous to us if we throw a glance at the first occupation of the Deccan by the Musalmans. The Arabs

had from very early times been engaged in maritime trade with the inhabitants of the Malabar coast, and a Moslem empire was established at Delhi in the 12th century; yet the plateau of the Deccan was no more than a name to the Islamic world until 1294 when 'Ala'ud-Dîn Khalji by a daring invasion captured Deogir, the capital of the Yadavas. The first invasion of 'Ala'ud-Dîn was repeated subsequently, first by his General, Malik Kâfûr (1307), and later by his son Mubârak Khalji (1318), who penetrated the country as far as Dwarasamudra and established military posts. The only monument of this period is a mosque in the Daulatabad Fort which may be styled a Moslem building in the same sense as the Great Mosque of Cordova is styled a cathedral by the pious Christians of Spain. The structure was originally a Hindu temple and the conquerors took no pains in converting it into a mosque except to erect a pulpit and build a dome and an enclosure wall. The monument on the other hand is an important landmark in the history of the Musalman architecture of the Deccan, as representing a phase when the Moslem builders, in view of the exigencies of the time, were satisfied with Hindu constructions even for the purpose of worship.

In 1325 Muhammad Tughlaq ascended the throne of Delhi and a few years later he came to the conclusion that, since the Deccan had been annexed to the kingdom, Delhi was no longer sufficiently central to be a suitable capital for the whole empire. Firishta writes, 'The Sultan ordered all the inhabitants to quit the place and, upon some delay being evinced, he made a proclamation stating that what person soever, being an inhabitant of that city, should be found in any of its houses or streets, should receive condign punishment.' The orders therefore did not signify a transfer of the Imperial residence, but it meant that all that made Delhi what it was, save only its stones, bricks and mortar, should be bodily transferred to Daulatabad. The wholesale emigration of the inhabitants of Delhi must have flooded the Deccan with artists and craftsmen, and I shall discuss presently how far the visitors influenced the architecture of the Deccan.

Of Tughlaq's time, unfortunately, we possess few remains except the defences of the Daulatabad Fort, which also were subsequently so much altered that, for purposes of study, they cannot be classed as essentially monuments of his reign. But soon after Muhammad Tughlaq's quitting the Deccan, an independent Musalman dynasty,

which is known in history under the name of the Baihmanids was established in Gulbarga. It is in the buildings of the first two kings of this dynasty that we notice wholesale imitation of the contemporary architecture of Delhi. I shall describe only here three buildings of this class—one relating to the reign of Sultan Hasan Gangu Baihmani, the founder of the dynasty, and the other two belonging to the time of his son Muhammad Shah I, who ruled from 1358-75. The first monument is the tomb of Hasan Gangu, and although it is of moderate dimensions (measuring only 26'6" square internally) yet its architecture is extremely interesting. (*Plate I*) The sloping walls, the flat dome and the corner *guldastas* of the tomb are typical of the Tughlaq style and the building exhibits the same stern simplicity which Fergusson observes was the characteristic of the buildings of the latter half of the 14th century in Northern India, and may have been a protest of the more puritanical Moslem spirit against the Hindu exuberance. The next building, *i.e.*, the tomb of Sultan Muhammad Shah, is almost a replica of his father's tomb and discloses the same affinity to the Tughlaq architecture which is observable in Hasan Gangu's tomb. The finial of Muhammad Shah's tomb is again reminiscent of the Tughlaq style.

The third monument which I shall quote to illustrate the influence of the Delhi architecture is the Mosque of Shah Bazar. It is ascribed to the reign of Muhammad Shah I, which fact is very well borne out by the style of the building although it is not confirmed by any inscription. The plan of the mosque is simple enough, comprising a gateway, an enclosed court and a prayer-hall which is divided into ninety square bays by the insertion of masonry columns supporting the domes of the roof. The building is devoid of any ornamentation and its gateway, in form or construction, can hardly be distinguished from the two tombs shown previously. (*Plate II*) These monuments were evidently the work of those craftsmen (or of their progeny) who came to the Deccan in the train of Muhammad Tughlaq and afterwards settled here.

Now while tracing the connection of Tughlaq architecture with the early Moslem buildings of the Deccan we should not overlook the historic fact that the Baihmani dynasty in establishing itself had set at naught the authority of the Delhi Empire and to maintain that attitude had to employ Persians and Turks in large numbers. Firishta observes that the favourite companions of Prince

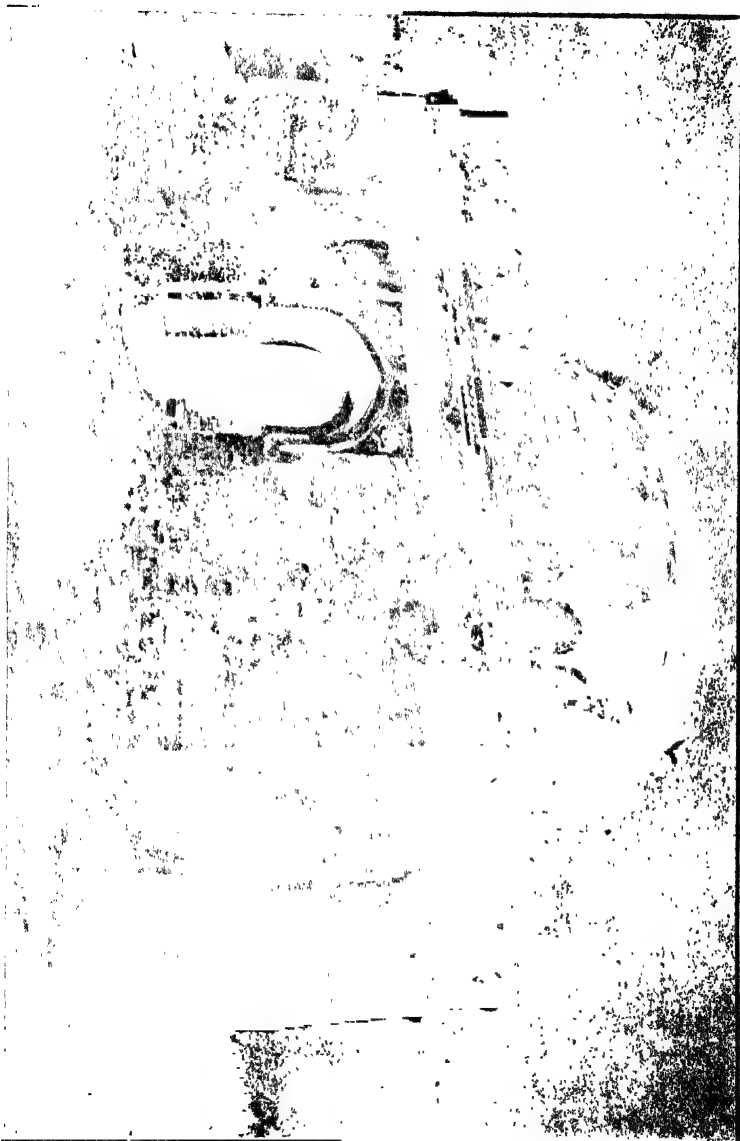


Plate I.—Tomb of 'Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahmani : Gulbarga.



Plate II.—Shah Bazar Mosque : Gulbarga

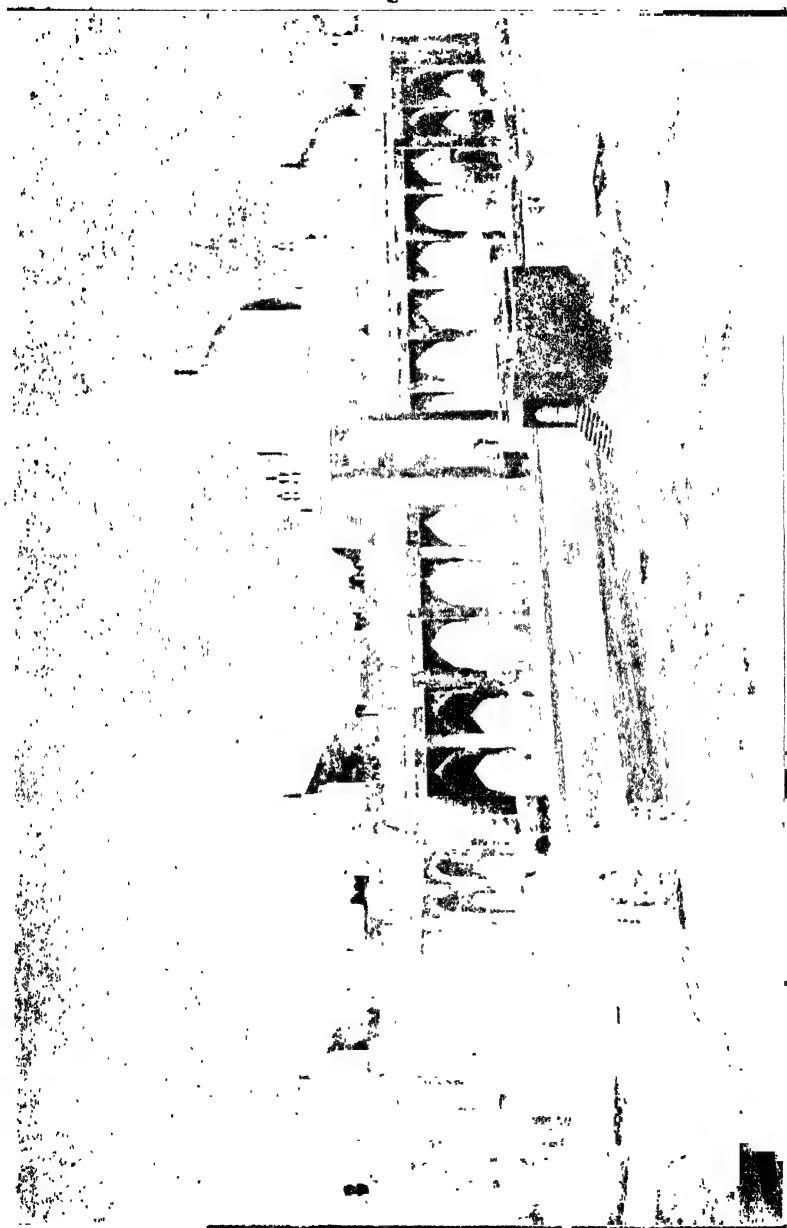


Plate III.—Jami' Masjid : Gulbarga Fort.



Plate IV.—Jami' Masjid : Gulbarga Fort.

Mujâhid Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah I “were for the most part either Persians or Turks.” The Moslem architecture of the Deccan in these circumstances therefore could not receive the requisite sap from the parent tree of Delhi and had to depend for its nourishment, first upon Persian and Turkish, and later on local sources.

The Great Mosque of Gulbarga, as the first example of Persian influence, thus marks a turning point in the history of the Deccan architecture. (*Plates III-IV*) The mosque was built in 1367 during the latter part of Muhammad Shah I's reign—two earlier monuments of whose time built in the Tughlaq style have already been discussed above. The architect, according to an inscription carved on the building, was a native of Qazwîn in North-West Persia about 90 miles from Tehran. As the inscription is extremely important I reproduce here a translation of it. Omitting the Quranic verses, it reads thus :—

“ This mosque was built by Rafi', the son of Shams, the son of Mansûr of Qazwîn, who of all God's servants was the most in need of His mercy and forgiveness and (who accomplished the task) by His gracious inspiration and sublime guidance, during the reign of the exalted Sultan, the invincible and honoured king, Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shah, the Sultan, son of the Sultan, may God strengthen the pillars of his Kingdom....in 769 H. (1367 A.D.). ”

The wording of the inscription being quite clear, there remains no doubt that the builder of the mosque was a Persian of no small significance, for his pedigree is traced in the record up to three generations. The plan of the building is somewhat peculiar, for it has no court-yard, the entire area being covered over. I have stated above that for this feature some authorities have compared the building to the Great Mosque of Cordova ; although the latter edifice has a most pleasing court-yard. As a matter of fact, there is not a single mosque in the Islamic world which does not have an enclosed or open court-yard attached to the prayer-hall, excepting those mosques of Turkey and neighbouring lands which were originally either Byzantine churches or Roman basilicas, or are the imitations of such structures when converted into mosques.

The first mosque built by the Prophet Muhammad was at Qoba (a suburb of Medina) but the details of its original plan are not known. The next mosque built by him was at Medina, the plan of which is known with fair

certainty, and it comprised a prayer-hall built at the head of an enclosed court-yard. The basement of the hall was of masonry, but the roof was supported on palm trunks and covered over with matting. This simple mosque of the Prophet was subsequently much extended and profusely adorned, but its original plan of a covered hall built at the head of an enclosed court-yard was not altered and it became the standing model for the Abode of God among Believers in all ages and in all climes. Fergusson, while admiring very much the plan of the Gulbarga Mosque, observes : " Probably the cause of its being abandoned was the difficulty of draining so extensive a flat roof during the rains. Any settlement or any crack must have been fatal." The true reason perhaps why the precedent of Gulbarga was not followed elsewhere in India was that the plan did not conform to the traditional model of a mosque.

The building has very considerable dimensions, measuring 216 ft. east to west and 176 ft. north to south, thus covering an area of 38,016 sq. ft. and affording accommodation to about 5,000 worshippers. One who is familiar with the climate of India can imagine that in the hot weather it would not have been very pleasant for large congregations to assemble in a covered building early at dawn or late in the evening. The inner arrangement of the mosque however is extremely ingenious ; first, there is a cloister which extends on three sides and presents interminable vistas of wide-spanned arches. Adjoining the cloister are seven avenues of pointed arches of exquisite proportions, they all lead to the prayer-hall which is built at the extreme western end, and measures 45 ft. each way. (*Plate V*) The avenues are divided north to south into 12 aisles by the insertion of masonry columns which, owing to their abundance, produce a labyrinth-like effect in the interior of the building.

The spacious roof also shows a pleasing arrangement ; the ceiling of the cloisters is gabled except at the four corners where beautiful domes have been built. The prayer-hall is covered over with a majestic dome, while the ceiling of the avenues is divided into seventy-five compartments each surmounted with a small dome. The variety in the sizes of the domes indicates on the one hand the comparative religious importance of the different adjuncts of the mosque, while on the other it breaks the monotony which would have been otherwise felt if the whole roof had been of a uniform design,

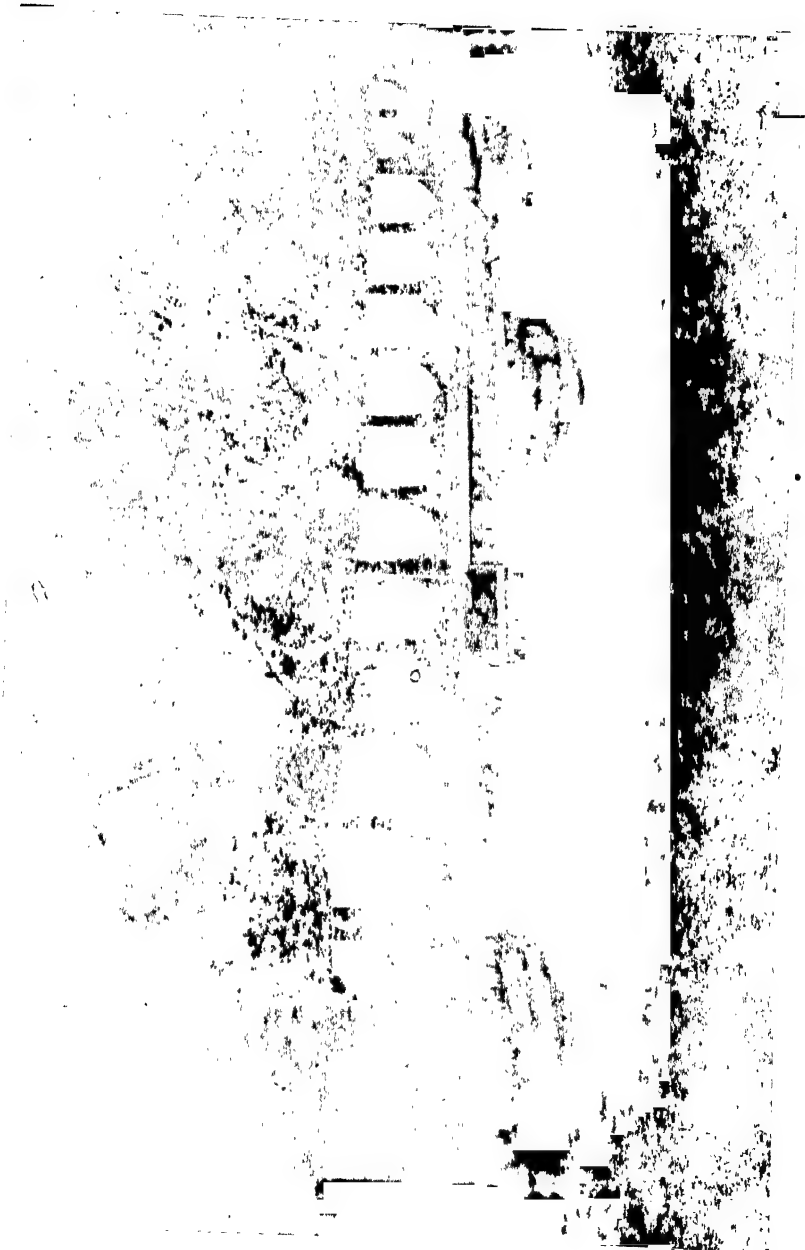


Plate V.—Jami' Masjid : Gulbarga Fort Before restoration.

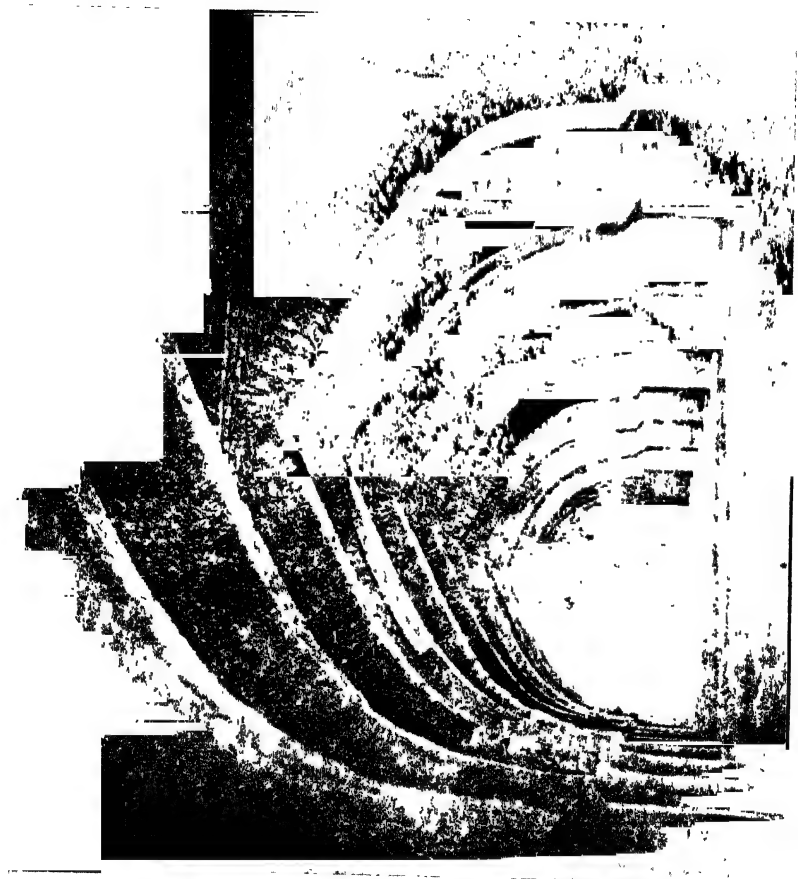


Plate VI.—Jami' Masjid : Gulbarga Fort Interior : Before restoration.

The external disposition of the building shows equally good taste—the large dome on an elegant drum crowns the structure, surrounded gracefully by the lesser domes of the corners which touch the walls. The latter in their turn are pierced by a variety of arched openings, some of them being decorated with screens of patterned brick-work. The whole presents a panorama of cupolas and arches bewitching to the eye. The building has no ornaments but the superior grace of its architectural forms; and the great calm and solemnity which pervade it and so perfectly express the object of its construction, place it among the greatest mosques of the world.

I have mentioned in the beginning that some authorities have considered this edifice to be of Hindu origin. The inscription noted above clearly shows that it was built by a Persian architect. But setting aside this evidence, let us examine the design and construction of the building. The plan of the building has nothing in common with the star-shaped plans of the contemporary Hindu temples, while the arrangement of the aisles is most appropriate to the Islamic mode of worship—for the congregation while praying always arrange themselves in continuous rows. Again, as regards material and principles of construction, it may be interesting to observe that the Hindu temples of the 8th to 13th centuries are always built of large blocks of chiselled masonry which, in the majority of cases, is also profusely carved. In building the walls the huge stones are piled one above the other with rare use of mortar and remain in position only on account of their perfect joining and heavy weight. The openings are always in the pillar and lintel style, and the roof either consists of overlapping slabs placed angularly, or rings of carved stones arranged concentrically presenting the form of a dome which, however, is not built on the true principles of vaulting. Let us now examine the material and the construction of the Gulbarga Mosque. (*Plate VI*) The photograph reproduced herewith was taken in 1878 about the time of Captain Coles' visit—when the building, as he observes, was in a neglected condition and was used for famine relief purposes. The material as shown in the photograph consists of small dressed stones laid in mortar. The style of the openings is accurate—the arrangement of the voussoirs indicating a sound knowledge of the principles of this kind of architecture. The gabled roofs and domes have also been built according to the right method of vaulting and show no flaw. With all

these peculiarities, so apparent in their contrast to the design and construction of the Hindu buildings, one may wonder how the rash theory, that the mosque was a converted temple, could find currency not only among the masses, but also amongst educated and cultivated people.

The mosque, besides its æsthetic value, is of great importance for the study of the Musalman architecture of the Deccan. It introduced for the first time two distinct forms of arches, one with a very wide span and extremely low piers which for lack of a better name I shall call the 'squat arch,' and the other with a very narrow span and extremely high piers which according to my vocabulary I shall style the 'slim arch.' These two forms appear so frequently in the subsequent buildings of Gulbarga, Golconda and Bijapur that authorities have begun to regard them as the distinguishing feature of the Musalman architecture of the Deccan. Who would not recognise the 'slim arch' in some of our modern buildings, particularly the City High School, where, in imitation of the Gulbarga Mosque, the arch appears in the middle of the principal facade of the building? In addition to these two new forms of arches, the building also introduced the 'stilted dome' of Persia in the Deccan. The domes built before the erection of this building were rather flat and had no prominent drums. This new form of dome became very popular and assumed very peculiar shapes when local Hindu architects were employed by the Deccan kings for the designing and erection of their edifices in the 16th and 17th centuries. The orbs and cupolas which we see in such abundance in the vicinity of Hyderabad and which are marked by their tall and exaggerated lines are all of the post-Bahmani period, and exhibit more a play of fancy than a sound system of architecture. But perhaps the principles of dome-building were never so much ignored as in the modern days when, in the chief building of Hyderabad—I mean the High Court—we see the domes only as apologies for real ones, consisting as they do of wooden or iron stilts stuffed with layers of cement concrete.

The Tughlaqs in order to counterbalance the thrust of the dome were wont to make the walls of the base sloping, which, although indicating a certain solidity, was not a very pleasing feature. In the Gulbarga Mosque the walls rise perpendicularly and the thrust of the dome has been counteracted by devices which are concealed

within the building and do not obstruct the eye. After the introduction of this method the sloping walls fell into disfavour and gradually disappeared from the architecture of the Deccan.

The features enumerated above infused a new spirit into the style of the country, which as we have noticed above was becoming dull and atrophied owing to political reasons. Architecture is not mere building : it is building with reason and sense of beauty—it was this doctrine which the Gulbarga Mosque preached and which when followed produced those magnificent buildings of the Baihmanids and of the early Bijapur and Golconda kings, of which any country may be proud. The decline set in when, through a misinterpretation of the doctrine, the love of decoration began to prevail over sound principles of building, a discussion of which, perhaps, may form the subject of another paper.

G. YAZDANI.

THE EARLIEST BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PROPHET AND THEIR AUTHORS

(Translated by Marmaduke Pickthall from the German
typoscript).

II

IN the generation following that of the Tâbi'ûn, among the greater number of connoisseurs in Tradition, there are three men who deserve special mention in this place because they devoted their attention especially to the Maghâzi : Abdullah ibn Abi Bakr ibn Muhammad, A'âsim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatâda and Muhammad ibn Muslim Al-Zuhri ; all three being among the weightiest authorities of Ibn Ishâq, and all three being adherents of the Madînah school.

'Abdullah ibn Abi Bakr sprang from a Madani family whose ancestors already in the Prophet's time had rendered signal service to Islâm. 'Abdullah's great-grandfather had been sent by the Prophet to the Yaman¹ with the commission to instruct the inhabitants of that region in the teaching of Islâm, and he remained there as the Prophet's governor in Najrân². 'Abdullah's grandfather, Muhammad ibn 'Amr, met his death on the day of the Harra³ (63 A.H.) when the Umayyads defeated the

(1) *Ibn Hisham* 961. وقد كان رسول الله صلعم قد بعث اليهم بعد ان ولي وفد هم عمرو بن حزم ليقتلهم في الدين ويعلمهم السنة ومعهم الاسلام وياخذ منهم صدقاتهم

(2) *Tabari* I. 1852. وكان فيمن بعث النبي صلعم من عمال اليمن. في سنة ١٠ بعد ما حج حجة الامة وقد مات باذا م فلذا لك فرق عملها بين شهر بن باذا م وعامر بن شهر وعبد الله بن قيس وخالدين سعيد والظاهر بن ابي هالة ويعلى بن امية وعمرو بن حزم

Further *Tabari* I. 1983. توفي رسول الله . . . وعلى نجران وارضا

(3) *Tabari* II 417. عمرو بن حزم وقتل معه محمد بن عمرو بن حزم الا نصارى فمر عليه مروان بن الحكم وكانه برطيل من فضة فقال رحمك الله فرب سارية قد رايتك تطيل القيام في الصلاة الى جنبها

forces of Madînah. Marwân ibn Al-Hakam, afterwards Khalîfah, who saw him lying dead upon the field that day, exclaimed: "May Allah have mercy on thee! By how many a pillar have I seen thee standing long in prayer!" Lastly, 'Abdullah's father, Abu Bakr was Judge in Al-Madînah from 86 A.H., the year in which 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz took over the governorship¹. He was famed as an expert in jurisprudence² which he had learnt from Abân ibn 'Uthmân³. In the year 96 A.H., the Khalîfah Suleymân conferred on him, in addition to his judgeship, the office of governor of Al-Madînah⁴, a post which no Madani before him had held under the Umayyads⁵, but which Abu Bakr retained also under 'Umar II⁶, and of which Yazîd II first deprived him⁷. He, however, still continued to be judge a while longer under the new governor⁸, with whom he was, however, on bad terms, and who even had him flogged on one occasion⁹. Abu Bakr was later, in 118 A.H., once more

- (1) *Tabari* II, 1191. وكان على قضاء المدينة في هذه السنة (يعني سنة ٨٧) أبو بكر بن عمر بن حزم من قبل عمر بن عبد العزيز عثمان بن حيان قدم المدينة أميراً عليها سنة ٩٣; *Tabari* II 1258; فاستقضى أبو بكر بن حزم وقال ابن وهب (ed. Fischer Biographien 90) *Dhahabi* عن مالك لم يكن أحد بالمدينة عنده من علم القضاء ما كان عذابي بكر بن حزم. 90 *Dhahabi* (3). also *Ibn Hajar* XII 39. وقال عبد الله بن أبي بكر بن حزم إن أبا به كان يتعلم القضاء من أبا بن عثمان ولى القضاء والأمر والموسم علي المدينة لسليمان (4) *Dhahabi* 90. v. further *Tabari* II, 1282, 1305. ولعمر بن عبد العزيز. ولم يكن بالمدينة أنصاري أمير غير أبي بكر (5) *Ibn Hajar* XII 39. بن حزم وكان قاضياً وحج بالناس في هذه السنة (يعني سنة ٩٩) (6) *Tabari* II 1346. أبو بكر محمد بن عمرو بن عزم وكان عامل عمر على المدينة وحج بالناس في هذه السنة (يعني سنة ١٠٠) أبو بكر بن محمد بن عمرو بن حزم; also 1358. عن أبي بكر بن حزم أنه قال لما قدم عبد الرحمن بن الفضل المدينة وعزلني دخلت عليه الخ فلم يزل الأمر يترقى بينهما حتى خاصم إليه (8) *Tabari* II 1373. رجل من بني فهر وآخر من بني النجار وكان أبو بكر قاضياً للنجار قال الزهري فلم يأخذ بشي من ذلك (9) *Tabari* II 1452. وعادى الأنصار طراً وضرب أبو بكر بن حزم ظلماً وعدواناً فبطل

Governor of Madinah for a few days¹. He died in 120 A.H., or some years later². Abu Bakr, who observed his son's predilection for the study of Hadith and counselled him to compare the substance of each Hadith with its antecedents³, received from 'Umar II the commission : " Seek out what remains of the Hadith of the Prophet and of the usage of the past and of the Hadith of 'Amrah bint 'Abd ur-Rahmân, and write it down ; for I fear the disappearance of knowledge and the passing hence of its possessors⁴." The 'Amrah here named, through her intimacy with A'ishah the bride of the Prophet in particular, had learnt the Reports which A'ishah had handed down⁵, and Abu Bakr, as her nephew⁶, had especially good opportunities for eliciting them from her. However, these records made at the behest of 'Umar II were even in the next generation no longer to be found⁷. Like Abu Bakr himself, one of his sons, Muhammad

(1) *Tabari* II 1592. ذكر الواعظ ان ابا بكر بن عمر بن حزم يوم عزل خالد عن المدينة جاءه كتاب بامرته عن المدينة فصعد المنبر وصلى بالناس ستة ايام ثم قدم محمد بن هشام عن مكة عامه لا على المدينة

(2) *Dhahabi* 91. قال الهيثم بن عيسى ويحيى بن بكير و ابو مني مات سنة سبع عشرة ومائة وقال الواعظ و ابن سعد و جماعة مات سنة عشرين ومائة

(3) *Dhahabi*. 91. وكان يقول لابنه عبد الله اني اراك تحب الحديث وتجاس الهله فلا تستقبل صدر حديثك اذا سمعت عجزه اسئل باعجازها على صدورها

(4) *Ibn Sa'd* II b 134. كتب عمر بن عبد العزيز الى ابي بكر بن محمد بن عمرو بن حزم ان انظر ما كان من حديث رسول الله صلعم سنة ما ضية اوحديث عمرة بنت عبد الرحمن فاكتبه فانى قد خفت دروس العلم وذهاب الهله

عن ابن وهب عن مالك somewhat otherwise *Ibn Hajar* XII 39. وكان ولاه عمر بن عبد العزيز وكتب اليه ان يكتب له من العلم من عند عمرة بنت عبد الرحمن و اقامه بن محمد . . .

(5) *Ibn Hajar* XII 438. عمرة بنت عبد الرحمن بن سعد بن زارة الانصارية المدينة كانت في حجر عائشة روت عن عائشة واختها لامها هشام بنت حارثة و حبيبة بنت سهل النخعي

(6) *Ibn Hajar* XII 438. وروى عنها ابن اخيه ابو بكر بن محمد بن عمرو بن حزم

(7) *Ibn Hajar* XII 39. فسأل ابنه عبد الله بن ابي بكر عن تلك الكتب فقال ضاعت

ibn Abî Bakr, who died in 132 A.H., was active as a judge in Al-Madînah¹.

His other son, 'Abdullah ibn Abî Bakr, on the contrary—he for whose sake we have prefaced all this information concerning his relations—held himself aloof from all official activity. As Al-Zuhri informs us (who says of him that he had not his like in all Madînah), it was precisely the consideration which his father enjoyed which prevented his own fame from coming to maturity so long as his father was alive². 'Abdullah survived his father only 10-15 years, and died in 130 or 135 A.H.³. The contrast which existed between judicial practice, which had to take account of the customary law of Al-Madînah, and the requirements of Hadîth, finds expression in a conversation which 'Abdullah held with his brother Muhammad, the Judge⁴. "When he had come to a decision which stood in contradiction to Hadîth, after his return home his brother—he was a pious man—would say to him: 'O my brother, thou hast to-day given such and such a judgment in such and such a case.' 'Yes, O my brother.' 'But what of the Hadîth, which deserves that judgment should be given in accordance with it?' 'But what of judicial practice?' the judge would answer, meaning that which was generally recognised as the usage in Madînah; for this generally recognised practice was, in their opinion, of more worth than the Hadîth."

(1) *Tabari* III 2505. ومحمد بن أبي بكر بن محمد بن عمرو بن حزم. وكان قاضيا بالمدينة.... يقضى في المسجد.... توفي سنة ١٣٢ في أول دولة بني العباس وهو ابن ثلاثين وسبعين سنة

(2) *Ibn Hajar* V 165. عن مالك أخبرني ابن عذابة قال قال لي ابن شهاب من بالمدينة (يعني ما جابه) فقال ابن شهاب ما ثم مثل عبد الله بن أبي بكر ولكنه يمنعه ان يرتفع ذكره مكان ابيه انه حي

(3) *Ibid.* وفي سنة خمس وثلاثين ومائة ويقال سنة ثلاثين وهو ابن سبعين سنة

(4) *Tabari* III 2505. عن مالك بن انس قال كان محمد بن أبي بكر بن محمد بن عمرو بن حزم على القضاء بالمدينة فكان اذا قضى بالقضاء مخالفا للحديث ورجع الى منزله قال له اخوه عبد الله بن أبي بكر وكان صالحا اى اخى قضيت اليوم فى كذا وكذا بكذا وكذا فيقول آه محمد نعم ابي اخى فيقول له عبد الله فابن الحديث اى اخى عز الحديث ان يقضى به فيقول محمد اياه فابن العمل يعني ما اجمع عليه من العمل بالمدينة والعمل للمجتمع عندهم اقوى من الحديث

From the quotations in Ibn Ishâq, Wâqidi, Ibn Sa'd and Tabari we can picture the activity of 'Abdullah as a transmitter of tradition to some extent, in so far as they were concerned with the Maghâzi. From the *Fihrist*¹ we learn that 'Abdullah's nephew 'Abdul Malik, son of the above-mentioned judge Muhammad, who was himself also a judge and died in 176 A.H., compiled a *Kitabu'l-Maghâzi*; probably this book, of which no trace seems to remain, consisted of the collected material which he had acquired from his uncle, just as a brother of this 'Abdul Malik, 'Abdur Rahmân, often in Wâqidi transmits reports of his uncle². The statements of 'Abdullah are not confined to the Maghâzi in the narrower sense of the word, he is concerned also with the youth and early years of the Prophet; but his name appears most often in reports concerning the Maghâzi properly so-called, and he also devoted his attention to the *wufud* (the embassies of the Arabian tribes to the Prophet). He has also transmitted reports concerning the revolt of the Arab tribes after the Prophet's death and concerning particular events in the following decade; as, for example, concerning the last days of the Khalifah 'Uthmân³. The house of 'Abdullah's family neighboured that in which the Khalifah met his death⁴, and his great-grandfather was not a stranger to the events which led up to the murder of the Khalifah⁵. 'Abdullah gives very many of his reports without naming his authorities, in other cases he mentions their names; the use of the Isnâd is not yet obligatory

(1) *Fihrist* 226. عبد الملك بن محمد بن أبي بكر بن عمرو بن حزم
الانصاري وتوفي سنة ست وسبعين ومائة بعد اذ كان قاضيا بها لهارون
وله من الكتب كتاب المغازي

Ibn Sa'd VII B 68. says of him. وكان قليل الحديث

(2) In Wellhausen's index it is given erroneously Ab-
alrahman ibn Abi Bakr for Abdalrahman ibn Muhammad
ibn Abi Bakr.

(3) *Tabari* I 3060. قال محمد وحده ثنى عبد الرحمن بن عبد العزيز
عن عبد الله بن أبي بكر بن حزم قال جاء المؤمن الى عثمان فاذهبه بالصلاة
فقال لا انزل صلى اذهب الى من يصلى الخ

(4) *Tabari* I 3005. فلم يزل الناس يقتتلون حتى قتل عمر وبن حزم
الانصاري باب داره وهو الى جنب دار عثمان بن عفان

(5) *Tabari* I 2989. وخرج عمرو بن حزم الانصاري حتى اتى
المصريين وهم بذى خشب فاخبرهم بالخبر وسار معهم حتى قدموا المدينة الخ
See further *Tabari* I, 3001, 3021.

with him. A number of his reports go back to 'Amrah, his great-aunt, but by word of mouth and through the intermediary of his wife Fâtimah, who received them direct from 'Amrah¹. As throwing light upon the intercourse of women with men in those days, the way in which Ibn Ishâq, the pupil of 'Abdullah, obtained one of these statements of 'Amrah is noteworthy. He relates² that, when he came to 'Abdullah, the latter bade his wife: "Inform Muhammad of what you have heard from 'Amrah," whereupon she repeated her statements. It sometimes happened, moreover, that 'Abdullah in the case of certain questions which he was in a position to solve, never let his pupil Ibn Ishâq know the answer. Thus he would not mention to him the names of the two members of a Madani family who acted against the orders of the Prophet when his army was encamped near Al-Hijr, and who suffered punishment therefor, even though in the end their lives were spared. "'Abdullah ibn Abî Bakr"—so says Ibn Ishâq "had this information from 'Abbâs ibn Sahl and he told me that 'Abbâs had mentioned the names of the two men to him, but in strict confidence, wherefor he refused to mention them to me³."

'Abdullah did not content himself with collecting the reports which had become known to him. He sought also, thus early, to establish the chronological order of events⁴ and had put together a list of the Prophet's

(1) *Ibn Hisham* 1020. قال ابن اسحاق وحدثني عبد الله بن ابي بكر عن امراة فاطمة بنت عمارة عن عمرة بنت عبد الرحمن بن سعد بن زرارة عن عائشة

(2) *Tabari* I, 1837. محمد بن اسحاق عن عبد الله بن ابي بكر انه دخل عليه فقال لامراة فاطمة حدثني محمد اما سمعت من عمرة بنت عبد الرحمن فقال سمعت عمرة تقول سمعت عائشة تقول قال محمد بن اسحاق قد حدثتني فاطمة هذا لحدث

(3) *Ibn Hisham* 899. والحدث عن ارجلين عن عبد الله بن ابي بكر عن عباس بن سهل بن سعد الساعدي وقد حدثني عبد الله بن ابي بكر ان قد سمى له العباس ارجلين ولكنه استودعهما فابى عبد الله يسميهما لى

(4) *E. G. Tabari* III 2431. عن عبد الله بن ابي بكر بن محمد بن عمرو بن حزم قال نوفيت زينب ابنة رسول الله صلعم في اول سنة ٨ عن عبد الله بن ابي بكر بن حزم قال كان الذي زوجها وخطب *Ibid* 2447 اليه النجاشي خا لد بن سعيد بن العاص وذا لك سنة ٧ من الهجرة

campaigns in chronological order, which Ibn Ishâq borrowed for his work¹. Besides the reports of his authorities, he paid regard also to written sources, as, for instance, a screed of the Prophet to the South-Arabian princes² and a further document which the Prophet had given his great-grandfather, 'Amr ibn Hazm, to take with him, when he sent him to Najrân to spread the teaching of Islâm there³. Like his forerunners, of whom we have already treated, 'Abdullah also imparts songs which are put into the mouths of those who play a leading part in the events⁴. Of this, examples are found in accounts concerning the Maghâzi as well as in those of the events after the Prophet's death⁵. In 'Abdullah's family the interest in poetry was lively, and in the Kitâbu'l-Aghânî we have an account of how one of the sons of Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad (whether it was 'Abdullah himself or one of his brothers cannot be established) once challenged Farazdaq to compose a poem that should equal a poem of Hassân's which he

(1) *Tabari* I. 1756. عن محمد بن اسحاق عن عبد الله بن أبي بكر قال كان جميع ما غزا رسول الله صلعم بنفسه ستا وعشرين غزوة اول غزوة غزاها ودان وهي غزوة الالبوا ثم غزوة بواط الخ *Tabari* I. 1758 حدثنى محمد بن اسحاق عن عبد الله بن أبي بكر قال كانت سرايا رسول الله وبعوثه فيما بين ان قدم المدينة وبين ان قبضه الله خساو ثلاثين بعثا وسرية

(2) *Tabari* I. 1717. حدثنى محمد بن اسحاق عن عبد الله بن أبي بكر قدم عن رسول الله كتاب ملوك حمير .. فكتب اليهم رسول الله الرحمن الرحيم من محمد النبي رسول الله الى العارث بن عبد كلال الخ

(3) *Ibn Hisham* 961. وقد كان رسول الله صلعم قد بعث اليهم بعد ان ولى وفد هم عمرو بن حزم ليفة بهم بنى الدين ويعلمهم السنة ومعالم الاسلام وياخذ منهم صدقاتهم وكتب له كتابا با عهد اليه فيه عهده وامره فيه مرة بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا بيان من الله ورسوله الخ

(4) *F.B. Ibn Hisham* 590.

(5) *Ibn Hisham* 789, 793, *Tabari* 1732, 1734. In the corresponding passages of *Hisham* 951, 950 *Abdullah* is not named.

See also *Tabari* 1905, 2354.

admired¹.

(1) *Naqaid*, ed. Bevan 546. See also *Aghani* VIII. 189, XIX 38. قال البر بوعی قال ابراہیم بن محمد بن سعد بن ابی وقاص قد افرزدق المدینة فی امرأة ابان بن عثمان رضی اللہ عنہما فی الفزدق وکثیر عزة لجلوس فی المسجد فثنا شدا لا شعرا اذ طلع علینا غلام شخص ادم فی ثوبین مصرین ثم قصد دعونا حتی اذتہی الینا فلم یسلم وقال ا یکم الفزدق قال ابراہیم بن محمد فقلت له مخافة ان ینکون من قریش اهکذا تقول لیسید العرب وشاعرہا قال لو کان کذا لک لم اقل له هذا فقال له الفزدق من انت یا غلام لا املک قال رجل من الانصار ثم من بنی النجار ثم انابن ابی بکر بن حرب بلغنی انک تقول انک شعرا عرب قال وتزعمه مضر وقال حسان بن ثابت شعرا فاردت ان اعرضه علیک واک جلیک فیه سنة فان قلت مثله فانت شعرا لعربوا لا فانت کذا ب منتحل ثم انشده

لنا لجلفنا لا لغری لمعن بالاضحی وایسیان یقطن من نجدة دما
فانشده القصيدة الی اخرها وقال انی قد اجاتک فیه سنة ثم انصرف و
قام الفزدق مغضبا یسحب رداءه ما یدری این طرفه حتی خرج من المسجد
واقبل علی کثیر فقال قاتل الله الانصارى ما فصع لهجته ووضح حجته واجود
شعره فلم نزل فی حدیث الفزدق والانصارى بقية یومنا حتی اذ کان
من الغد خرجت من منزلی الی مجلسی الذی کنت فیه بالامس واتانی
کثیر فجلس معی فانا لننشد الک الفزدق ونقول لیت شعری ما فعل اذ طلع
علینا فی حلة افواف مخططة له غدیرتان حتی جلس فی مجلسه بالامس ثم
قال ما فعل الانصارى فلنلا منه وشتما ووقعنا فیه نرید بذلک ان نطیب
نفس الفزدق فقال قاتله الله ما رمیت بمثله ولا سمعت بمثل شعره ثم
قال لهما الفزدق انی فارتکما بالامس فاتیتم منزلی فاقبلت اصعد واصوب فی کل
فن من الشعر فکانی مفهم لم اقل شعرا قط حتی اذ نادى الامدادی
بالفجر حلتنا قتی ثم اخذت بزمامها فقلت بها حتی ایتى بنا باثم نادیت
یا علی صوتی ا جیبوا ایاکم بالیدنی فجاش صدوی کما یجیش المرجل
فعلقت ناقتی وتوسدت ذراعها فما قمت حتی قلت ما ذکة وثلاثة عشر بیتا
فبینما هو ینشدنا ان طلع الانصارى حتی انتهی الینا فسلم ثم قال انی لم آتک
للعجلک عن الوعد الذی وقرته لک ولكنی احببت الالاراک الاساتک ماضعت فقال اجلس ثم
انشده

عزفت بآعاش ما کدت تعرف * وانکرت من عدوا ما کدت تعرف
قال فاما فرغ الفزدق من انشاده قام الانصارى کثیرا فلما توارى طلع
ابو الانصارى وهو ابوبکر بن حزم فی مشیخة من الانصار فسلموا علینا
وقالوا یا ابانرا س انک قد عرفت حالنا ومکاننا من رسول الله صلعم ووصیته
بنا وقد بلغنا ان سفیها من سفها ناعرض لک فنساک باللهو بحق المصطفى محمد
صلعم لما حفظت فینا وصیة رسول الله صلعم ووهبتنا له ولم تفضحنا قال
البر بوعی قال ابراہیم بن محمد فانت کلمه انا وکثیر فلما اکثرنا
علیه قال ان هبوا فقد وهبتکم لهذا لقرشی یعنی ابراہیم بن محمد بن سعد

"Al Yarbû'î said, Ibrâhîm ibn Muhammad ibn Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâs related : While Abân ibn 'Uthmân was Amîr (75-82 A.H.) Al-Farazdaq came to Madînah and I, 'Al-Farazdaq and Kuthaiyir sat in the mosque and recited poems in rivalry. Then a slim, brown youth strode in, who was clad in two reddish-coloured garments, came towards us and, when he drew near to us, said without greeting : 'Which of you is Al-Farazdaq ?' For fear that he (like Ibrâhîm himself) might belong to Quraish, I said 'Speakest thou thus to the Lord of the Arabs and their poet ?' 'If he were that, I should not thus have spoken to him,' he replied. Then Al-Farazdaq said : 'Who then art thou ?' 'A man of the Ansâr, more precisely of the Banu'n-Najjâr, more precisely still, a son of Abu Bakr ibn Hazm. I have heard thou claimest to be the greatest poet of the Arabs and that the race of Mudhar so acclaim thee"—The Ansâr reckon themselves among the South Arabians, whereas Mudhar is esteemed the forefather of the North Arabian tribes to which Al-Farazdaq belongs—'Our Hassân ibn Thâbit (the Madani court poet of the Prophet) has, however, composed a poem that I wish to propound to thee. I give thee a year's time. If thou canst make a poem that will equal this, then art thou the greatest poet among the Arabs ; but if not, then art thou a liar and a plagiarist.' Thereupon he recited the verse of Hassân :

"Ours are the brilliant chargers
that flash in the sunlight,

"Ours are the swords dripping blood
of the fruit of our bravery."

And he recited the whole Qasîdah to the end. Then he turned away, and Farazdaq arose full of rage, his cloak slipping off and he not knowing where its seam was, till he had left the mosque. Then Kuthaiyir came to me and said : 'How eloquent was the speech of that Ansâri, how illuminating his argument, how exquisite his poem !' And we conversed the whole day long of Al-Farazdaq and the Ansâri. On the following morning I betook myself again to our place of meeting of the day before, Kuthaiyir came and sat with me and we discoursed again of Al-Farazdaq and said : 'If we only knew what he has done !' Then he came up to us, wrapped in a many-coloured, striped cloak and with his hair tied in two plaits, sat in the place which he had occupied the day before and said : 'What is the Ansâri doing ?' Then we reviled and aspersed him (the said Ansâri), to soothe the soul of

Al-Farazdaq, whereupon he said : ‘ A man like him (Hassân) has never until now confronted me, and a poem like his poem have I never heard before. When I left you and had reached my dwelling, I tried in all the kinds of poetry, but I was as one for whom silence is decreed and who never has composed a verse. Then, when the criers called to the prayer of dawn, I saddled my she-camel, took her by the reins and rode her till I came to the mountain Dhubâb. There cried I in a loud voice (to the jinni who inspired Al-Farazdaq in his poems) : Help thy brother, O Abû Lubaina ! Then my breast began to seethe as the pot on the fire seethes. I tied up my camel and leaned my head against her leg as a pillow and paused not till I had composed 113 verses.’ While he was reciting to us the poem, the Ansâri appeared, came up to us and greeted us and said : ‘ I have not come to curtail the time I fixed for thee, but I would not see thee without asking what thou hast done’. Then Farazdaq said ‘ Sit down ! ’ and began to recite his poem. When he ended his recital the Ansâri rose discomfited, and scarcely had he passed from our sight when the father of the Ansâri, Abû Bakr ibn Hazm, appeared with other Sheykhs of the Ansâr. They greeted us and said : ‘ O Abû Firâs (the pseudonym of Al-Farazdaq), thou knowest our condition and the position which we occupied with the Prophet (may God bless and keep him !) and what command he gave concerning us. We have heard that a fool from among us has dared to pit himself against thee and we entreat thee, by Allah and by the Law of His chosen Muhammad (Allah bless and keep him !) : Keep the command of the Prophet concerning us, forgive us for his sake and shame us not ’ (by a satiric poem). Then I”—Ibrâhîm goes on to relate—“ and Kuthaiyir up and pleaded with him till in the end he said ; ‘ I forgive thee for the sake of this Quraishi (i.e., Ibrâhîm). ’ ” The story happens in the youth of our ‘Abdullah or of one of his brothers, and shows us again how in the circles which were devoted to Fiqh and Hadîth, poetry also was in no way neglected.

A’âsim ibn ‘Umar ibn Qatâda, also, sprang from a Madani family which had early adhered to the Prophet. His grandfather Qatâda, of the sept of the Banu Zafar, was one of the Ansâr who fought for the Prophet at Badr¹; and at Hunain he was the standard bearer of his

(1) *Ibn Hisham*, 492. ومن بنى ظفرثم من بنى سواد بن كعب
وكعب هو ظفرتنا د بن الاعماس

clan¹. Of A'âsim's father, 'Umar, the sources have not much more to tell² than that he received Hadîth from his father and passed it on to his son A'âsim. Unlike the father of 'Abdullah ibn Abî Bakr he evidently played no particular part in the life of his native city, and held no public office. His son A'âsim was not free from economic difficulties which caused him, like so many of his fellow-countrymen in similar circumstances, to betakê himself to the capital of the empire, and to seek for help at the Khalîfah's court. This he was successful in obtaining from the then Khalîfah, 'Umar II, the only one of the Umayyad Khalîfahs who found favour also in the sight of the pious of Madînah. As Ibn Sa'd informs us³, A'âsim "repaired to the court of 'Umar ibn Abdul Aziz, who paid his debts, assigned to him a stipend and ordered him to sit regularly in the mosque of Damascus and tell the people of the Prophet's campaigns (Maghâzi) and the famous deeds of his Companions; which he did. Later he returned to Al-Madînah." The Khalîfah 'Umar II, who, as we have seen, attached importance to the collecting and recording of Hadîth, in the same manner thought it good to have the population of Damascus instructed by a thorough expert. A'âsim's attainments in the Sîrah and the Maghâzi were, besides, renowned⁴; and he ranked as an authentic transmitter⁵. That he perverted the history of the Prophet in the sense of the Umayyads is not to be accepted any more than that 'Umar II had ever wished him to do so. The Khilâfat of 'Umar II lasted from 99 to 101 A.H. and in 101 at latest A'âsim returned to his native city; where, for about two decades, he ex-

(1) *Waqidi* ed. Wellhausen 358.

(2) *Ibn Hajar* VII 489. عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الظفرى لا نصارى
المدنى روى عن ابيه له صحبة وعن على بن الحسين روى عنه ابيه عاصم

(3) The article on *A'asim* seems to be missing in the MSS. of *Ibn Sa'd* which have come down to us, but *Dhahabi* (ed. Fischer) 23, *Ibn Hajar* V, 53 and Mizzi (v. Sachau, *Studien*) 14. quote the article.

وقال ابن سعد كان راوية للعلم وله علم بالمغازى والسيرة امره عمر بن عبد العزيز
ان يجلس فى مسجد دمشق فيحدث الناس بالمغازى وما قبله من فعل
وفد على عمر بن عبد العزيز فضى دينه وامره ان يجلس فى
مسجد دمشق فيحدث الناس ففعل ثم رجع الى المدينه

(4) *Ibn Qutaiba, Ma'arif* 236. هو صاحب السيرة والمغازى

(5) *Dhahabi* 22. وثقه ابن معين وجماعة

pounded his knowledge before his audience and died in 119 A.H. or a little later¹.

A'âsim is one of the chief authorities of Ibn Ishâq and Wâqidi for the Maghâzi properly so called, but he also paid attention to the details of the story of the Prophet's youth and to the Meccan period generally, as the quotations of Ibn Sa'd in particular indicate. He also often states his authorities, but still more frequently omits to name them. His attitude towards Isnâd is thus the same as that of 'Abdullah ibn Abî Bakr. He too occasionally includes verses of the chief actors in the accounts transmitted by him²; and that he did not act merely as a compiler, but now and then allowed expression to his own opinion as to the motives animating the transactors, is clear from the passage quoted by Ibn Ishâq³ where he says: "By Allah, Al-'Abbâs ibn Ubâdah gave this counsel" —i.e., to administer the oath of allegiance (to the Prophet) only when they, on their side were ready to endure all loss of life and property which might befall them on that account — "only in order to strengthen the bond for the Prophet." In a noteworthy manner 'Abdullah ibn Abî Bakr also expresses his own opinion and the contrary opinion of A'âsim concerning that step of 'Abbâs.

'Abdullah and A'âsim both sprang from the circle of the Ansâr. Muhammad ibn Muslim ibn 'Ubeydullah ibn 'Abdullah ibn Shihâb, on the other hand, as his *nisbat* al-Zuhri demonstrates, came from a Meccan sept, the Banu Zuhra. He was born in 50 or 51, according to other statements in 56, 57 or 58 A.H.,⁴ and his great-grandfather on the father's side, 'Abdullah ibn Shihâb, had fought on the side

(1) *Ibn Qutaiba, Ma'arif* 236. توفي سنة عشرين و مائة
وتوفي سنة عشرين كذا ارخه جما عة وقال ابو عبيد و جما عة سنة سبع
وعشرين وقال الوا قدي و جما عة سنة تسع و عشرين

(2) e. g., *Ibn Hisham* 284, 728.

(3) *Ibn Hisham* 299. و ما عا صم بن عمر فقال والله ما قال ذالك العباس الا
ليشد العقد لر سول الله صلعم في اعناقهم و ما عبد الله بن ابي بكر فقال ما قال
ذالك العباس الا ليؤخر القوم ذالك الليلة رجاء ان يحضرها عبد الله بن ابي
بن سلول فيكون اقوى الامم للقوم

(4) *Dhahabi* 73. قال احمذ بن صالح المصور يقولون مولد هـ
سنة خمسين و قال خليفة و لد سنة احدى و خمسين و قال ابن بكير سنة ست
و خمسين و قال الوا قدي سنة ثمان و خمسين

of the Meccans against the Prophet at Badr¹, had conspired with three other men of Mecca to kill the Prophet at Uhud², and actually did succeed in wounding him.³ Naturally this deed was painful to the great-grandson who in the passage where he speaks of the assault of the conspirators against the Prophet's person⁴ says nothing of his great-grandfather's part in it. Al-Zuhri's father was on the side of 'Abdullah ibn Zubair during the latter's anti-Khilâfat⁵; but Al-Zuhri himself, as he informs us, had even as a boy waited upon Marwân⁶—during his Khilâfat in the year 64 A.H.—and later repaired to the court of Marwân's son, 'Abdul Malik. He then, it is true, fixed his home at Damascus but often sojourned in his native city, Al-Madînah. Somewhere in the period before his migration to Damascus, an event befell of which Ibn Sa'd informs us⁷: "Al-Zuhri had shed blood unintentionally, so he went out and left his folk and pitched a tent and said: 'No roof of a house shall overshadow me.' And 'Ali ibn Husain passed by and said to him: 'O Ibn Shihâb, thy despair is greater than thy guilt. Fear God, ask His pardon, pay the blood-due to the people of the slain, and return to thine own folk.' And Al-Zuhri

(1) *Ibn Qutaiba* Ma'arif 239. وكان أبو جده عبد الله بن شهاب شهيد مع المشركين بدرًا

(2) *Ibid.* وكان حدًا للفرا لذي ين تعاقدا يوم احدثنوا وارسول الله ليقتلنه او ليقتلان ونفوهم عبد الله بن شهاب وابي بن خلف وبن قمئة وعتبة بن ابي وقاص See further *Waqidi* (Wellhausen) 116 Ibn Sa'd, IVa, 92.

(3) *Ibn Hisham* 571. قال ابن هشام وذكر ربيع بن عبد الرحمن بن ابي سعيد الخدري عن ابيه عن ابي سعيد الخدري ان عتبة بن ابي وقاص رمى رسول الله معلم يومئذ فسكر باعبته اليمنى السفلي وجرح شفته السفلى وان عبد الله بن شهاب لزهري شجه في جبته

(4) *Ibn Hisham*, 574 *Tabari*, I, 1407.

(5) *Ibn Qutaiba* 239 وكان ابو مسلم بن عبيد الله مع ابن الزبير

(6) *Ibn Hajar* IX, 451. وروى عن عنبسة عن يونس عن ابن شهاب قال وفد الى مروان وانا محتل

(7) V. 158. اخبرنا علي بن محمد عن يزيد بن عداض قال اعاب الزهري وما خطا فخرج وترك اهله وضرب سطاطا وقال لا يظاني سقيف بيت فمر به علي بن حسين فقال يا ابن شهاب قتلوا طلك اشد فائق اله واستغفروا وابعثوا الى اهله بالديقوا رجع الى اهلك فكان الزهري يقول علي بن الحسين اعظم الناس علي ممة

used to say : 'Ali ibn Husain has, of all men, the greatest claim to my gratitude.' If the Shi'a historian 'Ya'qûbî¹ is right, Al-Zuhri already in his young days had placed himself at the disposal of the Khalîfah 'Abdul Malik in his war against Abdullah ibn Al-Zubair ; as, for instance, when 'Abdul Malik made the attempt to have the pilgrimage to Jerusalem decreed as meritorious as that to Mecca—This he did at the time when the anti-Khalîfah resided at Mecca—it is alleged that he replied to those who complained of the ban upon the pilgrimage to Mecca : "This Ibn Shihâb Al-Zuhri tells you how the Prophet (Allah bless and keep him !) said : 'The saddles shall be made fast (to the camels) only for three holy places, the Masjidu'l-Harâm (Mecca), my Masjid (Al-Madînah) and the Beytu'l Maqdis (Jerusalem)'." As a matter of fact we find a Hadîth of this import—with several variations—in all the six canonical compilations (of Hadîth) as well as in the Musnad of Ahmad ibn Hanbal ; for which the Isnâd often runs : Al-Zuhri from Sa'id ibn Al-Musaiyab from Abu Huraira, but often also otherwise, with no mention of Al-Zuhri. That 'Abdul Malik should have appealed to Al-Zuhri to secure consideration for this Hadîth is only probable if he quotes also the authorities of Al-Zuhri. For if the utterance of the Khalîfah was ever made, it must have been between the years 65 and 73 A.H., during the existence of Abdullah's anti-Khilâfat, and probably in 72 A.H., in which year 'Abdul Malik, as the still extant inscription tells us, erected the Qubbat as-Sakhrah in Jerusalem ; but in the year 73 A.H. Al-Zuhri was only 23 years old, perhaps considerably younger, and his name as an expert in tradition cannot then have had so much prestige that 'Abdul Malik could have hoped for any special result from naming him *alone*. If the report of 'Ya'qûbî deserves any credence at all, then we must take it that Al-Zuhri rushed to 'Abdul Malik from Madînah to communicate to him a Hadîth heard from the authorities in Madînah, of which he could hope that it would help the Khalîfah in his political projects. That he himself invented it, as some have implied, is unbelievable. It was not difficult for people in Damascus to ascertain whether

(1) *Ed. Houtsma* II. 311. وقالوا تمنعنا من حج بيت الله الحرام
وهو فرض من الله علينا فقال لهم عبد الملك هذا ابن شيبان الزهري يعد لكم ان
رسول الله قال لا تشدوا له حبال الا الى ثلاثة مساجد المسجد الحرام
ومسجدى ومسجد بيت المقدس

the Hadîth was known among the recognised masters in Madînah, and any who had doubts would hardly have neglected to institute inquiries. Whatever one may think about the authenticity of the Hadîth, there is no ground whatever to doubt but that Al-Zuhri really had heard the Hadîth from the mouth of Sa'id ibn Al-Musaiyab, of whom moreover we are several times informed—he was renowned as an interpreter of dreams¹—that he interpreted a certain dream communicated to him to the detriment of the anti-Khalîfah and in favour of 'Abdul Malik. 'Umar ibn Habîb ibn Qulai² thus relates : "One day I sat with Sa'id ibn Al-Musaiyab at a time when I was in straitened circumstances and oppressed with debt so that I knew not where to go. There came a man to him and said : 'O Abu Muhammad (the kunya of Sa'id). I have had a dream.' 'What was it?' 'I dreamt that I caught hold of 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwân and forced him to the ground and turned him over on his face and drove four pegs into his back.' Sa'id said : 'Thou didst not dream it.' 'Yes, I dreamt it.' Sa'id said 'No. Shall I tell thee, or wilt thou tell me?' He said, 'Ibn Al-Zubair dreamt it and has sent me to thee.' Sa'id said 'His dream is true, 'Abdul Malik bin Marwân will kill him, and out of the loins of 'Abdul Malik spring four sons, each of whom will be Khalîfah'. Then"—Umar continues

(1) *Baladhuri, Ansab. ed. Ahlwerdt 159.* المدائن عن ابراهيم بن سعد ان عبد الملك راى في منامه كان امراته المخزومية قلعته واستهت طعت منه عشرين لطة فبعث الى سعيد بن المسيب من سألته عن الرؤيا فقال تاد منه ولد ايمك عشرين سنة. *Ibid 233.* المدائن قال راى عبد الملك كان في الكعبة فبعث الى سعيد بن المسيب من سألته عن ذلك

(2) *Ibn Sa'd V. 91.* كنت جالسا عند سعيد بن المسيب يوما وقد ضاقت علي الاشياء ورهقني دين فجلست الى ابن المسيب ما اذرى ابن اذ هب فجاءه رجل فقال يا ابا محمد اني رايت رؤيا قال ما هي قال رايت كاني اخذت عبد الملك بن مروان فاضجعت الى الارض ثم بطحته فاودت في ظهره اربعة اوتاد قال ما انت رايتها قال بلى انارايتها قال لا اخبرك او تخبرني قال ابن الزبير راها وهو بعثني اليك قال لكن صدقت روياه قتله عبد الملك بن مروان وخرج من صلب عبد الملك اربعة كلهم يكون خليفة قال فدخلت الى عبد الملك بن مروان بالاشام فاخبرته بذلك عن سعيد بن المسيب فسرته وسألني عن سعيد وعن حاله فاخبرته وامر لي بقضاء ديني واصبت منه خيرا

In *Baladhuri, Ansab 233* the narrator is called *Habib Ibn Mani*.

.—“ I went to ‘Abdul Malik in Damascus and brought these tidings to him in the name of Sa’id, whereupon he questioned me concerning Sa’id and paid my debts. In the same manner as this ‘Umar, Al-Zuhri also acted—if the statement of Ya’qûbi is at all to be believed when he carried a Hadith which he had heard from Sa’id’s mouth to the Khalifah in the hope of a reward. Anyhow, Al-Zuhri did not then stay long in Damascus, if he went there at all. His permanent emigration thither took place later, as he himself states¹, “ at the time when Ibn-Al-Ash’ath was rebellious ” (i.e., in the year 81 or 82 A.H.²). He went first to Qabîsa, ‘Abdul Malik’s keeper of the Seal³, with whom the Khalifah even when Governor of Madînah had been on confidential terms⁴. Qabîsa introduced him to ‘Abdul Malik⁵, for which an opportunity was afforded when the Khalifah once inquired: ‘Which of you knows the legal decision concerning the handmaiden who has borne children to her lord?’ Thereupon Al-Zuhri was mentioned and he was brought to the Khalifah, who asked him of his origin, made a remark upon Zuhri’s father’s participation in the revolt of the anti-Khalifah, bade him then sit down, and paid his debts⁶. Like so many before him, he had gone to Damascus in the hope to free himself from harsh financial circumstances⁷. According to

(1) *Bukhari, Tarikh*. 93 قد مر منذ مشق زمن تحرک ابن الاشعث

(2) *Tabari*. II. 1052 وفى هذه السنة (يعنى سنة ٨١) خالف عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الاشعث الحجاج ومن معه من جند العراق واقتلوا اليه لحر به فى قول ابى مخنف وروايته لذك عن ابى المخارق الراصبى واما الواقدى فانه زعم ان ذلك كان فى سنة ٨٢

(3) *Ibn Sa’d VII b, 157*. قبيصة بن ذؤيب روى عنه الزهرى وكان على خاتم عبد الملك بن مروان

(4) *Baladhuri, Ansab*. 257. قال (يعنى قبيصة بن ذؤيب) كنا فى خلافة معاوية فى آخرها نجتمع فى حلقة فى المسجد بالليل انا ومصعب بن الزبير وعبد الملك بن مروان

(5) *Ibn Sa’d VII, b 157*. هواد خل الزهرى على عبد الملك also *Ibn Qutaiba, Ma’arif* 228.

(6) *Dhahabi* 70. فجا لس قبيصة بن ذؤيب فارسل عبد الملك الى الحلقة منكم يحفظ القضاء فى امهات الاولاد قلت انا فادخلت عليه فقال من انت فاذنبت له فقال ان كان ابوك للعارافى الفتن اجلس فساله مسائل وقضى دينه

(7) *Dhahabi ibid*. ما قس حال الزهرى فخرج الى الشام

another account the Khalîfah had first made inquiries concerning Al-Zuhri from Sa'îd, through his Governor in Madînah¹. All these accounts fail to chime with Ya'qûbi's report, according to which 'Abdul Malik must have known Al-Zuhri a long time and the latter would not have required a special introduction to the Khalîfah nor a favourable judgment of Sa'îd. Perhaps Ya'qûbi's statement rests solely on this fact, that the name of Al-Zuhri was remembered in later times as that of the one renowned Muhaddith who had stood on intimate terms with 'Abdul Malik, and that people antedated that intimacy by ten years. This may have happened the more easily because, as we have seen, his name does in truth occur in the Isnâd of the Hadith in question.

Under the successors of 'Abdul Malik, who appointed him a fixed income², Al-Zuhri stayed on in Damascus. He informs us³ that he went to Al-Walîd ibn 'Abdul Malik in order to sue for the hand of Bint Malik ibn Shihâb. The story-tellers seem to have magnified this event, for, as we learn from the Fihrist⁴, there was a "Book of Al-Zuhri and his girl-cousin who journeyed to Hishâm ibn 'Abdul Malik⁵." The substitution for Al-Walîd of his brother Hishâm occurs elsewhere as we shall see presently. Under 'Umar II (99-101 A.H.) Al-Zuhri decided legal questions; and that 'Umar's successor Yazîd II appointed him judge, is more than once recorded⁶. But Yazîd II expected from Al-Zuhri quite another sort of knowledge than that which a judge requires for the discharge of his duties. He turned to him not in vain on one occasion

(1) *Bukhari, Tarikh.* 93. قال من انتقلت محمد بن مسلم بن عبيد الله ثم كعب الى هشام بن اسمعيل ان ابعث الى سعيد بن المسيب فسئل

(2) *Ibn Sa-'d, VII b 157. Also Ibn Qutaiba 228.* ورواه ففرض له وصار من اصحابه

(3) *Bukhari, Tarikh* 104. قال سمعت الزهري قال قدمت على الوليد بن عبد الملك اخطب اليه ابنة عمي ابنة مالك بن شهاب فتعشينا ثم خرجنا الى

(4) *Fihrist* 307. كتاب الزهري وابنة عمه الذين ساروا الى هشام بن عبد الملك

(5) *Ibn Abdalhakam, ed. Torrey* 104. ثم خاصم فيها الا صبغ اليه وابن شهاب قاضيه يومئذ فقضى ابن شهاب لابن خازجة بالدار

(6) *Dhahabi, 72* جعل يزيد بن عبد الملك ابن شهاب قاضياً
وكان يزيد بن عبد الملك استقضا

when he wished for information as to the author of a poem¹.

"Yazīd and his slave-girl Habbâbah were on a roof at night, and she sang him a song of Al-Ahwas. He said to her 'Who composed this song?' She replied, 'By thine eyes, I know not.' Half the night had already gone when he said: 'Send to Al-Zuhri, perhaps he knows something about it.' Then they went to Al-Zuhri and knocked at his door, and he went to Al-Yazīd full of fear. When he had climbed up to him, Yazîd said to him: 'Fear not. I have summoned thee only for something good. Sit down! Who composed this song?' 'Al-Ahwas ibn Muhammad' (the Madani poet, whom the Khalifah Suleymân had exiled to Dahlak) 'O Prince of Believers.' 'What is he doing?' 'He has been long in exile in Dahlak.' 'I am surprised at 'Umar' (the successor of Suleymân) that he did not grieve for him,' exclaimed Yazîd. Thereupon he ordered him to be set at liberty and presented him with 400 dînârs. Al-Zuhri, for his part, returned and carried the glad news to his folk, the Ansâr."

Just as here Al-Zuhri contributed to the release of one of his Madani fellow-countrymen, so did he at other times seek to benefit the folk of his native city. He gave pieces of good advice to the Governor of Hijjâz appointed by Yazîd in 101 A.H., before he went to his post, which advice, however, the new governor for his own advantage did not follow².

(1) *Aghani*, IV 49. فبينما يزيد بن عبد الملك وجاريتة حبابة ذات ليلة على سطح تغنيه بشعر الاحوص قال لها من يقول هذا لشعر قالت لا وعينيك ما ادرى قال وقد كان ذهب من الليل شطرا فقال بعثوا الى ابن شهاب الزهري فعسى ان يكون عنده علم من ذلك فاتي الزهري فقرع عليه بابا به فخرج مروعا الى يزيد فلما صعد اليه قال له يزيد لا ترع لم ندعك الا للخير - اجلس - من يقول هذا لشعر قال الاحوص بن محمد يا امير المؤمنين قال ما فعل قال قد طال حديثه بد هلك قال قد عجبت لعمر كيف اغفله ثم امر بتخلية سبيله وذهب له اربعمائة دينار فاقبل الزهري من ليلته الى قومه من الانصار فبشرهم بذلك

(2) *Tabari*. II, 1452. قال محمد بن عمر حدثني ابراهيم بن عبد الله بن ابي فروة عن الزهري قال قلت لعبد الرحمن بن الصالح انك تقدم على قومك وهم ينكرون كل شيء خالف فعلهم فازلزم ما اجمعوا عليه قال الزهري فلم ياخذ بشيء من ذلك وعادى الانصار طرا و ضرب ابا بكر بن حزم ظلما وعدوانا فبطل فما بقى منهم شاعر الا هجاء ولا صالح الا عابه واتاه بالقبائح

Al-Zuhri was famous for his liberality. Qâ'id ibn Asram sang its praises in a poem¹ and Qurrah ibn Abdur Rahmân has said of Zuhri²: "Never have I seen any one to whom dînârs and dirhams mean so little as they do to him." No wonder that he was ever deep in debts, which the new Khalîfah, Hishâm (105-125 A.H.), paid for him³. The latter helped him also with the education of his children⁴, and drew him as well as Abû'l-Zinâd into his society. "Once Al-Zuhri went into the presence of Hishâm, when Abu'l-Zinâd was also present. Hishâm said to him, 'In which month usually is the pay given out to the people of Madînah?' Al-Zuhri replied: 'I know not.' Abû'l-Zinâd, however, answered 'In Muharram.' Then Hishâm said to Al-Zuhri, 'O Abû Bakr, that is a piece of knowledge thou hast gained to-day.' 'It is besides befitting the society of the Prince of Believers that one should gain knowledge there,' replied Al-Zuhri⁵."

The intercourse between the Khalîfah and his learned court-theologian, as Al-Zuhri has been called, did not always run so smoothly. We possess an account of Ash-

(1) *Dhahabi*. 71.

ذُرِّدُوا ثَنَ عَلَى الْكَرِيمِ مُحَمَّدٍ * وَاذْكُرُوا ضَلَّهَ عَلَى الْأَصْحَابِ
وَإِذَا يُقَالُ مِنَ الْجَوَانِ بِمَا لَهُ * قَبْلَ الْجَوَادِ مُحَمَّدُ ابْنُ شَهَابٍ
أَهْلَ الْمَدَائِنِ يَعْرِفُونَ مَكَانَهُ * وَرَفِيعَ نَادِيهِ عَلَى الْأَعْرَابِ

(2) *Dhahabi*. 68. وَقَالَ عَمْرُو بْنُ دِينَارٍ مَا رَأَيْتُ أَنْصَ لِلْحَدِيثِ
مَنْ الزَّهْرِيُّ وَمَا رَأَيْتُ أَحَدًا أَلْدَيْنَارُوا لَدْرَهُمْ أَهْوَنَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْهَا
عِنْدَهُ بِمَنْزِلَةِ الْبَعْرِ

(3) *Ibid*. 70. قَالَ سَعِيدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ أَدَّى هِشَامُ عَنْ الزَّهْرِيِّ
سَبْعَةَ أَلْفٍ دِينَارٍ بَدَأَ

(4) *Ibid*. 70. وَكَانَ يُؤَدِّبُ وَلَدَهُ

(5) *Ibn Khallikan* I. 571. وَحَضَرَ الزَّهْرِيُّ يَوْمَ مَجْلِسِ
هِشَامِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ وَعِنْدَهُ ابْنُ الزَّنَادِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ ذَكْوَانَ فَقَالَ لَهُ
هِشَامُ أَيُّ شَهْرٍ كَانَ يُخْرِجُ الْعَطَاءَ فِيهِ أَهْلُ الْمَدِينَةِ فَقَالَ الزَّهْرِيُّ
لَا أَدْرِي فَسَأَلْتُ ابْنَ الزَّنَادِ فَقَالَ فِي الْمَحْرَمِ فَقَالَ هِشَامُ الزَّهْرِيُّ
يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ هَذَا أَعْلَمُ اسْتَغْفِرُكَ الْيَوْمَ فَقَالَ مَجْلِسُ الْمِيرَا لِمُوْمَنِينَ أَهْلُ
الْبَيْتِ يَسْتَغْفِرُونَ مِنْهُ الْعَلَمُ

Shâfi¹, which the last-named had learnt from his uncle and which runs: "Suleymân ibn Al-Yasâr went in once to the presence of Hishâm, who asked him: Who is the person intended in the verse of the Qurân which runs: *He who undertook to magnify it* (i.e., the slander of A'ishah, Sûrah 24, 11)." He answered: 'It was 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy.' 'Thou liest,' cried the Khalîfah, 'it was 'Alî. O Ibn Shihâb, who was it?'—"Abdullah ibn Ubayy"—'Thou, liest; it was 'Alî'—'I lie? By Allah, if a voice from Heaven proclaimed that Allah had permitted lying, still I would not lie. We have heard Sa'id ibn Al-Musaiyab and 'Urwa and 'Alqamah announce in the name of A'ishah that *he who undertook to magnify it* was 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy.' Then the people urged one another on against him, but Hishâm said: 'Go away! It is not fitting that we should pass on traditions transmitted by a man like thee!' Then said Al-Zuhri: 'What! Have I used force to thee, or thou to me? Leave me alone!' 'No,' answered the Khalîfah, 'but thou hast debts amounting to one million.' 'Thou knowest, and thy father knew it, that I never laid that sum on thee or on thy father as a debt.' Then Hishâm said, 'We wish not to excite the Shaikh,' spoke a word and paid a million for him. This was told to Al-Zuhri, whereupon he said: 'Praise be to Allah from whom this comes.'" According to other accounts² it was not Hishâm but Al-Walîd, who made the vain attempt to induce Al-Zuhri to transfer the guilt of Ibn Ubayy to 'Alî.

(1) *Dhahabi*, 72. ثنا محمد بن ادریس الشافعی ثنا عمی قال دخل
سليمان بن يسار علي هشام فقال من الذي تولى كبره منهم قال عبد الله
بن ابي بن سلول فقال كذبت هو علي يا بن شهاب من هو قال عبد الله
بن ابي فقال كذبت هو علي قال انا كذب لا بالك فوالله لو ناداني
مئذ من السماء ان الله احل الكذب ما كذبت حدثنى سعيد بن المسيب
وعروة وعبيد الله وعلقمة بن وقاص عن عائشة ان الذي تولى كبره عبد الله
بن ابي قال فلم يزل القوم يفرون به فقال له هشام ارحل فوالله ما ينبغي
لنا ان نحمل عن مثلك قال ولم انا غصبتك على نفسك اوانت اغصبتني
فخلعني قال لا ولكنك استدنت الف الف فقال قد علمت وابوك قبلك
اني ما استدنت هذا لما لك عليك ولا على ابيك فقال هشام انا ان
نهيج الشيع و ذكر كلمة فامر فقضى عنه الف الف فا خبر بذلك فقال
الحمد لله الذي هذا هو من عنده

(2) *Bukhari, Maghazi, bab. 34.* عن الزهري قال لي الوليد بن عبد الملك. Cf. also the parallel passages in *Fathalbari*. VII. 336 also *Firk, Muhammad ibn Ishaq* 10. Note 34.

Abû Zinâd¹ reports another conversation of Al-Zuhri with Hishâm: "I went into the presence of Hishâm when Al-Zuhri was with him, and they both were blaming the prince Al-Walîd ibn Yazîd. I held aloof and took no part in the discourse concerning him. Shortly after, permission was begged for Al-Walîd to enter, he obtained permission, came in, sat down full of rage, and went away again. After Hishâm was dead and Al-Walîd had assumed the government, he wrote to Al-Madînah and I was summoned and came before him, and he said: 'Rememberest thou the words of the Squinter (Hishâm) and Al-Zuhri?'—'Yes, but I took no kind of part therein.'—'That is true. Knowest thou who told me?'—'No'—'The servant who stood before him. If the criminal Al-Zuhri were still alive, I would have killed him.' " But Al-Zuhri too had been well aware of what he had to expect if Al-Walîd came to power, and had decided to flee into the territory of the Byzantine empire² as soon as Hishâm should die. He did not however live till the accession of Al-Walîd II (125-A.H.). He died on the 17th of Ramadan 124 A.H.³, and was buried at Shaghb in the Hijjâz, on the estate which the ruling family had bestowed on him⁴.

(1) *Aghani*. II. 103. حدثنى عبد الله بن عمر وابن أبي سعد قال حدثت أن أبا الزناد قال دخلت على هشام بن عبد الملك وعنده الزهري وهما يعيبان الوليد فاعترضت ولم ادخل فبني شيء من ذكره فلم ألبس أن استوفين للوليد فادن له فدخل وهو مغضب فجلس قليلا ثم نهض فلما مات هشام وولى الوليد كتب الي المدينة فحملت فدخلت عليه فقال اذكر قول الا حول والزهري قلت نعم وما عرضت في شيء من امرك قال صدقت تدري من ابغى ذلك قلت لا قال اخادم اولا وقف على راسه وايم الله لو بقى الفاسق الزهري لقتلته

(2) *Ibid*. حدثنى مصعب عن أبي الزناد قال اجمع الزهري على أن يدخل الي بلاد الروم ان ولى الوليد بن يزيد فمات الزهري قبل ذلك

(3) *Dhahabi*. 74. قال نمر بن زبيبة وغيره مات سنة ثلاث وعشرين 124 ومذاهم وقال ابراهيم بن سعد وطائفة سنة اربع وعشرين وقال الزبير بن يكار وغيره سنة اربع في سبع عشر رمضان بشغب في امواله وشذ ابن يونس الصدي في فقال في رمضان سنة خمس وعشرين ومائة والصحيح سنة اربع

(4) *Ibn Qutaiba*. 239 ودفن بماله على قارعة الطريق بيمر مار فمدعوله 239 والموضع الذي دفن به اخر عمل الحجاز واول عمل فلسطين وبه ضيعة Compare also *Firk*, *Muhammad ibn Ishaq* 10. Note. 39.

Even after his migration to Damascus Al-Zuhri often stayed in the Hijjâz¹. As late as in 119 A.H. we find him engaged in the pilgrimage². But above all he had spent his student years in Al-Madînah and had laid the foundation of that learning which later procured him such great influence in the capital of the Khalîfah. He himself tells us³ how he first studied the genealogy of his own race with Abdullah ibn Tha'labâ; then, when his teacher referred a man who addressed a question on the law of marriage to him to Sa'id ibn Al-Musaiyab, he too had recourse to Sa'id. "Sa'id had great consideration among men on account of his personal qualities, his complete abstemiousness and purity, because he spoke the truth before the rulers and others, held aloof from the mighty, and possessed a learning which no other equalled and a well-grounded judgment. I dared not face him with a point-blank question, but I said: Such and such a man has said so and so, whereupon he used to answer." Similarly it is stated in another account⁴: "We sat with Ibn Al-Musaiyab without questioning him till a man came and addressed a question to him. That roused him to impart Hadîth to us, or he of his own accord began to impart it." Tha'labâ ibn Abî Malik, also, directed Al-Zuhri to Sa'id, and he "sat for ten long years with him as it

(1) *Dhahabi*. 70. وفد الزهري على عبد الملك واستوطن الشام وكان

يتردد الى الحجاز ويحج

(2) *Tabari*. II. 1635. (يعنى سنة ١١٩). وحج بالناس في هذه السنة

: أبو شامة مسلمة بن هشام بن عبد الملك وحج معه ابن شهاب الزهري في هذه السنة

كفنا جالس عبد الله بن ثعلبة بن معير العذري (3) *Ibn Sa'd*. II. 131.

أتعلّم منه نسب قومي فأتاه رجل جاهل يسأله عن المطلقة واحدة فثنتين ثم تزوجها

رجل ودخل بها ثم طلقها على كم ترجع الى زوجها الاول قال لا ادري

أذهب الى ذاك الرجل وأشار له الى سعيد بن المسيب قال فقلت في نفسي

هذا أقدم من سعيد بدهر أخبرني أنه عقل رسول الله صلعم مبين على وجهه

فقمنا فابتعدنا لسائل حتى سأل سعيد بن المسيب فزمت سعيد فكان

هو الغالب على علم المدية والمستفتي... وكان لسعيد عند الناس قدركبير

عظيم لخصال ورع يا بس ونزاهة وكلام بحق عند السلطان وغيرهم ومجانبة

السلطان وعلم لا يشاكه علم أحد وراي بعد صليب... ما استطعت ان

أواجه بمسئلة حتى أقول قال فلان كذا وكذا وقال فلان كذا وكذا

فيجب حينئذ

وكان نجاش ابن المسيب لانساه حتى ياتيه انسان (4) *Dhahabi*. 89.

فيساله فيهيجه ذلك فيحدث او يريدني هو فيحدث

had been a day¹." With Sa'id, Al-Zuhri reckons three other men as "the four seas of Quraish," 'Urwa, Abu Salâma ibn 'Abdur Rahman and 'Ubaidullah ibn 'Abdullah ibn 'Utha²; and he compares the substance of the learning he received from 'Urwa, whom he distinguishes as "the inexhaustible sea³," with that which he obtained from 'Ubaidullah⁴. "I frequented the society of no learned man without being convinced of having attained that which he possessed. I went to 'Urwa until I heard from him nothing but what was familiar. It was different with 'Ubaidullah. Never did I come to him without finding some new learning." For 'Ubaidullah, Al-Zuhri also performed services such as bescem a pupil⁵: "I used to draw water for him, and when he said to his slave-girl 'Who is at the door?' she answered, 'Thy slave with the tearful eyes'." 'Ubaidullah, who as we have already seen (in a former article) was also a poet—Ibn 'Abdul Barr said of him that there was never a faqîh who was a greater poet and never a poet who had a better knowledge of Fiqh than 'Ubaidullah—also addressed verses to Al-Zuhri, which are preserved in the *Kitabu'l-Aghani*⁶.

Because Al-Zuhri had taken to himself the learning of 'Urwa, Sa'id and 'Ubaidullah, 'Irāk ibn Mālik⁷

(1) *Ibn Sa'd*. IIb. 131. كُنت ا جالس ثعلبة بن ا بى مالك قال فقال لى يو ما تريد هذا قال قلت نعم قال عليك بسعيد بن ا لمسيب قال فجا استه عشر سنين كيوم واحد

(2) *Ibid*. عن معمر قال سمعت ا لزهري يقول ا دركت من قریش ا ربعة بحور سعيد بن ا لمسيب و عروة بن ا لزيبر و ا با سلمة بن عبد ا لرحمن و عبید ا لله بن عبد ا لله بن عتبة

(3) *Ibid*. 134. حد ثنى ا بو يوسف الما جشون ا نه سمع ابن شهاب يقول كُنت ا اذا حد ثنى عروة ثم حد ثنى عروة يصدق عندى حد يث عروة فلما تبهر تهما ا ذا عروة ببحر لا ينزف

(4) *Ibn Hajar*. VII. 23. عن ا لزهري قال ما جالست ا حد ا من ا لعلماء الا و ا رى ا فى قد ا تيت على ما عنده و قد كُنت ا خلت الى عروة حتى ما كُنت ا سمع منه الا معاد ا ما خلا عبید ا لله بن عتبة فانه لم ا ته الا وجدت عنده علما طرية

(5) *Dhahabi*. 71. عن ا لزهري قال قد كُنت استقى لعبید ا لله بن عبد ا لله . 71. فيقول لجا رية من بالبا ب فتقول غلامك ا لا امش

(6) *Aghani*. VIII. 92.

(7) *Ibn Hajar*. IX. 448. وقال ا اليث عن جعفر بن ربيعة قلت لعرا ك بن مالك من افقه اهل ا لمد ينة فذكر سعيد بن ا لمسيب و عروة بن عبد ا لله قال عرا ك و اعلمهم عندي جميعا ابن شهاب لانه جمع علمهم الى علمه

calls him the most learned of the Madanis. Similar approving judgments are frequent, and the one thing which is objected to him is the intimate intercourse with the Umayyad Khalîfah. Thus Makhûl exclaims¹: "What a man is Al-Zuhri: If he only had not spoilt himself by his commerce with the king!" Al-Zuhri himself, however, when contrasting the taciturnity of one of his pupils with his own readiness to impart his knowledge², boasts: "Never has a human being spread this knowledge as I have spread it, nor given it away as I have given it."

Famed also is his versatility³. Al-Leyth says: "I have never seen any one who possessed more learning than Al-Zuhri. If thou wert to hear him speak, exhorting men to goodness, thou wouldst say, This man alone understands it properly; if thou wert to hear him discourse of genealogy, thou wouldst say this man alone has knowledge of it, and when he speaks of the Qurân and the Sunnah, then his Hadîth is something comprehensive."

To Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd's question to his father, "In what did Al-Zuhri surpass you?" the father replied⁴: "He used to approach assemblies from the front and not from behind, in no assembly did he leave a youth or grown-up man or old woman or woman of maturity unquestioned; then he went to the houses of the Ansâr and there too he left no youth nor grown-up man, nor crone nor full-grown woman unquestioned, and he succeeded in visiting even ladies in their chambers." According to Ibn Sa'd⁵ the answer runs somewhat otherwise: "Ibn Shihâb

(1) *Dhahabi*. 72 وروى على بن حوشب الفزارى عن مكحول
قال ابي رجل الزهرى لو لا انه افسد نفسه بصحبة الملك

(2) *Ibid*. 69. فقال ما نشر احد من الناس هذا العلم نشرى ولا
بذله بذلى

(3) *Ibn Hajar*, IX, 448. وقال ابو صالح عن الليث ما رايت عالما
اجمع من ابن شهاب ولا اكثر علما منه لم يسمعته يحدث شيئا ليرغب لقلت لا يحسن
الا هذا وان حدث عن الانساب لقلت لا يعرف الا هذا وان حدث
عن القرآن والسنة كان حديثه نوعا جامعاً

(4) *Dhahabi* 69. وقال ابراهيم بن سعد بما ناقم الزهرى قال كان ياتى المجالس
من صدورها ولا ياتى بها من خلفها ولا يبقى فى المجلس شاب ولا كحلة
ولا عجوز ولا كحلة الا سألهم حتى يعاين ربات المجالس

(5) *Ibn Sa'ad*. II. B. 135. قال يعقوب بن ابراهيم بن سعد عن ابيه
قال انما ما سبقنا ابن شهاب بشي من العلم الا انكنا نأتى المجالس
فيستقبل وليشد ثوبه عند صدره ويسئل عما يريد وكنا تمنعنا الحداد

was preferred above us in learning only because we approached assemblies whereas he confronted them, tucked up his cloak and questioned as he pleased, while our youth hindered us from doing the like." His indefatigable zeal for collecting reports was supported by a remarkable memory, which he tried to strengthen by the use of honey¹. "He used to hold nightly converse with honey as the wine-drinker does with wine." It is related² that Hishâm once put his memory to the proof; he asked him to dictate something for one of his sons, whereupon he called a scribe and dictated to him a hundred *ahadith*. When, after some time, Hishâm again met Al-Zuhri he said: "The dictation has been lost." "That is no matter," answered Al-Zuhri, called for a scribe and dictated the *ahâdith*; and when Hishâm compared them with the first dictation he found not a single letter left out.

For compilers of Hadîth to write down the reports collected by them for their own use was, as we have seen, not uncommon even among the Tâbi'ûn. One such, Al-Zuhri's fellow-student and later his companion at the court of Hishâm, Abû'l-Zinâd³, relates of him: "I used to go about with Al-Zuhri, who had tablets and sheets of paper with him, for which we laughed at him; he, however, wrote down all that he heard." Similarly Muḥammad ibn 'Ikrimah⁴ reports: "Ibn Shihâb went often to Al A'raj, who used to write copies of the Qurân, in order to question him about Hadîth, which he then wrote down and, when he had committed it to memory, tore up the page."

- (1) *Dhahabi* 70. وكان يسمي على العسل كما يسمي أهل الشرا ب. على شرا بهم ويقول اسقونا واحاد ثونا
- (2) *Ibid.* 69. وقال سعيد بن عبد العزيز سال هشام بن عبد الملك الزهري ان يملئ علي بعض واده فدعا بكتاب واملئ عليه اربعمائة حد يث ثم خرج وقال اين انتم يا اصحاب الحد يث فحد ثم بتلك الا ربعمائة ثم لقي هشاما بعد شهيرا ونحوه فقال للزهري ان ذاك الكتاب قد ضاع قال لا عليك فدعا بكتاب فاملاها عليه ثم قال بل هشام بالكتاب لا ول فما غادر حرفا
- (3) *Ibid.* 67. وقال عبد الرحمن بن ابي الرقاد عن ابيه كذا طوفنا والزهري ومعه الواح ومصحف فكانا نضحك بهو كان يكتب كل ما سمع فلما احتيج اليه علمت انه اعلم الناس
- (4) *Ibid.* وقال ابراهيم بن سعد عن محمد بن عكرمة بن عبد الرحمن قال كان ابن شهاب يختلف الى الاعرج وكان الاعرج يكتب له مصحف فاستأجره عن الحد يث ثم يكتبه ثم يحفظه فاذا حفظ الحد يث مرزق الرقة

And Sâlih ibn Kaisân¹ likewise relates: "I and Al-Zuhri, both of us, were seekers after knowledge. And he said: Come! let us write down the traditions (*as-sunan*), and we wrote down all that came from the Prophet (Allah bless and keep him!). Then he said: Come! let us write down what has come from the Companions, and he wrote but I wrote not, so he succeeded and I failed." In all these accounts it is a question of notes taken down for personal use. That such notes should be made accessible to the public was, however, something new². Perhaps 'Umar II was the first to urge the learned to such a course. We have already seen that he gave 'Abdullah Ibn Abî Bakr a commission to that effect, and according to other accounts Al-Zuhri received a similar charge from him³. In a sentence reported by Ma'mar, at any rate, Al-Zuhri makes "these Amîrs" responsible for his breach with his former custom of reticence. "We had an aversion to record knowledge till these Amîrs forced us to it; since when we were of the opinion that we should not withhold it from any of the Muslims⁴." In fact, Hishâm had, as we have seen, commanded him to dictate Hadîth to a scribe, and that he originally had scruples against dictating Hadîth or allowing his lectures to be copied, we may conclude from the evasive answer⁵ which he gave to Al-Leyth when the latter entreated: "O Abu Bakr (the

(1) *Ibid.* وقال صالح بن كيسان كنت اطلب العلم انا والزهرى فقال تعالى نكتب السنن قال فكتبنا ما جاء عن النبي صلعم ثم قال تعالى نكتب ما جاء عن الصحابة قال فكتب ولم اكتب فانجم وضيعت

(2) What 'Abdulmalik wanted from 'Urwa was written information concerning the course of certain events and not communication of the *Hadith* concerning them. Perhaps that was the reason why 'Urwa added no *isnad*.

(3) v, *Goldziher: Muhammadanische Studien* II, 210.

(4) *Ibn Sa'd* II b. 135. واخبرت عن عبد الرزاق ثنا معمر عن الزهرى قال كنا نكره كتاب العلم حتى اكرهنا عليه هو لا امرأه فراينا ان لا يمنعه احد من المسلمين

Apud Dhahabi 71. See also *Goldziher: Muhammadanische Studien*, II. 38.

(5) *Dhahabi* 68. وقال سعيد بن ابى مریم عن اللیث قلت لابن شهاب یا بابکر لو وضعت للناس هذه الكتب ودونت فتفرغت فقال ما نشر احد من الناس هذا العلم نشری

kunya of Al-Zuhri) if only thou wouldst set down and arrange these books for the people, and wouldst concern thyself with them!" Zuhri's answer was: "No one has divulged this knowledge more than I have," meaning: Everyone can hear from me the Hadith I have collected, but I cannot bring myself to the decision to make them accessible in written form to the public, as thou wishest. It is probable that this declaration belongs to an earlier time than that before cited, which as good as says: Now that we must make our books accessible to the princes, there is no longer any ground for withholding them from others. However, he went very far in this direction and was blamed¹ for having allowed a volume containing Hadith reported by him, which was submitted to him for approval, to be passed on to posterity, without first looking through it. According to one version it was Ibrâhîm ibn Al-Walîd to whom he gave such a permission, though in this connection, as Goldziher has made quite clear² the later Khalifah of that name can hardly be meant. However that may be, it was possible in that way to adduce in the name of Al-Zuhri, reports which he himself never knew. That he invented Hadith, in order to promote the interests of the Umayyads, is, however, unacceptable.

From a statement of Al-Zuhri's pupil, Ma'mar, we gather that in the library of the Umayyads at Damascus there were heaps of volumes which contained the learned material collected by Al-Zuhri. The statement runs³: "We were of opinion that we had heard much from Al-Zuhri till Al-Walîd was killed; for then volumes from his treasure-chambers were loaded upon beasts of burden. He (Ma'mar) means: filled with the learning of Al-Zuhri." The statement dates from the time following the murder of Walîd II in 126 A.H. Walîd we already know as the enemy of Al-Zuhri. He had, however, no reason to destroy the notes written or dictated by Al-Zuhri at the

(1) *Ibid.* 69. وقال انس بن عياض عن عبيد الله بن عمر قال كنت اري الزهري يعطي الكتاب فلا يقرأه ولا يقرأ عليه فيقال له نروى هذا عنك فيقول نعم

(2) *Goldziher: Muhammadanische Studien* II, 38. Note 2.

(3) *Ibn Sa'd*, II b. 136. واخبرت عن عبد الرزاق قال سمعت معمر بن قيس قال كنا نرى انفاذا كثيرا عن الزهري حتى قتل الوليد فاذا الدفاتر قد حملت على الدواب من خزائنه يقول من عام الزهري
compare also *Dhahabi* 71.

command of his predecessors. In comparison with this statement of Ma'mar, which amounts to historical evidence, the alleged pious exclamation of Al-Zuhri's wife, has only anecdotal importance: "These writings are harder for me to bear than three co-wives!" It is found only in late sources¹, and moreover concerns only the notes written down for his own use, not those given to the public or to particular customers.

Al-Zuhri himself tells us² that he wrote down the "Years of the Khalifahs," a chronological list, from which Tabari has preserved two quotations³, for his grandfather. He further states⁴ that at the command of Khâlid ibn 'Abdullah Al-Qasri he began a work upon the North-Arabian clans, but never finished it. It is evidently this book which Qurra ibn Abdur Rahmân means when he says⁵: "Al-Zuhri wrote only one book, the book of the genealogy of his race." Al-Zuhri received from Khâlid the further commission to write down the *Sîrah* for him⁶. Besides the collections of material noted down for his own use, therefor, Al-Zuhri composed books at the behest of Khâlid as well as of the Umayyads, and in particular wrote also a *Sîrah*. No independent work of his has come to us, however; but only in the collections of the

(1) *Ibn Khallikan*, I. 571. وكان إذا جلس في بيته وضع كتفه حول فيشتغل به عن كل شيء من أمور الدنيا فقالت له امراته يوما والله لهذه الكتب أشد على من ثلاث ضائر.
Cf also *Abul fida*, I. 456.

(2) *Tabari*, II. 428. عن هشام بن الوليد المخرومي أن الزهري كتب لجدته أستاذ الخلفاء

(3) *Ibid.* فكان فيما كتب من ذلك ومات يزيد بن معاوية وهو ابن تسع وثلاثين وكانت ولايته ثلاث سنين وستة أشهر في قول بعضهم ويقال ثمانية أشهر

فقال الزهري في ذلك ما حدثت عن ابن وهب *Ibid* 1269. عن يونس عنه ملك الوليد عشر سنين الأشهر

(4) *Aghani*, XIX. 59. وقال المدائني في مجبره وأخبرني ابن شهاب قال قال لي خالدا بن عبد الله القسري أكتب لي النسب فبدأت بنسب مضروما أتممته فقال قطعها الله مع أولهم

(5) *Dhahabi*, 68. وقال قبة بن عبد الرحمن لم يكن للزهري كتاب إلا كتبت نسب قومه

(6) *Aghani* XIX 59. قال وأكتب لي السيرة فقلت له فانه يمر بي الشيء من سير علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه فاذكره فقال لا إلا قرأه في قعر الجحيم

ahâdîth transmitted by him (under the title *Al-Zuhriyat*) compiled by later writers are preserved a great number of fragments borrowed in the works of biographers of the Prophet and writers on early Islâmic history. Al-Zuhri had, as the quotations in Ibn Sa'd more particularly indicate, dealt with the whole life-story of the Prophet, not only with the Maghâzi in the narrower sense of the word. He himself already employed the term *Sirah* to describe the book¹ he wrote at the command of Khâlid. Al-Zuhri introduces his collected reports generally with *Isnâd*; often, however, the *Isnâd* is lacking. Where he has collected several reports, which all concern the same event, he constructs from the various accounts a collective account, which he prefaces with the collected names of the authorities². He also often introduces into his accounts verses of the actors in the events described. We have already seen that he was a connoisseur of poetry, and Hammâd ibn Zeyd relates that Al-Zuhri, after he had imparted Hadîth, would say: 'Let us now hear something of your poems and stories,³ for the ear is in its dotage, but the soul is eager.'

(1) v. Firk: *Muhammad Ibn Ishaq II* Note 24.

(2) e. g. *Ibn Hisham* 731, *Tabari* I, 15, 18, *Musnad Ahmad*, II, 194.

Bukhari, Sahih: Ifk, bab 1.

حدَّثني الزهري عن علقمه بن وقاص وعن سعيد بن جببر وعن
عروة بن الزبير وعن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عتبة قال كل قد حدثني بعض
هؤلاء الحديث وبعض القوم كان ادعى له من بعض وقد جمعت
لك اذني حدَّثني القوم

(3) *Dhahabi*. 73. وقال حماد بن زيد كان الزهري بعد ث ثم يقول
هاتوا من اشعاركم واحاد يثكم فان الاذن معجاة والنفس حمضة

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

(To be continued.)

THE INDIAN SAPPHO

All I can claim to have contributed to Indian culture is contained in my book "The Lady of the Lotus" and it was time that a gap was filled and an attempt made to elucidate the lives of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati, whose lore is a classical subject of Indian art and a classical theme of Indian romance. And parenthetically and with all due regard for "Mother India" it may be noted that when that venerable lady indulges in romance, she enters into it with no reluctant feet. She discards the vesture of prose and shows romance in all the glorious nudity of poetry.

In the criticisms of my book—good, bad or indifferent—there has been a great disappointment. In Rup Mati's verses, I had made to my mind the discovery of a great poetess. In the best of them there is a simplicity, a directness of pure passion, which only the great Greek poetess can rival. To these comparatively little attention has been directed, though, like Sappho, she can compress a life history into a stanza.

Take No. IX :—

Dead is the day, when thou wast one with me,
As I with thee :

Now I am I and thou art thou again,
Not one but twain :

What cause gave we for thy malignity,
O Destiny ?

So far, however, as critics have dealt with the verses, they have made it a reproach that no attempt was made to discriminate between what could be considered the actual verses of Rup Mati and what were merely attributions. The criticism is true in detail but not as a whole. In the preface I wrote :

"It may not unreasonably be thought that most of the simple and more passionate poems may well be genuine ; and simplicity and passion are the only criteria to be applied to one, who loved with all her heart, who was

wedded at fifteen and died ere she was twenty-one. It may perhaps be taken as some corroboration of the genuineness of them and of the story, that sixteen of them were obtained from Brahmans in and round Sarangpur. Doubts will be felt, and rightly, over the pieces attributed to her in her resistance to Adham Khan. Some, nay most, of these appear to be the production of later bards, who saw the strength of the situation but were not inspired by its passionate despair. Such bards, however, ordinarily imitate a model and Rup Mati, as tradition states, may in fact have left one. Readers may take their choice : mine is made. Though Rup Mati's chaplet be not entirely of her own weaving, though later bards may have mingled in it flowers of lesser fragrance, its beauty is not doubtful nor is it altogether unworthy of so fair a head."

There, despite critics, an idea is given of the only possible line of differentiation. A further difficulty is added by the fact that, despite my discoveries, no complete certainty about Rup Mati's birth and origin could be attained.

However, since criticism seems to have called for my views as to which poems can, on the criteria above laid down, be assigned to Rup Mati, attempt shall be made to satisfy it.

I put down as unquestionably genuine the poem No. I—Rup Mati's love-letter to Baz Bahadur in absence. A more sincere and plainly and purely passionate poem, I do not know. It goes back to the Greek anthology :—

My desperate soul leapt to my lips

To follow thee upon thy way.

Deign now to give it thy command

To cross or stay !

Compare the couplet attributed to Plato which may be roughly translated :

" To my lips leapt my soul

" As my love I was kissing.

" The poor wretch came there

" In hopes of a crossing."

There is Rup Mati's idea expressed in Greek hundreds of years before her advent.

Take her verse from another but still chronological point of view. Take this beautiful stanza.

“Thy twin reflections once abode
In these delighted eyes of mine,
That now, bereft of all thy love,
Unpeopled pine.”

Here is not a throw-back to the verses of the antique world but an anticipation by centuries of one of the favourite phrases of Jacobean poets. It is three centuries older than Donne's “The babies in thine eyes.”

Now to get down to more exact attribution—I have no doubt that the love-letter printed as No. 1 is genuine. It bears the marks of genuine passion in every verse and to my mind there are few poems, in any language or of any period, which can equal it for simplicity, directness and variety of imagery. Little I know can equal the charm of stanzas 13 and 14.

“My heart ne'er bade me take a pen
A fond love-letter to indite :
While thou dost live within my breast,
Why should I write ?
Let lovers unto lovers write,
Who in far distant countries roam :
Why should I write to thee, who mak'st
My heart thy home ?”

There is the appeal of separation, which I have tried myself to elucidate in my book of verse, “The Severing Seas ;” but I bow before a master, possibly I should say a mistress, who before me had said my sayings and said them far better.

I seem to try in vain to get to my subject. Now I will and I will be brief about it. No. 1, as I have said, seems to me undoubtedly genuine. Nos. II—XI are those collected in Malwa and, by tradition, Rup Mati's. I see no reason to doubt tradition. No. XII is from the Bombay Subaltern's book on Mandu. It seems to me the one which Rup Mati might have written before she gave Adham Khan access to her chamber. If these attributions be correct, it may be noticed that all these poems are in Dohas, the simplest and easiest of Hindu metres and the one ordinarily employed for love poetry. This may be an additional director.

Following on these “dohas” come the “Kabittas.” My own view is that, none of these is Rup Mati's own. On the whole they seem to be frigid compositions of learned scribes. Still the story of Rup Mati's Brahman origin makes their attribution possible and they do, at

intervals, contain striking ideas and also poetical ones.

Of the former, let us take the last couplet of No. XIV.

“ What power can reach the poet’s inner sense,
The Miser’s avarice, God’s Omnipotence ?”

—a great idea and closed with the absolute finality, which is the mark of genius. Of poetical ideas No. XVIII may be taken as an example, but of the typical Indian verses, such as no other country could produce, let us take No. XXIV.

“ Man’s mind may fly across the sea
Or linger in a woodland glade,
Now revel in thought’s liberty,
Now in enslavement to a maid,
Be rapt with joy, be mad with fear,
Seek now the moon and now the sun,
How can this fickle bounding deer
Be one with the unchanging one ?”

I have my doubts if this is Rup Mati’s, but, whoever may be the author, he could put the whole philosophy of his country into eight lines of English and four of Hindi and at the same time produce an unforgettable poem.

As for the rest, the last, No. XXVI, though I do not know its origin, seems to me, on the criteria adopted, to be Rup Mati’s.

On re-reading what I have written, it seems unduly personal, but the object is to direct Indian attention to the few surviving poems of one who, in my view, is one of the great love-poets of the world—the Indian Sappho.

L. M. CRUMP.

THE TWO OLDEST BOOKS ON ARABIC FOLKLORE

ONE of the most remarkable phenomena is the total oblivion of the Arabs of the real historical events in the history of South Arabia after that part of the country became converted to Islām. There still lingered for a long time a knowledge of the great past which could not escape the eye on account of the many monumental works and innumerable inscriptions found all over the country. The South Arabians also had still a memory that once their nobles were either by conquest or invitation the chiefs and kings of the North-Arabian tribes. They felt a certain pride in this glorious past and they saw with misgiving that the supremacy had for ever departed to the 'Adnānī tribes and especially to the tribe of Quraish. Their language had differed rather considerably from that of the Northern Arabs and perhaps at the time of the introduction of Islām some persons existed who could decipher the Himyaritic writing, but it is much to be doubted that they could by that time properly read it, as the language of the country had gradually become (through the influence of the poets ?) that of the Northerners. This feeling of pride in their glorious past found its expression in the marked animosity which arose between the two really different nations during the Umayyad Caliphate and found its echo as far as the recently conquered Spain.

This was probably the primary motive from which the two books found their origin, but there was also another motive which must have prompted the author. This was the fact that in the Holy Book certain nations of the forgotten past were named or alluded to ; and naturally the interpreters of the Qur'ān wished to know more about these nations and get reliable information. Both these wants were to be satisfied by the two works in question.

The two books have come down to us, as far as my knowledge goes, in three manuscripts all written in San'a in the Yaman and copied about the same time from one not very accurate original. The first book has the

title *Kitabu't-Tijān fī Akhbārī Mulukī Himyar* "The book of the Crowns concerning the Chronicles of the Kings of Himyār" and is attributed to Abū Muhammad 'Abdu'l-Malik Ibn Hishām, who has long been known as the abbreviator of the biography of the Prophet. He claims in the introductory words to have derived his information, through two intermediaries from Wahb ibn Munabbih, who is well known as a learned Yamanite traditionist. The second book has in the manuscripts no such ambitious title and is simply called *Riwaya 'Obaid ibn Sharya al-Jurhumi* "The Relation of 'Obaid ibn Sharya of the tribe of Jurhum." It has similar objects in view and is possibly a work of the same 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām, though it is more concerned with the poetry of the ancient Himyārites and its bearing upon the events recorded in the prose text.

The *Kitābu't-Tijān* commences with the creation of the world and ends with the history of Saif the son of Dhū Yazan. After an introduction in which Wahb relates that seventy (or sixty-three) books were revealed to the Prophets of the past, he begins with an account of the creation which is unfortunately incomplete as in all manuscripts one leaf has been lost, indicated by a blank. Then follows the creation of Adam, the prostration of the angels before him at the command of the Creator and the refusal of Iblis and his adherents to prostrate themselves, the creation of Eve, the temptation by Iblis and the fall. They are all driven out of the Jannat and the author discusses at some length whether the Jannat was the heavenly paradise or only a place on earth. Then comes the birth of the children of Adam and Eve, and the murder of Abel by Cain (*Qābīl*). The author here continually cites the verses of the Holy Script and the narrative serves rather as a connecting link between the verses cited. The first poems quoted are claimed to be by Adam mourning the death of Abel, but the author inserts the opinion of Jubair ibn Mut'im that the verses are not genuine, but a forgery. All the early patriarchs reach marvellously high ages, and the same is the case with all the subsequent Himyārite kings with few exceptions. Most of the succeeding patriarchs receive fresh and additional revelations from God in the form of sheets of parchment (*Sahīfa*); but, as the earlier ones are not able to read as yet, they are unable to ascertain the contents of the documents (the first who is taught to understand the writing is *Ya'rūb*); but the documents are carefully handed down

from father to son, and the one who for the time being is in possession of the document is the acknowledged ruler of the world.

The rulers run in the following succession: Adam is succeeded by his son Shīth (Seth) under whose rule Qābīl (Cain) is slain by one Lamakh son of Hūsh son of Abel, who is, however, not identical with the Lamekh of the Bible. For all names up to the time of the Flood the author gives also the Hebrew and Syriac names of the persons, and an Arabic translation of the names as to their meaning. These translations are not correct, but they were no doubt intended to make a show of the exceptional learning of the author. Seth is followed by Anūsh who is succeeded in turn by Qainan, Mahlīl, Yārid, Akhnūkh (Enoch) who is here identified with Idrīs, but we shall find a little later another identification. He is followed by Mutashallah (Methuselah), Lamakh and Nūh (Noah). The account of the flood is comparatively brief and it is followed by an enumeration of the nations which descend from the three sons of Nūh who escaped with their wives from the flood, the other persons, who we are told numbered seventy in all, having no offspring. Among the descendants of Yāfīth (Japheth) we find curiously al-Qūt (the Goths), as-Saqālib (the Slavs) and as-Sks, which latter I should like to read Saks (the Saxons). They are mentioned again later in the book as people who live somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Franj and Qūt. After Sām (Shem) follows Arfakhshadh, Shālikh and 'Abir under whose rule the languages were divided at Bābil. All the sons and descendants of Sām with the exception of Fāris (Persia) speak a language similar to Arabic, but it was only under the rule of his son Hūd that he and his brothers began to speak Arabic properly. The descendants of Sām had begun in the time of 'Abir to emigrate from Bābil southward into Arabia, which direction also the descendants of Hām had taken, for they settled first in the Yaman. Hūd was also taught the 29 letters of the Arabic alphabet thus early, the Lām-Alīf making one of the letters. Hūd's eldest son was Qahtān, the ancestor of the South Arabians, or, as the author would like us to believe, of all Arabians except the offspring of Ismā'il who were really Hebrews on account of their having Ibrāhīm (Abraham) as their ancestor. With Ya'rūb begin the wars and expeditions from the Yaman to conquer the whole world, and it was during his active rule that God destroyed 'Ad. The narrative assumes

Hūd to be still alive and it is he who tries to convert the idolatrous tribe to Islām, advising Ya'rūb not to undertake the contemplated punitive expedition against them.

The tale of the destruction of the first tribe of 'Ad by a terrible dust storm, preceded by three years of dearth is told at great length. Hūd had at their request raised from nothing a marvellous city which they named Iram*, but even this did not convert them and they persisted in their iniquities. Only a man named al-Ba'ith with a few followers had repented and were saved and they were the ancestors of the second tribe of 'Ad. The destruction is narrated very vividly and the author is able to give the names of the champions who tried to stop the gap in the mountain defile whence the storm arose. The wonderful city was at a place named al-Hunaibiq, which appears not to be mentioned in other works. 'Ad had sent an embassy to Mecca, which was then already a sacred place; but, spending a whole year in pleasures with some relations, they forgot all about the distress of their people till their host caused two singing girls to sing to them some verses in which they were reproved for their laxity. These two girls were named al-Jarādatain (the two Locusts) and are also otherwise unknown, though strangely enough the same name is in other accounts given to two singers who are said to have been in the service of 'Abdullāh ibn Jud'ān, who lived during the younger years of the Prophet. Under Qahtān the first expeditions were undertaken to the Northern countries. The author appears to have a great predilection for Armenia, which for generations after this is the land invaded. We have here, perhaps, an echo of the wars waged in this part of the world. The king is named al-Askanan b. Jāmūs b. Jalham b. Shād b. 'Aljan b. Yāfith, which may be a reminiscence of the Askhani kings of Persia, who had driven the 'Amalakites to the Iljāz. Ya'rūb is succeeded by Yashjūb who was a sickly man and died after a short reign, and in whose time many nobles made themselves independent. His son and successor, 'Abdu Shams, who was also called Saba', was a different man and his first act on assuming authority was to admonish the descendants of Qahtān that they must fight the other nations and bring them into subjection, or the same would be their fate. His first expedition is also to Bābil and then to Armenia. Then he tries to cross the Jordan to reach Syria, but is

* In an interpolated note Wahb informs us that only one person had ever seen the marvellous city, and this was Tamīm ad-Dāri who saw it in the time of the Caliph 'Omar.

unable to do so on account of the magnitude of the river, and is compelled to build a large bridge which serves for the purpose of conquest in future generations. Then he goes to the Darb (mountain-passes) and from thence to the West where he builds a Misr (city) to be a place of refuge for the people of the East and West in time of adversity. In pursuing the descendants of Hām he reaches the city of Qamūniya, and on his return leaves his son Bābilyūn as ruler of the Westland. This name appears again to be a reminiscence of the Roman castle of Babylon which existed at the time of the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr. On his return to the Yaman Saba' built the celebrated dam (at Ma'rib) which was fed by seventy rivers that came from far. He, however, though he lived 500 years, did not complete the work, which was finished by his two sons Himyār and Kahlān. That the author or his informants could not read the Himyāritic writing nor had any correct information is proved by the fact that the simple but proud inscription of the builder of the dam has survived to this day on one of the right pillars of the dam. It is translated by Müller (*Burgen und Schlosser* II. 13): "Yata 'amar Bayyin (the Illustrious) son of Samah Ali Yanūf (the Exalted) prince of the nation of Saba' caused the mountain of Balaq to be pierced and (erected) the sluices of Rahābim as means for easier irrigation."

The successor of Saba' was his son Himyār, while the second son Kahlān acted as general for his elder brother. Both undertook campaigns into far distant lands and in the East reached as far as the country of Mājūj and Yājuj (Gog and Magog) in the lands where the sun rises, punishing on the road the Turks, Zutt, Kurds, Khazars, Qazars (?) and Farghāns. Then he turned towards Mecca where he received a deputation from the descendants of Hūd complaining about the tribe of Thamūd and also a messenger came from his brother Bābilyūn from Egypt, asking for help against the descendants of Hām. These were the Banu Marī' and the Abyssinians, offspring of Kūsh the son of Hām, who had settled on the banks of the Nile. First, Himyār removed the Thamūd from Yaman and gave them settlements in the north between Aila on the Gulf of Suez and Dhāt al-Isād in the highland of Najd. There the Thamūd hewed roads through the mountains and made dwelling-places in the rocks. After this Himyār went to Damascus where he imposed taxes upon the Banu Marī', after which he marched to the Maghrib till he reached the ocean and imposed taxes upon the Qūt (Goths).

Thamūd, after their removal, began to tyrannise the surrounding nations and God sent to them the prophet Sālih and the author tells us briefly of the creation of the camel and her colt, the slaughter of the former and the fearful cry of the colt which destroyed the whole nation. On his return journey from the West, Himyār cut inscriptions in Himyāritic writing, but in a dream he is taught a different script which he is told to guard carefully as part of the heritage of his descendants till the time when a prophet named Muhammad would use it for the preservation of the revelations of God, and not to use it for anything where it could possibly be defiled by dirt. After this, Himyār ruled over all the lands which had been under his father Sab'a till he reached the age of 450 years, when he died and was succeeded by his son Wā'il. Wā'il began his reign with troubles, as his brother Mālik rebelled against him and he had to fight against him till the day of his death, when he was succeeded by his son As-Saksak. He was the first who devastated with fire and destroyed towns, for which reason he was called "Maqa'qi'al-'Unūd (the upsetter of columns). He made war against Numrūd the son of Māsh in Bābil. But As-Saksak died on the expedition and his army returned to Yaman and left Numrūd as the first crowned king of the foreigners.

His son Ya'fūr was a child and died young, wherefor the affairs of Himyār were in disorder for a time; and as he left no son the crown was laid aside till his wife gave birth to a boy who was named An-Nu'mān. As he too was incapable of management the power was usurped by Bārān son of 'Aūf b. Himyār who after a short reign left the kingdom to his son 'Amir Dhū Riyāsh, who was the first prince who bore a name composed with the word Dhū, but he was not a Tubba'. He wanted to get An-Nu'mān into his power, but the latter had fled into hiding with his mother to a cave. After having called all the astrologers and augurs 'Amir was enabled to capture him and his mother and kept both confined in the castle of Ghumdān. While 'Amir was away on an expedition to Oman some of the guards led by Hamdān rescued An-Nu'mān out of captivity and 'Amir was forsaken by his troops. He went with the few who remained true to him towards Mecca but An-Nu'mān overtook him near al-Mushallal and took him prisoner, carrying him with him in future on all his expeditions. Meanwhile others were dissatisfied at being ruled over by a child, but they were told that he would soon manage with force ('Aqara) and

he was thence called Al-Mu'āqir. As soon as his power was established he made the customary raid towards the north to Bābil and marched forward towards Khorāsān, when he came to a desert. Here 'Amir Dhū Riyāsh, seeing a snake, took it up and let it sting him so that he died before any help could be given. Al-Mu'āqir then crossed the bridge to Syria, conquering the countries on his way and levying taxes; then he crossed the Euphrates to Armenia and on his return came to Mecca where he found Nufaila son of Mudād al-Jurhumi in power, which he had assumed after the death of Nābit son of Ismā'il. He made Qaidar, grandson of Ismā'il, ruler over the sanctuary while Nufaila remained master of the city of Mecca. Then he returned to the Yaman. When he was at the point of death he asked his sons not to bury him lying, but standing up in his grave, for their kingdom would last so long as he remained standing.

(Here Ibn Hishām interrupts the narrative by stating that in the reign of the Caliph Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik a cave was opened in the Yaman in which they found large quantities of precious stones, other treasures and weapons. They also found a marble slab fitted with lead and when this was removed they found the body of a man over whose head was a tablet of gold inscribed in Himyāritic letters with verses, the first of which read: "I am Al-Mu'āqir son of Ya'fūr son of Mudar." The author states that the verses are a forgery by some one who wanted to claim king Al-Mu'āqir, for the 'Adnānis or Northern Arabs. Ibn Hishām adds further that he had heard from al-Baith b. Sa'd that 'Amr conquered Egypt with the army of Mu'āqir (probably an error for Al-Ma'āqir) who were 70,000 in number and that the only other troops were one thousand of Kalb and one thousand of Bahra (both South-Arabian tribes).

After the death of Al-Mu'āqir the kingdom of Himyār declined, and a man named ash-Shaikh (?) ruled in a place called Liwār-Ramal. After this the Himyārites agreed to invest with royal powers Shaddād son of 'Ad b. Miltāt b. Jusham b. 'Abdī Shams b. Wā'il. He revived the ancient glories and went on expeditions East and West up to the ocean, building towns and reservoirs of water, but he would not enter the castle of Ghumdān, the ancient residence of the kings, and took up his residence at Ma'rib, where he built the ancient castle which some authorities call (Wa'rib?). For the building of this castle he had collected all the precious stones and metals from all the corners of

his realm in order to make it one of the wonders of the world. When he died a cave was hewn for him in the mountain Shamāmi and there he was buried. He was succeeded by his brother Luqmān ibn 'Ad who was the tallest man of his time and possessed fabulous strength. According to Ibn 'Abbās his name was really Luqmān b. 'Ad b. al-Miltāt b. Saksak b. Wā'il b. Himyār and he was a Nabī, but not a Rasūl. Ibn Hishām adds that many men of learning are of opinion that Luqmān, Dhū'l-Qarnain and Daniel are prophets, but not apostles; that means that they were holy men*.

Himyār called Luqmān *ar-Ra's* (the Head) though he was a humble man and never crowned. He asked God before every prayer that he would give him a life longer than that of any man and his prayer was answered to the effect that eternal life was impossible, but he could choose one of three things: The time seven balls of dung of an ibex would last in a sheltered place, or the life of seven date-stones imbedded in a rock or the lives of seven vultures in succession. He chose the latter and it is said that he lived 2,400 years. In his reign the second 'Ad, remnants of the destroyed first 'Ad, began to act sinfully, especially a clan named Karkar who, for their evildoings, were hard pressed by the surrounding tribes. They went to Luqmān and asked him for help, protesting that they were believers in his admonitions. He made them move to the highlands and actually took one of their women named Sauda' bint Umāma in marriage. Now Luqmān, as he was a very jealous man, took her up into the mountain and kept her there in a furnished cave. Once a year he invited all the tribesmen to a festival and on one such occasion the prince of the Banū Karkar named Hamaisa' saw her and fell in love with her. After the festival he implored his people to devise some means to bring about his union with the woman, and they decided that the only way was to conceal Hamaisa' in some armour and hand it to Luqmān for safe-keeping, stating as a motive that they feared the possession of weapons might be an inducement to further strife. Luqmān accepted their proposal and took the armour with Hamaisa' hidden in it up to the cave. When he had gone Hamaisa' came out of his hiding and committed adultery with the woman who hid him again and provided him with a portion of the

* The distinction is perhaps a little clearer when we state that a pious man who guides his people is a Nabī (Prophet), while he is a Rasūl (apostle) when he is entrusted by God with this mission.

food supplied to her by Luqmān. One day Hamaisa' lay on the couch in the cave and, spitting, threw his spittle so high that it stuck to the ceiling. When Luqmān came to see his wife he perceived the mucous hanging from the roof of the cave and asked the woman who had done it. When she asserted that she had done it he made her repeat the act in various positions, but when she proved unable to perform the trick he grew suspicious and, searching, discovered Hamaisa. 'Then he told the Banū Karkar they would have to leave his district as they were hopeless sinners; but before he let them go he went up into the mountain and had both Hamaisa' and Sauda' stoned, this being the first time that adulterers were punished in that way. The Banū Karkar implored him to accompany them on their journey into exile as they were afraid of hostile tribes and Luqmān did so. On the journey he had occasion to punish theft by the cutting off of the hand. After this Luqmān returned to Ma'rib with his last vulture named Lubad. (Here Ibn Hishām inserts a statement by Ibn Ishāq that Luqmān lived four thousand years). After this Luqmān died and instructed his people not to bury him like the kings but place dust and stones on his grave. He was buried in the Ahqāf in the neighbourhood of the grave of Hūd.

Luqmān was succeeded by his brother Al-Hammāl b. 'Ad who was called Dhū Shadad, and whose rule was one of firmness. After his death he was succeeded by his son Al-Hārith, called Ar-Rā'ish and Dhū Marāthid. He received presents sent him from India, such as pepper, myrobalan, camphor, etc., which made him decide to conquer the country. Pretending to march to the west, he went to India by sea, sending with his vanguard Ya'fūr son of 'Amr, while he himself followed with the gross of the army. After he had conquered the country he founded a town which he named after himself Rā'ish but, as the Indians could not pronounce the name, they called the place Ar-Rā'id and it is their chief town to this day. (I have failed to identify this place). Laden with booty, he returned by land through Samarqand and while he was in Khurāsān a deputation came to him from Armenia, bringing presents of white falcons, silk, saddles and similar wares. He asked the messengers if all these things were found in their country and when they replied in the affirmative he told them that he would not accept them unless he conquered their land. When he came to Armenia he subdued the whole country and had an inscription cut

into the two rocks by which every person must pass who goes to that country, and these inscriptions are there to this day. After this he returned to the Yaman and died at the age of 145 years.

He was succeeded by his son As-Sa'b Dhū'l-Qarnain who was more powerful than any of the many kings of Himyār. He had three dreams. In the first he saw a man who took him by the hand, led him up into a high mountain and showed him the opening of hell. When he enquired who the black persons were whom he saw moving in the flames he was told : They are the Tyrants. This made such an impression upon him that he abandoned for the future all extravagant attire and instead of being closely guarded mixed with the people. The following night he dreamed he was ascending to the sky by a ladder and when he reached it, drew his sword and hung it up on the Pleiades. Then he took the sun in his right hand and the moon in his left and, as he walked down to Earth with them all, the stars followed him. Then he awoke. On the third night he dreamed that he was very hungry and the whole earth appeared to him and he devoured it with all its mountains and then, feeling thirsty, drank up all the Seven Seas, but when he tried to swallow the Muhīt (surrounding ocean) he could not drink it as it was bottomless and he could not drink the black mud. Then he awoke. The fourth night he had another dream, as if all the men and Jinn of earth came to him and sat down before him. The animals followed and, lastly, the winds came and circled round his head. He then sent men, Jinn and animals, with the East-wind to the West, with the South-wind to the North and so on, only keeping the ferocious animals with him under his power. He was so perplexed with these dreams that he called a council and asked his councillors to interpret the dreams for him. They all failed to give a solution. At last one of the councillors said : " Only one person can interpret the dream and that person is a prophet who lives in Jerusalem." The name of the prophet is not mentioned, probably owing to some omission in the text, but a little later As-Sa'b addresses him as Mūsa (Moses). As-Sa'b Dhū'l-Qarnain thereupon assembled an enormous army which he set in order at Ma'rib, and to commemorate the event caused a column of marble to be erected with an inscription in Himyāritic characters, which in the four verses quoted by the author contains no reference to the event but only some aphorisms. The army was larger

than any ever seen in Arabia, the vanguard consisting of a million cavalry, after which followed the infantry. They marched until they reached the Sacred Territory of Mecca which was crossed barefooted, and with all the rites of the pilgrimage. After leaving the Holy Territory the cavaliers mounted their horses again, and when they reached Jerusalem, As-Sa'b had only one aim and that was to see the prophet. He asked him : " Art thou a prophet ? " and Mūsa answered : " Yes. " When asked his genealogy he gave it as follows : Mūsa Al-Khidhr son of Khasrūn b. 'Ammūn b. Yahūdihā b. Ya'qūb. As-Sa'b asked him whether he received any revelations and he replied : " Yes, Dhū'l-Qarnain ! " As-Sa'b asks : " What was that name which you called me ? " The prophet answers : " Thou art the master of the two horns of the sun ! So it was Al-Khidhr who first called him Dhū'l-Qarnain. Then he told him the explanation of his dreams, which was as follows : Hell had been shown to him as a warning, the rising into the heavens had reference to the knowledge with which God would endow him. The sun, moon and stars carried away meant that he would possess the whole earth and all that it contains, while his inability to swallow the surrounding ocean indicated that God had set a limit to his conquests. His sending human beings, Jinn and animals in various directions with the wind meant that he would in a similar manner transplant the nations from one country to another.

Dhū'l-Qarnain had yet another dream in which he saw the whole earth clad in darkness till the sun rose from the West in full splendour. He followed its light and came to a land carpeted with stars upon which he walked. Then he awoke and knew that he had received guidance and went to Al-Khidhr to inform him. The latter told him that he was commanded to march to the West till he reached the Valley of Rubies. Dhū'l-Qarnain used to receive revelations of which he always informed Al-Khidhr, as he did of any trustworthy guidance which came to him. He marched to the West accompanied by Al-Khidhr and conquered all the countries, killing and making prisoners till he returned by way of Abyssinia which he subdued from end to end. (Here follows an interpolation stating that to travel the whole Earth requires five hundred years, of which three hundred are on sea, one hundred in waste lands and one hundred in cultivated lands, of which eighty belong to Mājūj and Yājūj, fourteen to the negroes, while only six remain for all the other nations). When Dhū'l-

Qarnain passed through the land of the negroes he came to people who were dumb, after this he came to people with blue eyes and black skins and he killed those who would not submit. After that he came to spotted people with ears like those of camels. Of these he also killed all who would not submit. Then he came to another nation having very big ears reaching from the top of the head to the chin and when they went to sleep they could rest on one ear as a pillow while the other covered the head. He killed of these people also all who would not submit, but spared those who believed. In this way he conquered the whole land of the Negroes, taking prisoners of each nation with him. Then he invaded and subdued the land of the Banu Marī' ibn Kan'ān and after that crossed over to the island of Andalus which he conquered to its utmost limits. He wanted to sail on the Ocean but its waters rose before him like mountains and this he interpreted as guidance which set a bound to his progress and he had a tower built, on which he placed a statue (Sanam), which was a charm to chain the winds. When the winds had died down and the sea became smooth he entered upon it with his armies till he got too far away from the charm, when the sea became again unruly and he set up another tower and statue. In this way he continued his journey on the Ocean setting up towers whenever the sea became unruly, until he came to the Spring of the Sun ('Aīn ash-Shams) which he found to flow into a spring of mud in the Ocean, beyond which lived nations which did not understand what was said to them, nor could any one understand what they said. Dhū'l-Qarnain asked them how they had come to this place and they informed him that Saba had sent them there. Dhū'l-Qarnain laid hold of them intending to kill them, but was prevented by Al-Khidhr who asked him to treat them with kindness. Dhū'l-Qarnain travelled onward till he reached the Valley of Sand and the sun came and disappeared in the Spring. When he came to the Valley of Sand he found that the sand flowed like high-towering mountains and when he attempted to cross he was unable to do so, but tarried on the borders five days till it was Saturday. Then he commanded 'Amr the son of Ya'fūr to cross with twenty thousand. He went over with his men till he was out of sight, but did not return. Then he commanded Zuhair son of Mālik to cross with ten thousand, telling him to look out and ascertain what had become of 'Amr. But when Zuhair with his troops reached the place where 'Amr had disappeared he too hastened away and did not return.

Then he sent Al-Mushaqqar son of Haushab to whom he gave special instructions to ascertain the fate of 'Amr and Zuhair, and he crossed with five thousand men. When he reached the place where 'Amr and Zuhair had disappeared, his men also ran away, but he stayed in the place, neither going forward nor returning till night fell and the sun sank below the horizon; and when it was Sunday the sands moved like high-towering mountains and came between Dhū'l-Qarnain and Al-Mushaqqar and no one knew what became of him. Now Al-Khidhr said to Dhū'l-Qarnain: This must suffice thee, and no one will cross except those who have done so. Dhū'l-Qarnain followed the guidance he received and marched along the Valley of Sand till he reached the Darkness, in which he travelled for one night and one day, the sun sinking behind him into the Spring, and he crossed a valley in which animals and men slipped. They enquired the cause from Dhū'l-Qarnain and he replied: "You have come to a place where he who goes forward is sorry and he who lags behind is likewise sorry." Then the valley turned towards the East when a bright light appeared to them which almost took away their sight. When they enquired the reason Dhū'l-Qarnain told them that they had crossed the Valley of the Ruby and those who had taken from it would say: "Oh, that we had only taken more!" While those who had taken nothing would say: "Oh, that we had only taken something!" Then they came to the White Rock the splendour and rays of which almost took away their sight and it was this light which they had seen amid the Darkness. Dhū'l-Qarnain espied upon the overhanging rocks some vultures and was amazed at seeing them there. He asked Al-Khidhr concerning them, who told him that when God commanded Ibrāhīm to perform the journey to the land of Babylon, the latter sent Jirjir son of 'Uwain as a missionary to the Westland to preach there the commandments of God and when he reached Qamūniyyah he called the people to repent and some repented, but others refused to listen. Then he crossed to the island of Andalus where he found descendants of Yāpheth, Saks, Qibt, Afranj, Jalāiq, Barbar, and called them to God, but they killed him and threw him on a rubbish-heap. God, however, sent these vultures to enable his bones to be removed out of their land. They ate the flesh off his bones and these were carried by other birds to this place where they were buried by the birds, and where they will remain till the day of resurrection. Thus did God act to the end that the bones of his saints might not be polluted by being

among those who rebel against Him.

Dhū'l-Qarnain then attempted to climb up the rock, but it began to quake and tremble so, that he was forced to give up the attempt, when the rock immediately became quiet. He tried the ascent three times and the result was in each case the same. When Al-Khidhr attempted the climb the mountain did not move and he climbed till he was lost to sight. Al-Khidhr ascended towards heaven and heard a voice calling him: "Go forward and drink! It is the Spring of Life. And purify thyself and thou shalt live till the day of the blowing into the trumps. When the inhabitants of Heaven and Earth are dead, thou too shalt die."

He went forward and at the top of the rock he found a spring of water of which he drank and in which he washed himself. When he saw the water coming continually down from heaven and never running away, he asked whither it went, but a voice called to him: "Thou hast done thy part!" When he returned to Dhū'l-Qarnain he told him how he had drunk of the Water of Life and washed in it and so would have to live till the last Trump should sound, but Dhū'l-Qarnain would have to die. Then he bade him march back, as there was nothing beyond, either for human beings or Jinn.

Dhū'l-Qarnain tarried awaiting guidance. When the guidance came he received a number of wise rules concerning the predetermined commands of God to which Al-Khidhr added sentences of the same tenor as the rules which recur in all Semitic ethical treatises. After this Dhū'l-Qarnain made an expedition to the islands beyond Al-Andalus, which he also conquered. And he sent an expedition to Al-Andalus to subdue those nations, warning his army to beware of the people who had killed Jirjir, the missionary of Ibrāhīm. They invaded the country and supported those whom they found to be followers of the teachings of Jirjir and of the Hanīf religion, while they put the unbelievers to the sword. Then Dhū'l-Qarnain sent Al-Khidhr with an army to Qamūniyyah, commanding him to meet him at the passes of Syria. Dhū'l-Qarnain took the road of Al-Kharqā', which is so called because the islands are scattered about, till he reached Syria. Meanwhile Al-Khidhr went to Qamūniyyah and from there to Bābilyūn, killing those who disobeyed and rewarding those who were submissive. From thence al-Khidhr sent to Dhū'l-Qarnain, advising him to drive all unbelievers out of the Sacred Territory and impose upon

them the Jizyah. The two armies met at the Passes, whence they marched towards the rising of the sun, subduing, killing unbelievers and sparing believers, till they reached the Ocean at the back of the Earth, where they encountered folk of the sons of Yāpheth, Hām and some of the sons of Sām (Shem). After that they turned towards Al-Jazīrah and Al-'Irāq and later to Persia, where they encamped at the White Castle, the castle of 'Abir the son of Shālikh, which he built at the time when the languages were divided. (Here follows a description of the castle and the statement that this 'Abir was the grandfather of Ibrāhīm and thus the ancestor of the 'Adnānī tribes, who are consequently near relations of the Banū Qahtān. It was from here that Ibrāhīm emigrated to Babilon and later built, at the command of God, the House of God in conjunction with his son Ismā'il in the land of the Banū Jurhum ibn Qahtān). After having inspected the wonders of the castle, Dhū'l-Qarnain marched to Nuhāwand where he found an enormous mountain-pass. Al-Khidhr told him that this pass led to Herāt, Marw, and Samarqand, while another direction led to Jaja, Balkha, Jabalja, Barid and the land of Yājūj and Mājūj. He took the pass to Jabarsā and Jabalqā, conquering all before him till he reached Armenia, then he turned to Nuhāwand and the Bāb al-Abwāb, which name the place has to this day. He continued his journey till he reached the Yājūj and Mājūj, one nation of whom he removed to Armenia, namely, the Banu Aljan ibn Yāpheth who settled in the district of Jabarsā and they were called Turk, because Dhū'l-Qarnain left them behind (tarakahum). Meanwhile Dhū'l-Qarnain penetrated into the land of Yājūj and Mājūj till he reached the island of the land of ar-Rawāb (?) from whence the sun turns as it rises. There he found people with small eyes and hairy faces, looking like monkeys: they did not show themselves in the daytime but hid in caves to shelter from the sun's rays and came out at night only. He called upon them in their language, because God had given him the power to speak in every tongue. Later, he pursued his march still further and reached the islands of the Ocean, where he found people who were black with blue eyes, long faces and long noses, their faces resembling those of swine. They too hid during the day from the heat of the sun and came out at night only. He called upon them and many repented to God. Then he received guidance and went to the place where the sun rises and found there people who had no protection against it.

Then he embarked upon the Ocean and sailed for a year till he left the sun to his right and penetrated into the Darkness till he reached a land white like salt, where no plants grew and over it was a light, not like the light of the sun, which dazzled their eyes. When he attempted to march upon this land the feet of the animals sank in up to the breasts, so he left the armies behind and walked on alone and, after some days, came to a solitary white house. At the gate stood a white man and on the roof stood another white man, who held to his mouth what appeared to be a kind of trumpet, holding it with both hands and gazing up to heaven. The man at the gate asked him : Whither dost thou intend to go, O Dhū'l-Qarnain ! Is the Earth of man and Jinn not enough for thee, that thou invadest the land of the angels ? Dhū'l-Qarnain asked ; " Who art thou ? A servant of God ? " He replied : " I am one of the angels of God . " Dhū'l-Qarnain asked : " And what is this house ? " He replied : " This house is the house of the nether world and he who stands upon the roof is one of the angels of God to show thee how Isrā'īl takes the trumpet. and he is gazing up to heaven to see when the command is given to blow the trumpet. Then all in heaven and on earth will fall prostrate. Then it will be blown a second time and they will stand up at the appointed place, where there will be division and justice. O Dhū'l-Qarnain, return ! There is nothing more for thee to gain ! Take this bunch of grapes ! " And he gave him a bunch of grapes and said to him : " Eat of it and let thine army eat of it, for it will be a sign and wonder for them and they will have power over men and Jinn. Take this stone ! " And he gave him a white stone and said to him : " Weigh it against anything on Earth which thine eyes behold and thou wilt find admonition and wisdom from it. " So Dhū'l-Qarnain returned to his army with the bunch of grapes and the stone, and he and his army ate of the grapes, yet the bunch did not diminish till they reached the cultivated lands, which was a wonder and a revelation to them. Then he took the stone and weighed it against all the precious stones of the earth and it outweighed them all. He even took large rocks and bars of iron, and still it pulled the scale. All the while Al-Khidhr was watching and said nothing. Dhū'l-Qarnain said to him : " O Saint of God ! Hast thou any knowledge of this wonder ? " He replied : " This stone is a likeness of thine eyes ! Nothing on Earth will fill them that is precious, but this will fill them. " He then took a handful of dust and placed it on the scale and

it pulled the balance, down, while the stone rose. Al Khidhr said: "Thus are thine eyes! Nothing will fill them except dust." After this Dhū'l-Qarnain returned till he reached the Dam which was between two rugged mountains and he found there people who were deaf and hardly could understand anything. Then he followed the guidance and penetrated beyond the Dam where he found other folk who could not understand, but they told him that Yājūj and Mājūj were harassing them and asked him to make between them and these people a wall. So he commanded them to bring him iron ore to make a barrier. They then made a fire which they fanned till he had made the iron soft and built the wall so that there was no gap left between the two mountains. So Dhū'l-Qarnain built the wall between Yājūj and Mājūj and the other peoples. The size of the wall was one thousand yards in width and one thousand yards in height. In front of it he built a bridge, which was one of the wonders of the world, from the mountains to Armenia, a journey of seven months' duration.

After this he intended to invade India and got as far as Qutrabil, where he encountered people called Tarjumānis who were descendants of Yāpheth the son of Nūh. They were called Tarjumānis because they had translated the Scriptures of Ibrāhīm into their own language and followed their teaching. When he came to them he found that they were living among the graves, that there were neither rich nor poor among them, that they had no judges, nor any one commanding or forbidding. Their cattle were in the pasture without herdsmen. They lived on the waste land between two rivers, and they all were content with little instead of much. He asked them: "O Banu 'Arjān, why do you live among the graves?" They answered: "We live among them for fear lest we should forget death and live in ease of life, and to make us consider this nether world as worthless. We consider that the world is like the Sea. A man walks into it and it covers his feet; he walks further and his legs are submerged and as he goes further it reaches his shoulders and his head. Then he beats about with his hands and legs, but the waves get hold of him and carry him whither they like and he does not know whether the air is below him or the sky above him. So the world entices man and he follows till when he is in the midst it carries him where it likes. This nether world is the home of Iblīs, the other world is the home of God. He who works for the other

world works for God, but he who works for this world obeys Iblis and disobeys God. He asked them : " How is it that you have neither rich nor poor ? " They replied : " We consider him who is rich here to be poor in the other world, this nether world being for lower things. If a rich man possess all the gold, silver, pearls and jewels, he can only have his fill of all he possesses, he can only wear the clothes he can put on his body, nor can he eat more than his fill. The best garments can only ward off cold or heat like the commonest. We consider that the strong among us has no advantage over the weak, for if the strong die the weak must die also ; so we have made things equal so that we have no weak ones who bear envy towards the strong and loathe them, nor any strong to despise those who are weak. Thus weak and strong can live in harmony together." He asked : " How is it that you have no judge, nor any one to command or forbid ? " They replied : " We have studied the ages that have passed, how an ignorant strong person has robbed the poor who had no helpers, how the rich and powerful have trodden down the lowly and despised, and all the mighty stretched out their hands to what lay in their reach. But there was no one so powerful, but God sent one more powerful to strip him of his possessions and abase him after his pride ; nobody who acted inconsiderately, but God intervened and one more inconsiderate treated him worse than he had treated others. When we saw this we prevented our people from doing evil deeds, from animosity, inconsiderateness, foolishness and overlording. We all became as brothers. In this way there is none who harms another, nor who receives injury from another ; and, as no mischief is done in our midst, we are guarded by God from mischief of outsiders and live in peace and happiness." He asked them : " How is it that you live in waste places and desert between two rivers ? " They replied : " We are content with the barest livelihood." He said : " You have acted well in all things except that you do not cultivate the land. Why do you not do this for the sake of your offspring ? For if your descendants do not find a sufficiency of livelihood they will stretch their hands out to that which belongs to others and thus will go to ruin. Why do you not sow seed in the ground and plant trees and bring the rivers into your service, for in this lies the life of your offspring and of your cattle and sheep."

After that he went to Samarqand and found there the

Zutt, Kurd and Sughd, killing those who offered opposition and pardoning those who obeyed. Then he went to the land of Marmar where he found the Khazar, Farghān, Dailam, all tribes of the Banu Yāpheth. He killed, as usual, those who offered resistance and pardoned them who submitted. Then he marched to the land of Herāt and found there al-Hurār (?) and al-Afrānj; they were submissive and he only killed the tyrants and evildoers. After that he went to China and encountered the Sind, who are descendants of Hām the son of Nūh, and killed those who offered resistance. Then he came to Hind, who are brothers of Sind, and after having subdued the whole of the land as well as China, he returned to Bābil and subdued that land. After that he intended the Hajj, and marched towards the Tihāna and Mecca, but when he reached al-Hinw al-Qurāqir of the Burqa Rahrahān in al-ʿIrāq he saw the vision that he would die at al-Hinw and that his grave would be there. When he knew that his end was near he informed Al-Khidhr and thereafter composed a long poem setting forth his achievements; after which he was ill for eight days and died. At his death Al-Khidhr also disappeared and was never seen again by any one except Mūsā ibn ʿImrān. Dhūʾl-Qarnain was buried at Hinw al-Qurāqir and An-Nuʾ-mān ibn Al-Aswad and Al-Mahmūd ibn Zaid composed elegies upon his death. (Here follows a discussion by Ibn Hishām, on the final authority of Wabb ibn Munabbih, as to the personality of Dhūʾl-Qarnain and the theory, that Dhūʾl-Qarnain was the same as Al-Iskandar ar-Rūmī. (Alexander of Macedon) but he replied that Al-Iskandar was a pious wise man who built two towers on the coast of the sea of Afriqus, one in the land of Babilun, and the other to the west of it in the land of Armenia. The sea of the West was called Sea of Afriqus after one of the Tubba's who left many monuments in the Westland, such as reservoirs, towns and wells. Also Ka'b al-Ahbār related that Dhūʾl-Qarnain, according to what was recorded by their Jewish Rabbis and the learned of Himyār, was As-Sa'b ibn Dhūʾl-Marāthid, while Al-Iskandar was a man of the Banu Yūnān son of ʿIs son of Ya'qūb son of Ishāq, and that his men lived to see Jesus the son of Maryam; among them were Jālīnūs, Aristatalis and Daniyāl. Jālīnūs and Aristatalis were of the Rūm of the Banu Yūnān, while Daniyāl was of the Banu Isra'īl, a prophet of God's prophets. This is followed by a long discussion about the reading of the 86th verse of

the *Sûrat al-Kahf*, which Mu'āwiya and 'Amr ibn al 'As read wrongly as against the correct reading of Ibn 'Abbās. Ka'b al-Ahbār came in and found them in doubt and meeting later with Nāfi' ibn al-Azraq, the latter was able to confirm the reading from a verse of the pre-Islamic *Tubba' Tibbān*. The poem is a very long one and is cited at full length. Ibn 'Abbās learned the whole poem from Nāfi' and recited it to Mu'āwiya who was then satisfied that the reading of Ibn 'Abbās was the correct one. Next are quoted some verses attributed to Imru-ul-Qais in which *Dhū'l-Qarnain As-Sa'b* is supposed to be mentioned, but, as no such reference occurs, some lines must be missing in the manuscripts; moreover the poem is not found in the accessible copies of the *Dīwān* of Imru'l-Qais. A sermon of the celebrated Quss ibn Sā'ida is next quoted on the final authority of Ibn Ishāq, in which reference is made to *Dhū'l-Qarnain*, further a *Wasiyya* of ar-Rabi' ibn Duba' al-Fazārī, who is erroneously stated to have lived to the time of Islām. This composition also refers to *Dhū'l-Qarnain*. As a matter of fact, the author seems to forget that he is writing a history of *Himyar*, as he quotes long extracts of verses attributed to ar-Rabi' which have nothing to do with anything that has gone before or is to follow. Some of these verses are found in the *Kitāb al-Mu'ammari*n of Abu Hātim. He continues an account of the war between 'Abs and Dhubyān closing with verses by Aus ibn Hajar in which the name *As-Sa'b* occurs).

When *As-Sa'b Dhū'l-Qarnain* died he was succeeded by his son Abraha whom his father had given that name in memory of Ibrāhīm; but the word is Abyssinian and means "white." After having buried his father at *Hinw Qurāqir*, Abraha returned with his army towards the *Yaman*, when a plague of snakes harassed the army. These snakes had a head at both ends of their body, they appeared only in the daytime, never at night, and their poison penetrated the body with the speed of lightning. They were called *Zumurrada*, and to save the army from being killed Abraha travelled only by night, wherefor many lost their way in the darkness. For this reason Abraha commanded beacons to be lighted on the mountains for a guidance to the army and, as Abraha was the first who employed beacons, he was named Abraha *Dhū'l-Manār*. They marched till they reached *al-Mushallal*, where a woman of the *Jinn* saw Abraha and fell in love with him. She came to his couch at night and asked him to marry her; she would not have anything to do with him

except on that condition, as she was a believer of the Hanīf faith. She gave him four alternatives, either she would kill him, or blind him, or make him leprous or he must marry her. He chose the last, and a company of the Jinn came, among them ar-Rābi', father of al-'Ayūf, which was the name of the Jinni maiden, and she was married to him. The father stipulated from Abraha that al-Mushallal, which was later called al-Yamāmah, should be the domain of the Jinn as he feared lest men and Jinn would intermarry. The demand was granted by Abraha as long as he lived and he swore to burn those who dared intrude on their domain. The district remained taboo until a clan of the Banu Hulwān of Qudā'a settled there. While they, however, were asleep at night they heard loud humming noises and a voice saying that it was the Hima of ar-Rābi' and Abraha, and a great fire came and devoured the beasts and some of the people so that the remainder fled in terror. Therefor that place is called Al-Hurmānah to this day. (Here follows, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, the account of the man who met 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb and, when he asked him who he was, said his name was Khāriq son of Shihāb and that his dwelling place was Al-Hurmāna in the Jaww. 'Umar being one of the ablest diviners of his time told him that his people were devoured by fire, and when he reached his home he found that this had happened).

Now al-'Ayūf had by Abraha two sons, 'Amr Dhū'l-Adh'ār and al-'Abd Dhū'l-Ashrār. And Abraha prepared to invade the Westland, the land of Bābilyūn, as Hūlwān the son of Inru'l-Qais, a descendant of 'Amr son of Bābilyūn, who was the Pharaoh of Ibrāhīm, sent to him for help because the Abyssinians and the Banu Marī' ibn Kan'an had overrun the land. So Abraha set out on his journey, going first to Ma'rib, then to Al-Ahqāf where he came to the river al-Khafif. There he found an arrow in the rock on which was Hīmyāritic writing, and when he read it he found that it had been stuck in the rock for one thousand years. From thence Abraha marched to Mecca where he performed the pilgrimage rites, and afterwards went on to Syria with the intention to go to the land of Bābilyūn in Egypt; while his son al-'Abd went in ships to Abyssinia, the people of which country fled at his approach. Abraha reached Hulwān and pursued the Abyssinians along the Nile while Hulwān pursued the Banu Marī' ibn Kan'an as far as the Ocean in the Westland. Abraha pursued the Abyssinians till he lost his way and

did not know where he was. To add to the distress, the people began to sink into the mud of the valleys. At this juncture al-'Abd, son of Abraha and al-'Ayūf, ascended a high mountain and invoked the help of the Jinn for guidance which was given in verse by an invisible person. Following this guidance, they reached the banks of the Nile. Abraha travelled for months along the Nile till he came to the end of it and, still proceeding, encountered black people with white eyes, who had no necks at all, their heads being fastened on their shoulders. He killed many of them, and found that they stored gold in the same way as other nations store corn. Carrying with him many prisoners of this nation and of the Abyssinians, he crossed the Bahr an-Najāt (Sea of Escape ?) and settled at Mecca where the Arabs came and stared in amazement at the curious prisoners. Then he marched back to Abyssinia till he reached the land of Bābilyūn, and from thence went to Syria and so on till he reached Mecca again, where he was met by his son al-'Abd, who brought with him some neckless people (A'qar ?) and he ordered these to be taken to al-Bahrain and 'Omān to be employed as slaves on the ships ; and it is asserted that the sailors of Al-Bahrain and 'Omān are the descendants of the Abyssinians sent there by Abraha. After this, Abraha returned to Ghumdān, the residence of the Tubba's and reigned 360 years after which he died, and al-Mahmūd ibn Zaid composed an elegy enumerating his conquests.

He was succeeded by his son al-'Abd Dhū'l-Ashrār, who derived this name from the Abyssinians, who are the Ashrār (the evil ones), and whom he brought as prisoners to Mecca. It was in his time that the Arabs for the first time became acquainted with hydrophobia. This is a disease which settles in the head and can only be cured by a drink of blood from one of the Banū Madhhij. (Here follow some verses confirming this cure). Al-'Abd reigned for 60 years and all Arabs and foreigners obeyed his commands till he was afflicted with dropsy and as he could not go on expeditions himself he sent his generals, but his illness grew worse and he died after a reign of only sixty years and was succeeded by his brother 'Amr Dhū'l-Adh'ār. His mother was al-'Ayūf the Jinni woman, but many people will not believe this and say that men and Jinn do not intermarry. 'Amr was a tyrant and drove the people to despair for he would brandmark any person who crossed him in his wishes. He went so far that he openly committed adultery with the daughters of the

nobles after drinking freely with them. A noble named Shurahbīl son of 'Amr was residing in Ma'rib in the castle of Bainūn, a castle which in Yaman was only equalled by the castles of Ghumdān and Salhīn. He started a revolution, was acclaimed as ruler by the great mass of the people and took up his residence at Ma'rib. When 'Amr Dhū'l-Adh'ār received news of this he marched against Shurahbīl and in an indecisive battle many were killed on both sides, while the two kings returned finally to their respective residences. But Shurahbīl died after reigning only one year. He was succeeded by his son Al-Hadhād, the father of Bilqīs.

Al-Hadhād was a brave man and when 'Amr Dhū'l-Adh'ār marched against him he disguised himself as a Bedawi and entered the hostile camp where he ascertained that the soldiers of 'Amr were dissatisfied. As he returned in the midday heat he saw how two snakes, one white and the other black, fought with one another and only gave up the struggle when they were tired out. The white snake came towards Al-Hadhād, opening its mouth as if imploring him, and out of pity he poured out some water for it to quench its thirst. The same happened after a further struggle.

The fight continued till the white snake had killed the black one after which it went away and Al-Hadhād went to seek shelter among some trees from the heat of the sun. While he was there he heard sounds approaching and drew his sword to defend himself in case of need. Then he saw a company of Jinn of handsome countenance and clad in fine garments come towards him. They greeted him and bade him have no fear, for they had come to thank him for the assistance he had given to one of their princes in his struggle with a run-away slave. He saw then that one of the young men bore scars on his face due to the recent struggle. They told him that they did not know of any better reward than to marry him to the sister of this young prince whose name was Rawāha daughter of Sakan. So they married him to her and made only one stipulation: that he should never ask her the reason of anything she was doing, to which he agreed. When he returned to his camp he learned that the army of 'Amr had dispersed and consequently he also disbanded his troops and sat in his castle to await the arrival of his bride. After the marriage she bore him a son, but when he was one year old a bitch came in at the door, seized the child and dragged it out of the room. Al-Hadhād looked at Rawāha, the

mother, but as she did not utter a word he too remained silent. Next she gave birth to a daughter who when she had reached the same age the bitch came in again and dragged the child out of the room by her legs, but as the mother remained silent he did not utter one word to question her. When she gave birth to a second son and the bitch did the same as she had done to his brother and sister, he said to the mother : " Rawāha ! " She replied : " What ? " His reply was that she should stop the bitch from doing what she had done to the other two children. When Rawāha heard this she said to him : " O Hadhād, I must leave thee ! They have not been dragged away but have been carefully nursed and will return to thee when they have reached the age of five. As for the eldest son, he has died, while the second boy will live as long as my father and will die shortly after him, but the girl will live. " Then she went away and was never seen again. He then found the son and the girl Bilqīs in their beds. Most learned men will not accept this account, but ordinary people believe it, and God alone knows the truth. Al-Hadhād reigned twenty years, and when he felt that his end was nigh he called the princes and nobles of Himyār together and advised them to appoint Bilqīs as their sovereign after his death and, though some were of opinion that a woman was not suitable, they agreed that she was more intelligent than most men and promised to obey her. As a last advice, he told them that they might appoint in her place his nephew 'Amr the son of Ya'fūr.

When Bilqīs had succeeded after the death of her father, the news reached 'Amr Dhū'l-Adh'ār and he collected his troops and marched against her. As she was powerless to offer resistance, she fled with her brother, 'Amr son of Al-Hadhād, to Ja'far the son of Qurt who resided in Jaww, which is the Yamāmah, and lived over three hundred years ; his people were the Banu Hizzān who were the handsomest and tallest among the Arabs. When Bilqīs came to Ja'far he was in his castle, al-'Al'āl, on the banks of the river al-Khafīf in the Ahqāf, the river which the prophet Hūd created. Bilqīs when she arrived made herself known to him and he granted her and her brother his protection. They lived in his harīm and in this way 'Amr Dhū'l-Adh'ār lost all trace of them. It was the habit of Ja'far to go every year on pilgrimage to Mecca in the month of Rajab, then he returned to his castle at al-'Al'āl and in Muharram went to visit the grave of the prophet Hūd. This was his custom every year and the distance from the

castle to the grave was one day's journey. When he took this journey he made it always unaccompanied except by his women and children. This time, as he was walking along the river al-Khafif among the date-palms and eating of the dates, the beasts peacefully grazing, a dragon rushed out upon him but he fought it till it took to flight. He told his women not to fear the dragon as it was only a thief of the devil.

Now there was at Ma'rib a man named 'Amr son of 'Abbād who was a robber, and no Arab tribe was safe from his depredations. He had for companions two other men named Sharīk son of 'Amr and Tibbān son of Thaur. These three followed the trace of Ja'far and espied him on the opposite side of the river, walking behind the camels bearing the women. As the river was not to be crossed they looked out for an acacia-tree by means of which they might get to the other side. When they had found such a tree, they slipped across upon it and were face to face with Ja'far. When the latter saw them he enquired from them who they were and 'Amr introduced himself and his companions, telling him at the same time that they were accustomed to rob the Arabs and calling upon him to abandon the women to them and make his escape. Though his friends warned 'Amr against picking a quarrel with Ja'far he challenged him to single combat. The combat was very unequal and in the end all three were made prisoners by Ja'far who took them with him to the grave of the prophet Hūd. While there the three prisoners, who had a tent pitched at some distance from the others, recovered from their wounds and then Ja'far asked them to make arrangements for paying the ransom to release them from captivity. Ja'far demanded no less than all that they possessed and though they asked for easier terms he insisted, and Tibbān was allowed to go and fetch the ransom. When he brought it Ja'far would not accept it, stating that he had never intended to enrich himself with their property. He did this only for his name to be mentioned among all Arabs for his generosity. He then asked the three men to stay with him till he had fought the dragon which was accustomed to dispute the place with him. When the dragon approached Ja'far seized with each hand a tree and pushed the tree which he had in his left hand into the mouth of the dragon while he hit the dragon on the head with the other tree. This he did till the dragon was tired out and fled as on previous occasions. Then there blew a fierce wind in the

Yaman which loosed large rocks from the mountains and moved the sand-dunes in the Ahqāf from one place to another. In fact, it was so fierce a gale that the people of the Yaman compared it to the wind which destroyed 'Ad. Ja'far said to his daughter Jadjād : I have been able to defend you against all comers so far, but I shall not be able to ward off the evil this wind brings. This wind blew so fiercely that it uncovered the Minbar of the prophet Hūd with all its pearls and rubies, and to the right of it they found a column of red onyx on which was written who would rule over Dhamāri of the nobles of Himyār, of the evil ones of Habash, of the free-born Persians and the merchants of Quraish. Dhamāri means Ghumdān, Ma'rib, San'ā and the land lying between them. They also saw a column of green onyx upon which was written in Himyāritic writing : "This is the grave of Qudā'a son of Mālik ibn Himyār, who reigned 300 years ; enter and meditate, go out and be warned !" Ja'far entered with his three companions and found inside (the cave ?) an old man sitting on a couch of gold in a woven garment and over his head a tablet of gold on which was written : "I am Qudā'a son of Mālik ibn Himyār ! I was angry and I was satisfied. I was angry about the deceit of hope and satisfied concerning the certainty of death. He who is not satisfied with predestination (Qadr) is ignorant concerning (reliable) history, and he who is not content with what has been granted to him must become a slave, and life will not be a pleasure to him. We were a spectacle for the beholders and now have become a subject of meditation for those who visit us." Under this were written some verses expressing the same thoughts. Then Ja'far commanded them to leave the cave, and they took nothing of the treasures which they saw belonging to the prophet Hūd or to Qudā'a. He gave the three who had been his prisoners, horses and honourable clothing and let them go. When 'Amr ibn 'Abbād got to his home he sent to Ja'far camels, horses, etc., and accompanied his gift, finding Ja'far still at the grave of the prophet Hūd. Ja'far accepted the presents and in return gave him double what he had brought and erected for him a tent (Qubba) at some distance from his camp and sent him wine.

Now 'Amr had cast his glances upon Jadjād while he was a prisoner and had fallen in love with her. 'Amr asked Ja'far to drink of his wine, but he excused himself that his folk would receive harm if he should get drunk. After some persuasion Ja'far drank the wine which got

hold of him and made him powerless. Then 'Amr pounced upon him with his sword and killed him and when his people, who consisted only of women and children, saw Ja'far slain they became frightened as 'Amr demanded that they should dress Jadjād in her best garments as his bride. Bilqīs, however, reassured them saying that she would defend them. She had prepared for 'Amr Dhū'l-Adh'ār a dagger; this dagger had as handle a golden ornament and at the point an emerald and she placed it among her curls as a kind of comb, only the golden handle and the emerald being visible. Bilqīs had herself dressed in the bridal garments and was brought to him.

Now Bilqīs was more beautiful than Jadjād and the handsomest woman of her time. When she came to him he was suspicious, as he knew that she was not Jadjād, but her beauty bewitched his senses. When she was alone with him she told him that maidens like her had to be struggled for, wishing to ascertain his bodily strength. He attempted to lay hold of her but she took his two hands in her one and held him and he was unable to get out of her grip. Then she pretended to touch her curls, drew the dagger and plunged it into his breast. When she had killed him she dragged him by the leg to the camp of the women, saying: "That was a little gift from me, O'Amr!" She then clad herself in the armour of Ja'far and rode his horse, telling them to hasten to the castle before the affair of the death of Ja'far became known among the Arabs. They rode back to al-'Al'āl, but this event gave 'Amr Dhū'l-Adh'ār the information concerning the whereabouts of Bilqīs and he sent and had her taken prisoner. Before she was taken she told her brother to seek safety in flight, and he escaped to Al-Bahrain. When Bilqīs arrived at the castle of 'Amr he had a banquet prepared with an abundance of wine and when he had drunk a quantity he wanted to outrage her. She managed, however, to restrain him by promising to be submissive, and beguiled him till he had drunk more abundantly; and when he was intoxicated she drew her dagger out of her hair and killed him. Then she dragged him by his leg and left him lying near one of the columns of the hall, covered with a garment. Then she went out to the guards in the dark of the night and told them that the king desired the presence of such and such persons, naming the nobles of Himyār. When they had assembled in the castle of Ghumdān she addressed them, saying that they well knew that the king had no children, that he had had

the grace to bestow upon her the affairs of State during his lifetime and after his death, and that at the command of the king she demanded from them the oath of allegiance. They consented and, when she had received their oath and felt assured of their fidelity and they asked to see the king, she pointed to his corpse, from which she removed the garment which she had placed over it. When the nobles saw the inevitable they accepted her as queen. So Bilqīs became queen, as it is recorded in the Holy Qurān. Some historians allege that 'Amr Dhū'l-'Adh'ār did not die till his sides dropped off through disease and that it was for this reason that Bilqīs killed him after he had reigned for 125 years. He was mourned by al-Mudarrab ibn Wā'il al-Himyāri, while 'Amr the son of al-Hadhād composed a poem against him on the same occasion.

When Bilqīs became queen the people of Himyār said that now the kingdom had returned to the legitimate line, namely, the descendants of Ya'fūr ibn Saksak. When Bilqīs was established in her kingdom she assembled large armies and went to Mecca and performed the 'Umrah, then she marched to Bābil and subdued that land and penetrated as far as Nuhāwand and Adharbāijān, after which she returned to Yaman. As guards at the outer gate she employed men, but the inner apartments were guarded by women, because she had no liking for men and when the prophet Sulaimān got mastery over her she was for a long time much distressed till she received a revelation concerning the lawfulness of marriage, so he married her as a virgin. She had as her guard three hundred and sixty women, daughters of the nobles of Himyār. She used to keep them closely guarded and when they reached marriageable age she would tell them tales about men, and if she found that the colour of their faces changed and they bent their heads in shyness, she knew that they wanted to be married and found them suitable husbands. If, on the other hand, they showed no such signs, she knew that they preferred to stay with her. The reign of Bilqīs began seven years before that of Sulaimān. When God intended to honour her it happened that Sulaimān set out, having no intention to go in her direction. God exalted Sulaimān the son of Dā'ūd, and gave him a kingdom and power such as no one before him or after him has ever possessed; for the winds would carry him and the birds, flying over him, would shade him, and he learned the language of the birds and the speech of all

creatures which praise God, be they men, Jinn or devils. So one day he left Tadmūr, having at an earlier time resided at Istakhar in Persia, and commanded the winds to raise his throne and the seats of his companions, the human beings sitting to his right while the Jinn sat to his left. So the winds raised him and his whole court, the birds overshadowing them and the cooks and horses ready in their places. The wind carried them first to the West, then they came over al-Madīna where Sulaimān commanded the winds to stop in honour of the Prophet who would rule there at the end of time; then they passed over Mecca and he told his companions that this was the house which his ancestor Ibrāhīm had built. Here he alighted and visited the grave of Ismā'il, the ruler of Mecca at that time being Al-Bishr ibn Lailagh al-Jurhūmī, who was there as governor for Bilqīs. At the same time there lived in Mecca An-Nābit son of Qaidār son of Ismā'il. Sulaimān confirmed both Bishr and Lailagh in their positions as custodians of the temple. After that Sulaimān went on towards Yaman and descended on Najrān, where he met al-Qalammas ibn 'Imrān, who is also called Af'ā Najrān. He was governor of Najrān for Bilqīs, and he had also under his rule al-Mushallal and Bahrain. Af'ā Najrān was one of the wisest men of his time and when he saw the splendour of Sulaimān he became submissive to him. He assembled the people of Najrān in the Dār al-'Ilm and told them that he would go with three Kāhins (priests) to Sulaimān and investigate his wisdom and if his wisdom surpassed theirs they would be bound to submit to his commands. They were introduced to Sulaimān by his chief minister Asaf and found that he surpassed them in knowledge, which made them decide to send messengers to Bilqīs to inform her of the arrival of Sulaimān.

On the advice of Bilqīs, Sulaimān and his followers are tempted by various baits to ascertain whether they would appropriate them, the last temptation being some handsome maidens; but all attempts to beguile them fail and it is realised that Sulaimān is a great prophet.

From thence Sulaimān went to Ma'rib where there was some water to which he was invariably guided by al-Hudhud (the hoopoo), but when they had arrived al-Hudhud was found to be absent from his place in the cloud of birds overshadowing the camp. Sulaimān said: "What of al-Hudhud that I do not see him; is he among those who are absent? I shall verily punish him severely! I shall slaughter him! Unless he bring me visible power."

According to Ibn 'Abbās he said : " I shall certainly pluck out his feathers so that he cannot fly with the other birds !" Now al-Hudhud had gone in advance and had met a hoopoo of Ma'rib and, after some conversation about the might of the kings of their respective countries, the hoopoo of Ma'rib told al-Hudhud that they had for ruler a woman of Himyār whose mother had been a Jinnīyah. So they both went together to have a look at her. When Al-Hudhud returned to Sulaimān he had to confess where he had been, and then related how he had seen the queen, and how her people were worshipping the sun and how the devil was misguiding them so that they did not know the right path. He was commanded to take a letter, drop it in the lap of Bilqīs, and return. They would then wait for an answer. So he flew to her castle and, as she was sitting on her throne, he threw the letter into her lap in the sight of all her people who thought the letter had been sent to her from heaven. She assembled all the nobles and told them that a letter had been sent to her from Sulaimān, and after some deliberation it was decided to send to him forty of the nobles on an embassy and with them one hundred youths and one hundred maidens who had all been born in the same month, also a box filled with gold, silver and all kinds of jewels, which was sealed. All the youths and maidens were clad in the same kind of garments, so that any one seeing them might suppose they were all youths. She also sent stallions and mares of noble breed, and told her messengers that he should separate the youths and maidens without any one telling him and should describe the contents of the box without opening it. The embassy, consisting of 120 men, came to Sulaimān, who was able to solve the problems put to him. Bilqīs then decided to visit him in person and she went to him with 110,000 attendants, leaving her army, however, at Ghumdān. She told them that they would be able to distinguish whether he was a prophet or only a mere king by the way he should treat her when she entered his presence. If he asked her to take a seat, he was nothing but an ordinary king ; but if he made no such demand and left to her the decision whether to sit or not, he was a true prophet. She also was to ask him certain questions as a second test of his mission as a prophet.

Sulaimān, in order to display the splendour of his power, commanded the Jinn to construct for him an audience-hall of which both the walls and the pavement were coated with gold-wash, but in the centre of the hall was

left the place of one brick empty. When she was admitted and saw all the walls of gold she realised the paltriness of her own palaces. Sulaimān was enthroned at the farthest end of the hall and Bilqīs carried with her a brick of solid gold to use as a stool if she were asked to take a seat; but when she entered and saw the one brick missing in the pavement, she threw the golden brick which she was carrying with her into the gap for fear lest she might be suspected of having stolen the golden brick from the gap. When she had entered she greeted him after the manner of kings and he returned the greeting and then added: "Let those take a seat who care to do so!" She asked if she might propound three riddles and when he assented she asked him: What is the water which is neither from heaven nor earth: why does a child resemble either his father or his mother and what is the cause of it; and tell me the colour of the Lord Most High. Sulaimān asked the men on the right and the Jinn on his left if they could answer the questions but they all were unable to do so. He therefore caused them to race horses and collect their sweat and when he showed her this she agreed that he had solved the first riddle. The second he was also able to answer, and when he asked her about the third, she admitted that she had forgotten the question herself. Sulaimān then invited her to embrace Islām ('arada 'alaiha Sulaimānu'l-Islāma). She asked for time to consider, as with this was also connected the offer of marriage. The Jinn also became alarmed because the two together would, in case of marriage, possess the knowledge of the Jinn as well as that of men. One of the Jinn, named Zaubā'a, came forward and told them that he would contrive means to frustrate this marriage. He went to Sulaimān and said to him: I understand that you intend to marry Bilqīs, but have you never heard that those who are the offspring of men and Jinns have feet like horses' hoofs. Sulaimān asked him if he could contrive some plan by which he could convince himself of this by seeing it with his own eyes. So Zaubā'a constructed for Sulaimān an audience hall of glass, making the pavement to resemble a pond with fish in it. When it was finished he invited her to come into his presence; but when she approached and saw the seeming water at her feet, she lifted up her dress and Sulaimān saw that her white legs were covered with thick black hair. Sulaimān said to her, with the idea of letting her know what he had seen: "Cover your legs! It is only a glass pavement!" When Bilqīs knew that he had discovered her blemish she

said to him : "One never knows how sweet a pomegranate is till one tastes it ." To which he answered : " What is not pleasant to the eye is not agreeable to the taste. " For strict observance of the law, Sulaimān let a month pass before marrying her. Meanwhile a Jinnī who was well disposed towards him taught him a remedy for removing superfluous hair. This is the earliest record of the making of Nūrah, for the application of which the Jinni invented also the first bath. After this Sulaimān married her and she bore him Dā'ūd and Rahba'im (in the manuscripts regularly Raj'im). As for Dā'ūd he died during the lifetime of his father, but Rahba'im lived and reigned after him. Later Sulaimān allowed Bilqīs to go back to her kingdom and she took up her residence at Ma'rib where Sulaimān used to visit her once in every month staying each time for a week. There he used to help her by sending her devils (Shayātīn) and nearly all the great buildings in Yaman are the work of those devils, whose art spread from thence into the other parts of the world. On one occasion Sulaimān caused the winds to carry him to the Ahqāf and over the sea to 'Adan. While he was over the Ahqāf he pointed out the grave of Hanzalah the son of Safwān, saying that he spoke the truth but that his people called him a liar ; but he alone escaped while they all perished.

(Here Ibn Hishām on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās inserts a tale, how one day they discussed the matter of graves in the presence of the Prophet and every one could tell some strange story, when a man entered the Majlis. He was Jafnah, a man of Juhaina, and when the Prophet saw him he said : " The true report is among Juhainah ! " He asked which of them was the Prophet and, when he was pointed out to him, went up to him and kissed his hand. The Prophet refused to receive this kind of homage saying : " This is one of the stupidities of the Persians ! They used to lord it over them and when any one came into their presence they used to abase themselves in this manner. The way of greeting in Islām is by shaking of hands. " Ibn 'Abbās was ordered to teach him the precepts of Islām and in a short time he knew several Sūrahs. After some time they were again assembled and they came again to talk about graves, when Jafnah told them this tale which he had heard from the Shaikhs of his tribe : Once upon a time so terrible a famine arose in their land that they had to slaughter even their horses for food, which is a last resource. In their extremity they sent foragers out

to look for pasture-grounds, and they came to good pastures; and one man named Mālik told them that he went into a cave and found there some lion cubs which were quite large, and they all fled in terror and came into a valley where they espied a large stone slab in front of a cave. They removed this slab and found inside the cave a dead man sitting clad in a woollen cloak, and in his hand a note with the words: "I am Hanzalah son of Safwān, a prophet sent to the people of ar-Rass, a messenger from God!" Over his head was a tablet on which was written: "God sent me to 'Arib. Hamdān and the Arabs of Yaman but they called me liar and killed me." They left the cave as they found it and replaced the stone slab. Here follows another account on the authority of Al-Asbagh ibn Nubāta: "We were sitting one day with 'Ali ibn Abi Tālib when a man of Hadhramaut came into the assembly. He was so tall that when he sat down he appeared to stand up." He enquired who was their spokesman and they pointed to 'Alī who asked him if he knew Hadhramaut well. He answered that if he did not know it there was nobody on Earth who did. 'Alī asked him if he knew the Ahqāf. "You mean the grave of the prophet Hūd," he answered. 'Alī said: "Right, no mistake!" He then told them: "Once we were wandering near the Ahqāf, and with us was a man who knew the district, when we came to a reddish hill and found a cave which we entered and penetrated deeply into it, till we came to a place where the sides were so close together that only a very slim man could get through the gap. I entered and saw there a man sitting on a couch, and when I touched any part of him I found it to be moist. Over his head was a slab, on which was written in Musnad script: I am Hūd, the prophet. I trusted in God and warned 'Ad about their idolatry, but the decree of God cannot be warded off." When we heard this 'Alī said: "That is what I have heard from Abū'l Qāsim.")

When Sulaimān dwelt in Yaman they brought him some of the green sea-horses, which were of the heritage of As-Sa'b Dhū'l-Qarnain and he was so taken up with his fancy for them that he forgot his morning-prayer. Some learned men say that he forgot the midday-prayer, but remembered the other prayers. This troubled him so much that he had all the green horses killed, while others assert that he had them sent back to the sea. Then he went back to Tadmūr, and there he had the misfortune to lose his signet-ring which gave him power over the winds

and birds. God had decreed this that Sulaimān and his people should realise the vanity of this world. Then God took away for a while from Sulaimān the royal power. He left his palace and roved in the deserts, humbling himself before God. One of the Shaitāns wrote a talisman which he placed under the throne of Sulaimān and deceived 'Asaf the secretary of Sulaimān as he, the Shaitān, assumed the power and likeness of Sulaimān and entered even the Harīm without 'Asaf knowing the deceit. 'Asaf, however, grew suspicious on account of his behaviour, as he did not act with justice like Sulaimān. After this God restored to Sulaimān all his power, he found his ring again, and the birds and clouds returned as before. His first act was to kill the Shaitān, but Sulaimān did not live long after that had happened. He lived, after marrying Bilqīs, forty years. When he died the event was announced at Najrān by al-Qalammas, who is also called Af'ā Najrān, and he preached to the people on the decay of all things in this world, which admonition he followed up with a poem in which he enumerated the deeds of Sulaimān and the vanity of all that is earthly.

Sulaimān was succeeded by his son Rahba'im, the son of Bilqīs. His first trouble was that a messenger of the Banū Isrā'il came to him with the news that the people of Syria had revolted after the death of Sulaimān. Af'ā Najrān exhorted him not to deal leniently with the Syrians, as they were quarrelsome folk and nothing but fear would keep them in check. He therefore assembled his troops, but as the year was one of general dearth they were stationed for a year at various places. Then he marched to Syria, leaving his mother Bilqīs in Ma'rib as his lieutenant. When he reached Jerusalem he selected one hundred of the foremost men of the Banū Isrā'il and marched with them to the towns of Syria, but at Antākiya they overpowered him and killed him. These people were descendants of the Banū Marī' ibn Kan'ān and they now made themselves masters over their cousins the Qibt and the Nubians, while the Banu Isrā'il were powerless against them. Bilqīs received the news of the events in Syria, but she had grown old and could no longer think of undertaking a campaign in Syria. Moreover, troubles had arisen in Yaman and every noble was trying to make himself independent. As a punishment, God sent angels against the people of Antākiya, who enticed them to pursue them outside the gates of their city and when they had come out locked the gates and killed every one of them.

After him rose in Yaman the youth to whom al-Hadhād, father of Bilqīs, had referred, Mālik son of 'Amr ibn Ya'fūr, who admonished the people of Himyār to remember the glorious past and to offer a united front to all their enemies. The people of Himyār chose Mālik for their king and named him *Nashir an-Ni'am* (the bestower of favours). His first act was to confirm Bilqīs in her rule over Ma'rib. (Here the text interpolates an elegy on Sulaimān by a poet named al-A'sam ibn Sām ibn Nūh ibn Zaid, a poet who is otherwise unknown). When the angels killed the people of Antākiya who had murdered Rahba'im, they killed them with a fearfully cold wind. Bilqīs survived the death of Rahba'im for only one year, and when she died she was praised in an elegy by an-Nu'man ibn al-Aswad ibn al-Mu'tarif, who belonged to the royal family.

The first person who emigrated from the Yaman to the Tihāmah was 'Umlūq or 'Imlāq ibn Lāwidh ibn Sām; he and his family and followers went to Mecca where he found the descendants of Hizzān ibn Ya'fūr ibn Saksak. He was followed by Tasm ibn Lāwidh who settled with his family and followers in at-Tāif and al-Jaww, which was later called al-Yamāmah after a young woman. After them followed Jadīs who settled in the vicinity of their relations of the family of Tasm. Now Tasm had overpowered the Banū Hizzān who had come from Mecca and the Tihāmah, fleeing from the excessive heat, and there remained only very few of them in Mecca, at-Tā'if and Jaww. They were oppressed by Tasm and Jadīs. Later, Qatūra and Rā'is, sons of Lāwidh, emigrated and settled at Ajyād. When Ya'rūb son of Qahtān became ruler of al-Yaman he sent his brother Jurhum to Mecca as governor and he became ruler over the Banū 'Imlāq, Tasm, Jadīs, Qatūra and Rā'is, and the Banū Jurhum increased considerably in Mecca. Jurhum reigned a long time and when he died he was succeeded by his son 'Abd Yālil. He continued to rule as governor for Ya'rūb, and when he died he was succeeded by his son, Hashram. He was an able ruler, and in his time many buildings were erected in Mecca, and the influx of pilgrims increased considerably. He was succeeded by his son, 'Abd al-Madān, who acted as governor for 'Abd Shams ibn Saba; he was succeeded by his son Nufaila, and he again by his son 'Abd al-Masīh. The latter made expeditions against the Abyssinians and the Banu Marī', and when he died he was succeeded by his son, Mudād ibn 'Abd al-Masīh. He reigned long and made many expeditions, and when he died the power was inherited by his son al-Hārith ibn Mudād.

THE LAMENT OF AZRAEL

(In some Muslim countries there exists a legend that the Angel of Death alone will die on the Day of Judgment).

I, Azrael, chief potentate
And guide of souls unto the Gate,
Do as of old immutably
Win all things upon land or sea
With my keen sword.
Ye who have breath
Must come to me, for I am Death.

The slain of all the seas I smote ;
The nightingale whose lyric throat
Sped to my hold with ev'ry lilt.
My blade is keen from tip to hilt.
There is no creature born which saith :
' I need not pass the gates of Death.'

Beneath my sable plumage lie
Whole worlds of cosmic fantasy
Nineveh's terraces and groves,
The trampling Baals, the huddled loves.
All Moloch flame which issueth
From iron jaws returns to Death.
I bear the lost Egyptian nights,
The tombs which flared with mystic rites ;
The wailing-women of high Kings,
The mitred gods, the beasts with wings,
The drowned sphinx which wandereth
Through my blurred fanes :
For I am Death.

I own the Greck, the tiaraed Mede,
The war-lord and the thistleseed,
The Arab in his caravan.
Aye, busy ant and plodding man
Are brethren in the Shibboleth
Of nature which pays toll to Death.

The sweetest lyre that Sappho plied,
The vested Cæsar in his pride,
The slave who warned him as my priest,
The mummy at the gilded feast :
These, my swift reaping harvesteth
Since all men are as one in death.
Yet who is lonelier than I
Beneath whose touch the aeons die ?
Friendless, bereft. as none may stand
Twice in my presence, and my brand
Levels the race it conquereth,
Forsaking me to death in death ?

Yea, I of all am doomed to die
And be dissolved utterly.
How shall I die, who saw ye pass
Only to waken when the glass
Records the setting of the Sands ?
How shall I go, within whose hands
Was the Supreme decree ? How cast
My Sword, and be myself aghast ?
I, a high Angel, I, to greet
The unwaked void my shining feet
May never leave. How to address
Mine own grave rule to nothingness ?
Upon that Day when ye will rise
And stand re-born in Allah's eyes
I shall be razed, and as a breath
The Trump will sound the death of Death.

REGINA MIRIAM BLOCH.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM ¹

I. THE EMPIRE.

IN the 4/10 century² the Empire again sank back to its pre-Arab condition. Individual States, with natural as opposed to artificial boundaries, were formed, as has always been the case except for short intervals in the history of the East. In the year 324/935 the disintegration was complete. The small States were but fragments of one and the same Empire and the historian thus makes the inventory of the liquidation: West Iran is Buwayyid, Mesopotamia Hamadanid, Egypt and Syria render homage to the Ikhshidids, Africa to the Fatimids, Spain to the Omayyads, Transoxiana and Khorasan to the Samanids, South Arabia and Bahrain to the Karmathians and Jurjan to the Dailamites, Basra and Wasit to the Barids; while naught but Baghdad and a portion of Babylonia owned the Caliph's actual sway³.

Already in the year 324 Masudi likens the situation to the Diodochi States that grew out of the Empire of Alexander the Great (Masudi, I, 306; II, 73 et sqq). And yet the fiction of the supremacy of the Caliph at Baghdad is in no way dissipated or impaired. Masudi himself speaks of the Empire of the 'Commander of the Faithful' as extending from Farghana and the Eastern frontier of Khorasan to Tangier in the west, 3,700 parasangs; from the Caucasus to Jedda, 600 parasangs⁴.

The local rulers (*Ashab al-Atraf* or *Muluk-al-Tawaif*) acknowledge the suzerainty of the Caliph, and in the first instance cause prayer to be offered for him in the mosque, and purchase their titles from him, and send annual presents to him. Thus, when the Buwayyid, Adad-ud-Dowlah, conquers Kirman in 358/968, he obtains the

(1) Mez, *Die Renaissance Des Islams*. Heidelberg, 1922.

(2) The first is the Muslim and the second the corresponding Christian era. (3) Misk, V, 554; Ibn al-Jauzi 58a; Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 241; *Kitab-al-Uyun*, Berlin, IV, 153 b; Abulfeda under A.H. 228.

(4) Masudi, IV, 38, according to Fizari.

Charter of Confirmation from the Caliph¹. Like an Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, with but small power over the German nation, the Caliph, though recognized as titular head, possessed dignity without substantial authority. But the idea of the Caliphate was once so overwhelmingly sublime that even the Spanish Omayyads would not assume the title of 'Commander of the Faithful,' but were content with the appellation 'Caliphs' Sons,' (Banu-l-Khulafa). The Fatimids caused the first breach. They aspired to be not merely temporal sovereigns but genuine successors of the Prophet. Thus, after the conquest of Kairowan in 297/909 they assumed the title of Caliph². Since then the practice of calling oneself 'Commander of the Faithful' has spread. In the year 342/953 even the petty Sunnite ruler of Sigilmash, south of Atlas, takes on the once awe-inspiring title of 'Commander of the Faithful³.' When Abd-al-Rahman heard in Spain that the Fatimids were calling themselves 'Commanders of the Faithful;' he too in the year 350/961, adopted that title⁴. This prevented emancipated Islam from effecting any association with definite political boundaries. The fatherland of the Muslim thus extended further and further, and the idea of a Muslim Empire, unknown to Masudi, emerged into light. While, in the case of Islam, this meant an extension of territories; in the case of the Holy Roman Empire of German nationality the lapse of centuries produced the very opposite results, namely, its shrinkage into a smaller and smaller compass.

For Mukaddasi, the Muslim Empire extends from the extreme east at Kashghar to remote Sus on the Atlantic, and requires ten months to traverse⁵. According to Ibn Haukal it is bounded on the East by India and the Persian Gulf; on the West by peoples of the Sudan who dwell on the shores of the Atlantic; on the North by the countries of the Romans, the Armenians, the Alans, the Arrans, the Khazars, the Russians, the Bulgarians, the Slavs, the Turks, the Chinese; on the South by the Persian Sea⁶. Within these borders the Muslim travelled under the shadow of his faith, and, wheresoever he went, found the very same God, the very same prayer, and the very same laws and customs. There was, so to speak, a practical code of citizenship of this Muslim Empire, for the faithful in all these countries was sure of his personal freedom, and

(1) Misk, VI, 323. (2) *Kitab-al-Uyun*, IV, 69a, Berlin. (3) Bekri, 151, Ed. Slane. (4) Abulfeda, under A.H.850; Maqqari, I, 212. (5) p. 64. (6) 10 f.

could on no account be made a slave¹.

Nasir-i-Khusru, in the 5/11th century, travels dauntlessly through all these countries. It was not unlike what happened in Germany in the 18th century.

The Fatimid Caliph, however, stands in strong opposition to his rival, the Abbasid Caliph. Outside Africa, Yaman and Syria pray for him. 'In every valley he has his agents².' The following little story shows what they thought he could do. Sultan Adad-ud-Dowlah had a silver lion affixed to the stern of his gondola in Baghdad. This was stolen. In vain was the earth turned upside down in search for it. People conjectured that the Fatimids had sent some one to commit the theft³. In the year 401 a Beduin chief, Shaikh of Agel, who held Anbar and Kufa, went the length of causing, under the very nose of the Abbasids, prayer to be offered for the Egyptian Caliph, Al-Hakim, until he was brought to his senses by the Buwayyid Baha-ud-Dawlah⁴. It was some comfort to the Caliph at Baghdad that the newly-risen star, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, always showed great respect, announced his victories, detailed his troubles to him. When in the year 403/1012 the Fatimid Al-Hakim wrote a letter to get him over to his side, Mahmud sent the letter to the Abbasid Caliph after tearing it and spitting on it⁵. Over Mekka and Medina sharpest was the friction in the holy territory; for their possession was of much greater importance than before. There was no occasion before to discuss the insignia of the true Caliph, but now, in view of the disputes regarding the position of the Caliph, the theory was put forward that the true Caliph was the one who held the holy territory⁶. This theory constituted the basis of the claim of the Ottoman Caliphs to the Caliphate. The *Tertii Gaudentes* in these disputes for the possession of the holy towns were the Alids, of whom the Hasanids had always been wealthy and influential round about Medina. Without any opposition from the other two powerful claimants—the Caliphs of Baghdad and Egypt—the Medinite Alids conquered Mekka about the middle of the 4/10th century. But the thing to note is that, at the end of the century, the holy territory wears the same aspect as it does to-day⁷: Mekka, instead of

(1) Only some sectarian eccentrics like the Karmathians taught different views. (2) Fihrist, 189. (3) Ibn Al-Jauzi, fol. 118 a. (4) Ibn al-Athir, IX, 157; Ibn Taghribardi, 107. (5) Ibn Taghribardi, 114. (6) Masudi, I, 362. (7) Very great changes have taken place since the days of Mez. Tr.

Medina, becomes the centre of political gravity, and the Sharifs become the custodians of the Holy Towns¹.

Geographically at this time the Empire of Islam has once more become purely Oriental. After Charlemagne the Mediterranean had become a Saracenic sea. At the beginning of the 4/10th century the Abbasids successfully maintained their western frontier against the attacks of the Byzantines. From the pulpits of the capital, victories were exultantly announced. In the year 293/904 Muslim pirates captured Thessalonica, second town of the Byzantine Empire, "a great town guarded with walls, outposts, turrets," and took 22,000 inhabitants as slaves².

But in 314/924, with the occupation of Malatias³, began the forward march of Greece. In 331/941, after a serious discussion, and upon the advice of the aged Wazir Ali Ibn Isa, the portrait of Christ, preserved in Edessa, was made over to the Christians by way of ransom for Muslim war-prisoners. With great *clat* it was brought to Hagia Sophia⁴. Masudi mourns over the weakness of Islam in his days. He laments the victories of the Romans over the faithful; the desolation of the roads used by pilgrims; the cessation of the holy war. Victorious has Islam been hitherto, says he, but now is its stately column broken, its foundation overthrown. "Such is the case in 332/942 in the Caliphate of Muttâqi, the Commander of the Faithful. May God improve our condition⁵!"

In this century the Byzantine Empire had the good fortune of having at its head three extraordinarily able generals, following one another in succession: Nicephorus Phokas, John Zimiskes and Basil Bulgaroktonas⁶. The last, by far the ablest of the three, ruled for 55 years. In 350/961 Nicephorus conquered Crete, the chief centre of Muslim pirates, after an eight months' siege. Five years later fell Cyprus, and with it passed away the unquestioned supremacy of Islam in the Mediterranean. In 351/962 Nicephorus marched into Aleppo. Mopsuesta surrendered in 354/965 and finally Tarsus, the strongest bulwark of Islam, after the inhabitants had been reduced to live upon dead bodies for food⁷. In 357/968 Nicephorus conquered Hamah, Emesa and Laodicea. In the winter

(1) Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekkah*, 1, 59.

(2) Joannes Cameniata, one of the prisoners. *Corpus Script. Historiae Byzant.* Bonn, 491, 589. (3) Misk, V, 249. (4) Yahya ibn Sa'id, 98.

(5) Masudi, II 43 et sqq.

(6) Finlay, *History of Greece*, Vol. II, pp. 323 et sqq. Tr.

(7) Yahya ibn Sa'id, 123; Misk, VI, 254, 272.

following fell the apparently invincible Antioch¹. When in the year 362/972 Mesopotamia was fearfully devastated, and even Nisibin was plundered, the people rose at Baghdad with the rage of despair and the Mesopotamian and Syrian fugitives stopped religious services, broke up pulpits, and attacked the Caliph's residence at such close quarters that they could be shot at from the windows of the palace². In the year 363/974 Baalbec and Beyrut were captured. From Beyrut the miracle-working statue of Christ was taken by the Conqueror and placed in one of the palaces of Constantinople. Damascus escaped on payment of an annual war tax of 6,000 dinars³.

In the south, however, the Muslims maintained the Nubian frontier of the quondam *Imperium Romanum*. In the year 332/943 Masudi writing from Egypt says : the Nubians pay to the Empire up to to-day a tribute which they call baqt (pactum). It is made over to the representative of the Egyptian governor in Assuan⁴. In the year 344/955 the Nubians even lost their frontier town Ibrim (Primis)⁵. In the extreme south-west Andagust, the great commercial emporium of the Western Sahara, already becomes a Muslim town, and constitutes the most advanced post towards Central Africa⁶.

The retreat in the West corresponds to a steady advance in the East. In the year 313/925 Baluchistan, hitherto heathen, was conquered⁷. In the year 349/960 the inmates of 20,000 Turkish tents accept Islam⁸. And while at the end of the 3/9th century the last town of the Empire, so far as the Turks were concerned, was Asfigab ; the admission of Bogra Khans into the circle of Muslim princes

(1) Yahya, 131 ; Michæl Syrus, 551.

(2) Yahya, 140 ; Ibn al-Jauzi, 104 c ; Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 455 ; Abul Mahasin, II, 486.

(3) Yahya, 145. cf. Jean Ebersolt, *Le grand palais de Constantinople*, Paris, 1910, p. 22.

(4) Masudi, III, 39.

(5) Yahya, 114 ; Maqrizi, *Khittat*, I, 198.

(6) According to Mahallabi, writing in the 70th year of the 4/10th century, even in Rankan, on the river Niger, the King and the majority of the people are said to be Muslims (Yaqt, IV, 329). But in Bekri and Ibn Sa'id (who comes later) they are called heathens.

(7) Misk, V, 249.

(8) Misk, VI, 240 ; *Kit-al-Uyun*, IV, fol. 267a.

pushed the frontier on to the basis of Tarin¹.

For Mukaddasi the empire of Islam extends right up to Kashghar², and in the year 397/1006 Khotan is Muslim. At this very time Mahimud of Ghazni sets out on his conquering expeditions and subdues large tracts in India for Islam. "The token of alliance with Indian Kings was the cutting off of a finger." Mahmud had a collection of many such fingers³.

Whether the dissolution of the Abbasid Caliphate into fragments means a downward course to us, who merely judge by quantity and the so-called unity, is beside the question here. World-empires depend for their existence either upon a gifted ruler or upon a brutal caste—in either case they are unnatural.

The Egypt of the Ikhshidids, the Kafurs and the Fati-mids does not convey a bad impression; even the Samanids in the East receive a good testimony⁴. But bad times had come over Baghdad.

For the first time in 315/927 the town fell into the hands of ruffians who became more and more audacious with the progressive weakness of the Government⁵. The very worst times were those which intervened between the death of Bagkams and the entry of the Buwayyids, 329-334 (940-945 A. D.).

Like a presage of the fall of the Caliphate, the great dome of the palace of Mansur came crashing down in a tremendous storm in the year 329/940—the dome which constituted the crown and glory of Baghdad⁶.

In the year 331/942 Ibn Hamdi, chief of a robber band, plundered the town under the protection of Ibn Shirzad who, as Secretary to the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, stood at the head of the Government. From his and his companions' share of the booty Ibn Hamdi had to make a

(1) Yaqubi, BG VII, 295. By a later Persian writer the town is identified as Sairam, 17 Km. east of Kunkent. This agrees with the position assigned to it by Ibn Khurdadbih. This identification is accepted by Levih (*Archæological Journey to Turkistan*, p. 35) and by Grenard (*JA* 1900, t, 15, p. 27). But this is improbable as Sam'ani who knew Central Asia very well speaks of Asfigab as a large town (in Abulfeda, *Geogr. ed. Reinaud*, p. 494). Yaqut (1,250) expressly reports that in 616/1219 Asfigab was destroyed by the Mogols but Chau-chung in Nov. 1221 visits the town of Sailan, (*Bretschneider, Mediæval Researches*, 1, 74). (2) p. 64. (3) Jauzi, fol. 18b. (4) Ibn Haukal, 341 et sqq.

(5) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 125.

(6) Jauzi, fol. 67a; *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 190a.

monthly payment of 15,000 dinars to Ibn Shirzad for which he received regular receipts and statements of account.

Thus the citizens kept guard with signal trumpets and could no longer sleep in peace¹. Houses in the town were deserted and their owners actually paid money to people to live therein and keep them in repair. Many baths and mosques were shut up². To these was added the eternal strife between Sunnah and Shiah, accompanied by constant incendiarism. The large conflagration of 362/972 reduced 300 shops and 33 mosques to ashes and destroyed 17,000 lives. It is said to have been caused by the government itself to end the town fights. Thus began the migration to the eastern side of the town which even to-day is by far the more populous³. In the following year Ibn Shirzad succeeded the Commander-in-Chief on his death. He imposed such heavy taxes that many merchants left the town. The insecurity became so appalling that robbers broke into the house of a Qadhi who, in climbing the roof, to effect his escape, fell down and was killed⁴.

In Mukaddasi's time Baghdad had vacant spaces and a sparse population which dwindled day by day. I fear, says he, that it will become like Samarra⁵.

That part of the town which formerly, at noon, was the entre of a lively concourse of traders and customers; namely, the corner where the cobblers, and cotton traders' streets met, was in 393/1000 the playground of sparrows and pigeons⁶. Larger and more populous than Baghdad was then the capital of Egypt. It has remained since the greatest town of Islam.

II. THE CALIPHS.

When, in the year 295/907, a vacancy of the throne was imminent the Wazir one day rode home from the palace, accompanied, as usual, by one of the four chief ministers. He discussed with him the question of succession to the Caliphate. Personally he declared for the son of the Caliph Al-Mutazz but the other—the later Wazir Ibn Al-Furat—dissuaded him from his choice, arguing that one should not choose as Caliph him who

(1) *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 205b.

(2) Jauzi, 72a.

(3) Yahya, 141; Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 462.

(4) *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 229a.

(5) Mukaddasi, (Eng. tr. by Azoo) p. 120, Tr.

(6) Wuz. 116. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 77. Tr.

knows the house of one, the land of another, and the garden of the third, who is affable and courteous to people, who knows life and has grown wise by experience. He suggested the young prince Al-Muqtadir. The Wazir realized the position and Al-Muqtadir was duly raised to the throne¹—a boy of thirteen whose sole joy consisted in obtaining holidays from school².

By reason of minority his election was, in fact, illegal, and an honest Qadhi actually lost his life for conscientious scruples to do homage to him on that ground³. But the mandarins had miscalculated. The boy's mother—a Greek slave—ruled firmly with her party; appointed and dismissed; and prevented plunder of the State-treasury. Her strength of character is revealed by the way in which she guided the studies of her grandsons. While the later Caliph Al-Radhi sat reading his books, there came the eunuchs⁴ of his grandmother with a white piece of cloth. They wrapped the books therein and left the prince angrily behind. After two hours they brought back the books in precisely the same condition in which they had taken them. Thereupon the prince said to them: "Tell him who enjoined you to do what you have done that these are purely learned and useful books on theology, jurisprudence, poetry, philology, history, and are not what you read, stories of the Sea, the history of Sindbad and the fable of the Cat and the Mouse." Suli, the prince's friend, who related this story, fearing lest they should report who was with him and the consequences of such a report, went up to the eunuchs and begged them not to convey the prince's message. They rejoined: We have not understood the learned message, how are we to repeat it⁵? Deposed by rebels twice for a couple of days or so, Muqtadir sat for twenty-five years on the throne, but always under the shadow of his mother. Compelled by his retinue, but contrary to her and his own wishes, once and only once did he undertake a campaign. He fell in battle. His head was cut off; his dress, even the mantle of the Prophet, was torn off; and a soldier, out of sheer compassion, covered his bare body with a heap of grass. Of stout build, rather undersized, of pale complexion, he had small eyes with

(1) *Kitab-al-Uyun*, IV, 58 (b).

(2) Wuz. 116.

(3) *Arib*, 28.

(4) See the interesting note of Burton on eunuchs. *Arabian Nights*, Vol. I., 70 *Supplemental Nights*. Tr.

(5) Al-Suli, *Auraq*, Paris, 4886, p. 9.

large pupils, a handsome face and a fine reddish beard¹. Everything that is reported of him points to a sweetness and gentleness of disposition. When the Wazir reported to him that a monthly grant of 300 dinars was made for musk in his food and yet the Caliph took no biscuits or at least but a few, he laughed and forbade retrenchment, on the ground that people perhaps needed money for other necessary expenses².

But he was fond of wine³.

His half-brother al-Qadir was chosen because, unlike him, he was not a minor, nor had he a mother to take him under her wing⁴. He, also, was stoutly built and was of reddish complexion. He had large eyes, a thick beard and was slow of speech⁵. When the insurrection of 317/929, which had set him up as Counter-Caliph, was quelled, he, crying *Nafsi, Nafsi, Allah, Allah*, begged his brother for his life⁶. But he himself is said to have been a hard drinker, a miser, a hypocrite and prompt at shedding blood⁷. He managed to rid himself of the Commander-in-Chief, Munis, and succeeded in effecting considerable retrenchments⁸. But, as he would not voluntarily abdicate, he was blinded, and was, indeed, the first of the Caliphs and Princes of Islam to endure that fate⁹. This practice was learnt from the Byzantines. After this incident he lived for seventeen long years in the home where he had resided as a Prince. He is said to have become so poor that he could not afford anything but a cotton coat and a wooden sandal (*qabqab khashab*¹⁰). Walking in his simple garb and with his face covered, he was yet, once, recognized as a former Caliph by a Hashimite who presented him with a thousand dirhams and accompanied him home¹¹.

His nephew Al-Radhi (322-29/933-940) was only 25 when proclaimed Caliph. He was thin, short of stature,

(1) Masudi, *Tanbih*, 377; Misk, V, 379. Arib 1,76; *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV 129a.

(2) Wuz. 352.

(3) Dhahabi, *Tarikh al-Islam*. Amedroz; *Kit.al-Wuzara*, p.11.

(4) *Arib*, 181.

(5) Masudi, *Tanbih*, 388; *Kit.al-Uyun* IV, 141b.

(6) *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 123 b.

(7) Masudi, *Tanbih*, 388; Misk, V, 424; Arib 185.

(8) Misk, IV, 419. Masudi, *Tanbih*, 388.

(9) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 333.

(10) *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 120a.

(11) Masudi, *Tanbih*, 388; *Kit.al-Uyun*, 183b.

and brown in complexion. He had a sharp chin and a snub nose¹. He understood and loved poetry and song, and has left behind a collection of his own poems. He was a collector of crystal ware, and spent more on it than on anything else². Besides, he had a passion for pulling down old and erecting new buildings in their places. Specially fond was he of laying out gardens³. He was very generous by nature, but his limited means prevented free scope to his generosity. His people once found him sitting on a coil of rope, watching building operations. He invited them to take their seats on other coils by his side : This done, he ordered each coil to be weighed and its weight paid to the occupant in gold and silver pieces⁴.

A learned man raved before him of a beautiful girl he had seen with a slave-dealer. On return home he found the girl waiting there for him. The Caliph, had purchased her for him⁵. Only one fault did his friends find with him ; he gave himself up to too much pleasure and, contrary to the advice of his physician, overfed himself⁶. He died at the age of 32, after having made all necessary preparations for the washing of his dead body. He ordered the coffin to be prepared and even chose his shroud. He put them in a box with the inscription : Preparations for the other world⁷.

His reign, however, did not quite pass off unstained by blood. Cunningly he lured Ibn Maqlah, the former Wazir, into a trap ; had a number of his relatives arrested and killed ; of course, only such as had aspired to the throne after him or had caused homage to be done already⁸.

In his twenty-sixth year his half-brother Al-Muttaqi ascended the throne. He, too, was of stout build, of fair complexion, with round blue eyes, with meeting eyebrows, short nose and reddish hair⁹. He did not indulge in wine. He zealously fasted and gave no entertainments. His only companion was the Qur'an—none else would he have besides it¹⁰. But ill-luck never forsook him. On the night before his circumcision a bath collapsed,

(1) Al-Suli, *Auraq*, 27.

(2) Al-Suli, *Auraq*, 27.

(3) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 54a.

(4) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 54a.

(5) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 54a, according to Al-Suli.

(6) He suffered from stomach troubles.

(7) *Kitab-al-Uyun*, IV, 182a.

(8) *Kitab-al-Uyun*, IV, 220a.

(9) Masudi, *Tanbih*, 897, *Kit.al-Uyun* IV, 220a.

(10) Ibn al-Jauzi, 66b.

killing the slave-girls who were preparing themselves for the festivity. All his chamberlains suddenly died, with the result that no one cared to accept service under him. When at a celebration on the Tigris he drove through the town and the crowd cheered him, a scaffolding gave way, and later a number of courtiers, women and children were drowned by the river suddenly overflowing its banks¹. Even when on the throne this ill-luck persistently dogged his footsteps. He was the first Caliph who, seeking for help, left the *Town of Peace*² and roamed about with the defeated Hamadanids in Mesopotamia. He refused the protection of the Egyptian Ikhshidids. The Turkish general, whom he trusted, betrayed him for 600,000 dirhams which a pretender to the throne had offered him, and had him blinded by an Indian slave³. He lived for 24 years after this tragedy and died in his own house⁴. His successor Al-Mustakfi, who waded to the throne in shame and infamy, was the son of a Greek slave-girl⁵. He had a fair complexion, long nose, big eyes, small mouth, a full beard. He was corpulent and rather tall. He had a strong liking for negro women⁶. Situated as he was between a grasping wife, whose intrigues had raised him to the throne, and the Turks actually ruling the town, he could hardly be happy. Finally came the Buwayyids, who, at the very first conference, forced upon him a Wazir whom he had sworn never to appoint. The Chamberlain Duka thus relates: I was present on this occasion. Resisting, the Caliph yielded. But I saw his eyes full of tears at the strangeness of the demand⁷. When on the point of being deposed, he voluntarily abdicated on condition that none of his limbs was maimed or mangled⁸. But his successor, brother of his predecessor, in revenge for what had been done to his brother, had him blinded. No one was prepared to execute this punishment. A slave, however, whom he had once caused to be whipped when Caliph, undertook the task⁹. The later Caliphs reconciled themselves to a position of inactivity, and thus managed nominally to rule for long years. After a stroke of apoplexy Al-Muti'

(1) *Kitab-al-Uyun*, IV, 221b.

(2) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 304.

(3) *Kitab-al-Uyun*, 219a.

(4) Yahya ibn Sa'id, 101.

(5) Masudi, *Tanbih*, 398; *Kitab-al-Uyun*, IV, 22a, merely mentions her as a slave.

(6) *Kitab-al-Uyun*, IV, 239a.

(7) *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 282a.

(8) *Ibid*, IV, 288a.

(9) *Ibid*, IV, 288b.

resigned in favour of his son—Al-Ta'i—who was deposed in the eighteenth year of his rule. For twelve years he lived after his deposition in honourable captivity under his successor. Very little is known of these later Caliphs. Al-Muti's mother, a slave of Slavonic nationality, was more famous than her son. She was a whistler. With a petal in her mouth she warbled wondrous notes with remarkable skill. She could imitate all singing birds¹.

Al-Ta'i was strong and handsome and of fair complexion. He held at bay a powerful stag, which knocked every one down and which no one dared to touch, until the carpenter removed his horns².

Al-Qadir was pious and kind ; two-thirds of his meals he distributed to different mosques³. He used to dye his long beard ; put on ordinary dress ; visit with the people the sanctuaries of the saints at Baghdad, such as those of Ma'ruf and Ibn Bessar, and indulge in all kinds of adventures. He even wrote a theological work, in the orthodox Sunni strain, which was read out every Friday in the circle of theologians in the mosque of Mahdi⁴.

Against these fleeting shadows the splendid succession of the African Caliphs stands out in striking contrast. From the very beginning among them, the Caliphate passed from sire to son. This practice was their salvation ; for it spared them blood-stained disputes regarding the succession. To this was added a statesmanlike attitude in their dealings. When the Governor of Syria wrote direct to Al-Muizz (341-365/952-975), ignoring the legitimate channels, the Caliph took him to task and returned the letter with unbroken seals. The most brilliant of these Caliphs was Al-Aziz (365-386/975-996). Stalwart, of tawny complexion, with reddish hair and large blue eyes, a dauntless hunter, a connoisseur of horses and precious stones, he is the first example of that large-hearted Saracenic chivalry which made so deep and lasting an impression upon the West. The Caliph beat and captured the Turkish leader who had conquered Ascalon and had caused the Egyptian army to pass under a bare sword, but he took no revenge upon him. In fact, he made over his own tent to him ; supplied him with horses ; met all his needs ; returned his signet to him and allowed him the company of his friends among the prisoners of war. At

(1) Ibid IV, 240.

(2) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 106a.

(3) Ibn al-Jauzi, 182b.

(4) Ibn al-Jauzi, 182a ; Al-Subki III, 2.

the first interview he caused a cup of syrup to be handed over to him and when the Turk hesitated, thinking that it might perchance contain poison, the Caliph drank first¹.

And, finally, there looms on the horizon the extraordinary figure of Hakim! Sometimes he sat by day with candle light; sometimes he spent the night in darkness². As he loved, with a few companions, to roam about the streets of Old Cairo at night, the merchants kept their shops open and well-lighted. And thus the Bazaars were as lively at night as they were during the day³. Except those that were used for hunting, he ordered all dogs to be destroyed, as their barking disturbed him in his nightly adventures⁴. When a disease unfitted him to ride, he had himself carried by four men in a litter—restless, ill at ease by day and by night. On these occasions he received prayers and petitions in which only one line on a page was permitted to be written. The petitioners were only allowed to approach him on his right side. He ordered them to present themselves at a certain place on the following day. He kept his orders and gifts in his sleeve and personally distributed them among the petitioners⁵. He never put a curb on expenses. He was lavish and kind to his people. Law and justice reigned triumphant under him. And yet no great man was quite sure of his life, for he pounced upon his best friends with a morbid suddenness. Much as he liked the black eunuch Ain, he yet had his right hand cut off. But this did not prevent the bestowal of favours upon him. He, indeed, conferred the most honourable titles upon him and installed him in most responsible offices. Suddenly, one day, he cut out his tongue, only to reward him afterwards yet more lavishly⁶. Of his whimsical treatment of Christians and Jews hereafter.

Towards the end he roamed about in the desert; allowed his hair to grow until it reached his shoulders; never trimmed his nails; never changed his black woollen mantle and blue head cloth reeking with dust and perspiration.

The learned Christian Yahya compared him to Nebuchadnezzar who, after the manner of the beasts of the field, lived with nails like the claws of eagles and hair

(1) Yahya ibn Sa'id, 155.

(2) Ibn Taghribardi, 68.

(3) Yahya ibn Sa'id, 185.

(4) Yahya, 188.

(5) Yahya, 217.

(6) Yahya, 218.

like a lion's mane because he had destroyed the Lord's Temple. Yahya was considerate enough, however, in describing the Caliph's disease as melancholia, and said that they should have put him into a bath of violet oil to impregnate his withered brain with sweet scented moisture.

III. THE PRINCES OF THE EMPIRE.

Their title is Amir. Even the royal princes were so called—only the eunuch Kafur in Egypt felt quite content with the appellation of 'Ustad¹'. The Amir-al-Omara, at the court of the Caliph, originally had no connexion with this title. He was the Commander-in-Chief. This title was also borne by the Field-Marshal Munis, who never considered himself of the rank of a prince. For the princes of the Empire there was no official mark of distinction. Prayer was offered for them in the mosque, as to the governor, after prayer for the Caliph. Only in Babylonia, where the Commander of the Faithful himself resided and personally carried on the administration, was it deemed derogatory to his dignity to mention the name of any other along with his at the service in the mosque. In the year 323/934 the Chief Chamberlain, Mohammed ibn Yaqut, had already arrogated all powers to himself, and compelled the ministers to report everything to him and to do nothing except over his signature. The result was that the Wazir was reduced to a shadow, without work or authority². When the preachers of Baghdad prayed for him the Caliph dismissed them all³. In the following year, however, the Caliph had to yield, and the name of Ibn Raiq was openly mentioned in the prayers at the mosques. This meant the acknowledgment of a prince under him in Babylonia⁴.

(1) Yahya, 124. In the East 'Ustad' was the title of Wazirs. Ibn al-Amir is so called (Misk, vi, 220); another, Ibn Taghribardi 34. Today the coachman is called 'Ustad' in Cairo. In India the word 'Ustad' is used for a teacher—teachers of all kinds. Tr.

(2) Misk, V, 474.

(3) Al-Suli, *Auraq*, 83.

(4) 'Sultan,' at this time, is only used of the Caliph and *Dar-us-Sultan* is the palace of the Caliph at Baghdad. The statement of Ibn Khaldun (III, 420) that Muizz-ad-Dawlah adopted the title of 'Sultan' is incorrect. According to the later Egyptian writer Abul Mahasin (II, 252) the special title of the rulers of Egypt was at first Pharaoh and later 'Sultan.' Even al-Zuhri (9/15th century) thinks that the only rulers legitimately entitled to that title are those of Egypt. This fits in with the word 'Soldan,' current in mediæval Europe, to signify the ruler of Egypt. The later Amirs of Baghdad do not seem to have been mentioned in prayers until Adad-ad-Dawlah in 368/979 received this honour which no king had had before or after. Misk, VI, 499.

Among these princes the Hamadanids strike us as representatives of the worst class of Beduins (Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties* pp. 111-13 A. H. 317-394/929-1003). On the occasion of the conference at Mosul, the Caliph Radhi took up his residence in a house and so did his Commander-in-Chief Ibn Raiq; whilst the Hamadanid pitched his tent by the cloister. You are mere Beduins, said Ibn Raiq, contemptuously to the Hamadanid (*Kit-al-Uyun* IV, 182 b). Of their bad government, their plundering propensities, their oppression of the peasantry, their destruction of trees, their constant violations of engagements and promises, we shall speak elsewhere. The founder of the dynasty treacherously murdered the Wazir who had accompanied him on a pleasure-ride (*Kit-al-Uyun*, IV, 60-a) and Nasir-ad-Dawlah, in a cowardly fashion, killed Ibn Raiq in his own Hamadanid tent¹. In their own house strife and insubordination were rife. Not merely flagrantly so in the Mesopotamian branch, but elsewhere as well—as shown by the murder of Abu Firas by his nephew, the son of Saif-ad-Dawlah². Among them it was only Saif-ad-Dawlah who was distinguished by brilliant achievements and a certain degree of chivalry. The Greek authors note that he often fell into tactical errors because he was too conceited and never asked any one for advice lest it might be said that he conquered through others (Abulfeda, *Annales*, under 349). But despite his brilliant achievements he was always defeated by the Turkish Chiefs Tuzun and Begkeni.

Out of the old Empire the Baridis, likewise, carved their fortune³.

(1) Misk, VI, 60; *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 182b.

(2) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 334; Ibn Khall. according to Thabit ibn Sinan, See Dvorak, Abu Firas, 114 sqq.

(3) "Al-Baridi. This *nisba* was borne by three brothers, Abu'Abd Allah Ahmad, Abu Yusuf Ya'kub and Abu 'l-Husain, who played an important part in the period of the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate under al-Muktadir and his successors. The head of this family was the first mentioned Abu 'Abd Allah, who, not content with the unimportant offices which the Caliph's vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa had given him and his brothers, obtained from his successor Ibn Mukla (*q.v.*) the government of the province of al-Ahwaz and other important offices for his brothers in return for a present of 20,000 dirhams (316/928). They managed to make such good use of their opportunities that when they were involved in the fall of the vizier scarcely two years later the ransom of 400,000 dinars demanded for their freedom by Muktadir was paid without difficulty. After the assassination of al-Muktadir in 320 (932), Abu 'Abd Allah was able to do as he pleased and by unheard of extortions and deeds of violence to enrich himself, while his brothers were restored to their

For long they were the actual rulers of Babylon. More like secretaries than soldiers (Misk, VI, 154), they yet boldly fought many a time. In greed and short-sightedness they did not yield to the Hamadanids. The first really disastrous time for Baghdad was the year 330/941 when a Baridi conquered Baghdad and the Caliph fled to Mosul. Already in March he raised the land-tax, oppressed the landlords, imposed heavy capitation taxes on Christians and Jews, levied an enormous additional tax on wheat, took away a portion of their wares from the

offices and did likewise. This continued in the reign of the Caliph al-Radhi (322-329=934-940) because their old friend, the Vizier Ibn Mukla, had again gained power in this period. Instead of giving the revenues of the provinces governed by them to the Caliph's treasury, they kept them to themselves by false statements and bribery. This state of affairs could not go on for ever and when Ibn Raik (*q. v.*) under the title of Amir al-Umara had gained control of the Caliphate (324=936), the Caliph advanced with an army against Abu 'Abd Allah, after all the subterfuges contrived by that cunning man to gain the favour of Ibn Raik had failed. But Abu 'Abd Allah knew what course to take; he escaped to the Buwayyid 'Imad al-Dawla in Fars and persuaded him without much trouble to conquer al-Ahwaz and al-Irak. When an opponent to Ibn Raik arose in the Turk Bedikem (*q. v.*) Abu 'Abd Allah took the side first of one then of the other according to circumstances, and after Bedikem's victory in 326 (938) he was appointed by him Vizier of the Caliph. He was deposed soon afterwards, however, but as Bedikem had perished early in the reign of al-Muttaki (329=941), he seized Baghdad for a brief period but after a few weeks was forced by the mutinous troops to return to Wasit. In the following year 330 (932) he sent his brother Abu'l-Husain with troops against Baghdad so that the Caliph and Ibn Raik had to seek refuge with the Hamdanids of Mosul. Abu'l-Husain made himself so detested by his oppressions there that the Hamdanids had no difficulty in driving him from Baghdad and even from Wasit. The brothers were able to assert themselves in Basra although they had to wage a costly war with the lord of 'Oman, who had come against Basra with a fleet and had already taken Obolla 331 (942). Fortunately for them the fleet was set on fire and the enemy was forced to retire to 'Oman. These and other wars consumed Abu 'Abd Allah's wealth and although he did not hesitate to have his brother Abu Yusuf murdered to gain his accumulated treasures, they availed him little, for he himself died the same year 332 (944). The third brother Abu'l-Husain soon came into conflict with his own followers who recognised Abu'l-Kasim, the son of Abu 'Abd Allah as their master, and escaped with great difficulty to the Karmatian prince of al-Bahrain. With the latter's help he laid siege to his nephew in Basra, till he came to terms with him. Soon afterwards he again began intriguing and went to Baghdad to try to obtain the governorship of Basra and so, far from being successful, he was executed there in 333 (945) after a trial. His nephew Abu'l-Kasim in the following year made peace with the Buyid Muizz al-Dawla, though only for a brief period, for in 335 the latter sent troops against him and in 336 (947) advanced in person against Basra and forced him to flee to the Karmatians of al-Bahrain. He then ceased to play any active part in politics though he was ultimately pardoned by Muizz al-Dawla and did not die till 349 (960)."

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merchants, and exacted compulsory loans from the populace¹. Before Muizz-ad-Dawlah, the last Baridi fled to the Karmatheans in South Arabia. But he was subsequently reconciled to the new order of things, returned to Baghdad, and was even included among the table-companions (Nudama) of Muizz-ad-Dawlah².

Compared to these robber princes, the soldiers hailing from northern countries who established their throne within the confines of the Empire were veritable fathers to the people. The Samanids pretended to be Persians and traced their descent from the Sassanids. At the end of the 3rd/9th century they reached their highest splendour: Transoxiana, Media, and the whole of Iran up to Kirman were under their rule. But within their own kingdom there flourished almost independent States; for instance, Sigistan (Afghanistan), still belonging to the Saffarids, prayed, true enough, for the ruler of Bukhara, but merely paid him a tribute. The vastness of their Empire necessitated the establishment of a kind of vice-royalty. They themselves resided in Bukhara, but their Commander-in-Chief (*Sahib-al-Jaish*) had his seat at Nishapur, which under the Tahirids had become the capital of Khorasan³. Mukaddasi—possibly for personal reasons—cannot sufficiently extol their mode of life, their attitude towards learning and learned men. They excused them from kissing the ground before them. Even if a tree was to rise against them, says Mukaddasi, it would instantly wither away⁴. Even when the powerful Adad-ud-Dawlah, who conquered everybody else, marched against the Samanids, God destroyed his army and made over his State to his enemies⁵. The Dailamites, to be sure, did take the whole of Iran from the Samanids but after a hard fight. Almost every year Subuktagin, the general of Muizz-ud-Dawlah in Baghdad, had to hasten to Rai with help to the brother of his master conducting operations against the Samanids there.

(1) Misk, VI, 158; *Kit.al-Uyun*, 192a.

(2) *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 247. On the word 'Nudama,' see Burton, *Arabian Nights*, Vol. I., p. 46. "Nadim" denotes one who was intimate with the Caliph, a very high honour and a dangerous one. The last who sat with 'Nudama' was Al-Radhi bi'llah A.H. 329/940. See Suyuti, *History of the Caliphs*, Eng.tr. Tr.

(3) Vambery, *Bokhara*, Chapters IV and V. Tr.

(4) For Mukaddasi, see Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies: Indian and Islamic*, 159-162.

(5) Misk, VI, 377.

Twenty years after Mukaddasi had lavished his praises, the kingdom of the Samanids was crushed between the Turks of the North and the South and the last of the House was killed in flight. To the Caliphs of Baghdad the Samanids always remained unswervingly loyal and never failed to send in presents. In the year 301/913 Ahmed Ibn Ismail even applied to the Caliph for the post of *Sahib-al-Shurtah* (Prefect of Police) which had fallen vacant by the death of the last of the Tahirids. Like a Governor to his Sovereign the Samanid Nasr sent the head of a slain rebel to the Caliph¹.

The future, indeed, belonged to the people of the mountain ranges of Northern Persia—hitherto in the background. Of all their generals who ruled West Iran, after the death of Yusuf ibn Abissagh the Dailamite Merdawigh is the most attractive personality to the chroniclers. Islam sat lightly upon him. Like an unbeliever, he took the sons and daughters of the empire into slavery—50,000 to 100,000 women and children. Like unbelievers the inhabitants of Hamadan were put to the sword², and so the Iranians in the year 320/932 created a scene before the Caliph's palace in Baghdad. They questioned the authority of the Government to tax when it was not in a position to stand by the faithful with help and protection. A band of pious men met one of Merdawigh's generals before Dinawar. Their leader carried an open Qur'an in his hand and implored them to fear God and to spare the faithful who had committed no crime. But he is reported to have struck him in the face with the Holy Book and then run his sword through him³.

Merdawigh was an optimist with large schemes. He aspired to restore the Persian Empire and to destroy that of the Arabs⁴. He wore a diadem set with precious stones, according to the old Persian style, sat on a golden dais, in the midst of which stood the throne. In front was a silver dais covered with carpets and in front of that again were placed gilded chairs for the magnates of the realm. He meditated the conquest of Baghdad; he thought of rebuilding the palace of Chosroe at Ctesiphon and of ruling the world therefrom¹. His soldiers feared

(1) *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 190b.

(2) Masudi, IV, 23 et sqq.

(3) Masudi, IX, 24.

(4) Al-Suli, *Auraq* (Paris) 81.

his pride. He found the magnificently planned winter celebration in Ispahan mean and paltry, because to the eye, (intent upon the wide, wide world), everything appeared small and insignificant. With difficulty the Wazir succeeded in inducing him to show himself to the people. On this day of festivity all saw discontent legibly inscribed on his face. In his mantle he wrapped himself and lay down in the tent with his back against the entrance without uttering a word². Along with 50,000 Dailamites he had 4,000 Turkish slaves³ whom he unwisely preferred to his own people who, for that reason, hated him with intense hatred⁴. Despite his preference for the Turkish guards, one day he forced them, when they had awakened him from his sleep by the noise in saddling their horses, to lead their horses by the rein and carry the saddles and trappings on their backs. By way of revenge for this sort of treatment they surprised him in his bath and killed him⁵. His brother Wasmigir and his nephew Kawus, however, managed to retain a small principality high up in the north of Iran. His heritage devolved upon the leaders of the mercenaries from the Persian mountains—the Buwayyids.

The Buwayyids were so strange to Arab culture that Muizz-ud-Dawlah, as the ruler of Baghdad, needed an interpreter for an Arab audience⁶. By cunning and soldierly qualities they rose. Without compunction they passed from one commander to another who paid them better. When Makan was beaten they begged for leave and said : they did not wish to lay upon him the heavy burden of their salaries and upkeep. If things went better, they would return⁷.

One of their great qualities was to know how to make, and always to have, a reserve of money. Tradition tells us that to the founder of the dynasty, in a moment of great need, a serpent showed a hole in which a treasure lay buried⁸. By bribing the Wazir of Merdawigh they were able to plunder the rich sectarians (Khurramites) residing in

(1) Masudi, IX, 27 ; Misk, V, 489.

(2) Misk, V, 480.

(3) Masudi, IX, 26.

(4) Al-Suli, *Auraq*, 81.

(5) Misk, V, 482.

(6) Misk, V, 485.

(7) Misk, V, 485.

(8) Misk, V, 464.

their castles on the highlands of Kerag. With this money they tempted and won over a large number of their own countrymen serving in other armies. Thus to conquer the Caliph's troops and to occupy Southern Iran was an easy matter to them. Moreover they treated the prisoners with kindness and clemency and straightway took them into their service¹. Rukn-ud-Dawlah, the ruler of Rai, for fear that he might have to spend a single dirham from his treasury, neglected the administration of the country and was perfectly content with the revenues he received—whatever they were². Adad-ud-Dawlah acquired an immense fortune. Even in later times, which were by no means very prosperous, Fakhr-ud-Dawlah (d. 387/997), according to the testimony of his contemporary Ibn al-Sabi, left behind 2,875,284 dinars, 100,860,790 dirhams and treasures of all kinds which were carefully noted down. He was a miser. The keys of his store-rooms were kept in an iron purse, from which he never parted³. Even Baha-ud-Dawlah (d. 403/1012) was niggardly with every dirham and gathered together treasures such as none of his House had done before⁴.

Another feature of this family was its strong solidarity and strict discipline, at all events in the first generation. This must be credited to the personality of Ali, who later received the title of Imad-ad-Dawlah. To him, indeed, this House owes its splendour. When the third brother, Muizz-ud-Dawlah, already the ruler of Babylon, paid his official call on him, he kissed the ground before him, and remained standing, though bidden to sit down⁵. After the death of the eldest the supreme authority devolved upon the second brother Rukn-ud-Dawlah in Rai, to whom Muizz-ud-Dawlah rendered unhesitating obedience⁶.

Muizz-ud-Dawlah, on his death-bed, commanded his son to obey Rukn-ud-Dawlah and to consult him in all important matters and also to show respect to his cousin Adad-ud-Dawlah, older in years than him⁷. But when Adad-ud-Dawlah wanted to wrench Babylon away from

(1) Misk, V, 444.

(2) Misk, VI, 357.

(3) Ibn Taghribardi, 821.

(4) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 159b.

(5) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 353.

(6) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 336.

(7) Misk, VI, 298.

his unworthy cousin, Rukn-ud-Dawlah, father of Adad-ud-Dawlah, rose from his seat, rolled on the ground, foamed at the mouth, and for days, neither ate nor drank. He said : I saw my brother Muizz stand before me, biting his finger for my sake, saying : O brother, you had assured me of the safety of my wife and children.

At the order of the indignant father, Adad-ud-Dawlah marched out of Baghdad where he had built a palace for himself¹.

Imad-ad-Dawlah's was not a royal figure. He was rather a good business man, endowed with the shrewdness of a peasant. He had arranged with the Caliph for the grant of Persia in fief as against the payment of a million dirhams. The Wazir had expressly warned his ambassador not to part with the banners and robes of honour—the insignia of investiture—without payment. But Imad-ad-Dawlah forcibly took these away and, of course, paid nothing².

Rukn-ud-Dawlah's fidelity, clemency and justice are praised³. To the Marzuban who fled to him with ' his horse and his whip ' he made many beautiful presents—the like of which Miskawaihi had never seen. The historian was then the librarian of the Wazir in Rai and hastened with many others to the palace to see the procession with the presents⁴.

Rukn-ud-Dawlah's Wazir suggested to his master to take over the country of the fugitive as he was not strong enough to administer it effectively. But Rukn-ud-Dawlah peremptorily rejected this proposal as unworthy of him. Miskawaihi, who must have known him well through his master, calls him a ' high-minded man⁵ ' but complains that he made the life of his Wazir, Ibn al-Amid, a burden unto him. Although behaving better than other Dailamites—Miskawaihi says—he acted like soldiers after victory. He took what he could and never thought of the morrow. He showed great weakness in dealing with his soldiery, who worried the people so much that some rode away to the desert to confer as to how they should satisfy them.

Moreover, he thought that his rule must stand or fall with the Kurds and, acting on that belief, he never in-

(1) Misk, VI, 444.

(2) *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 146a.

(3) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 493.

(4) Amedroz, *Islam* III, 335 ; Misk, VI, 280 ff.

(5) Amedroz, *Islam* III, 336 ; Misk, VI, 298.

terfered with these robbers, When it was reported to him that a caravan had been looted and the cattle driven away, he merely rejoined : People must live¹.

Muizz-ud-Dawlah, Prince of Babylon, was curt in his behaviour and was readily moved to anger. He insulted his Wazirs and court officials². He even buffeted his Wazir, al-Muhallabi. But in his illness he softened³. At every attack—he suffered from stone in the bladder—when he felt that he was dying, he had the lamentation for the dead done for himself in conformity with the custom of the Dailamite mountaineers. He was always ready to shed tears. Weeping, he begged his Turks, in a battle which was already almost lost, to make one whole-hearted, desperate effort under his leadership⁴.

He treated the Caliph, who was in his power, with soldierly arrogance. He confiscated the property of his Wazir, al-Muhallabi, after his death, although he had served him for thirteen long years; and extorted money from his servants even down to his boatmen. His behaviour disgusted all, without exception⁵. On his new palace in the north of Baghdad, he spent 13 million dirhams which he mercilessly extorted from his supporters⁶.

He never bestowed a thought on the rights of the people. He placed his army in civic quarters at Baghdad, a heavy burden to the citizens. He gave cultivable lands in fief to his soldiers. Under him the inspecting officers lost all influence; public works were no longer undertaken; the soldiers took up lands on trial, sucked them dry, and then exchanged them for fresh ones. But he encouraged the mending of dams and personally carried soil for the purpose. The entire army followed his example. Thus he made the districts of Nahrwan and Badarayya once more fertile, and the people of Baghdad loved him for that⁷. His son Bakhtyar was endowed with immense physical strength. He once held a powerful ox by the horns so that it could not move⁸. In all other respects he was a thorough failure. He neither kept his promise nor his

(1) Misk, VI, 354 et sqq.

(2) Misk, VI, 194.

(3) Misk, V, 210.

(4) Misk, VI, 217.

(5) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 405.

(6) Misk, VI, 293. Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 398. According to Ibn al-Jauzai 1,000 million dinars.

(7) Misk, VI, 219. See Guy Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 80 Tr.

(8) Ibn Taghribardi, 19.

threats ; talked but did nothing¹. 'He spent his time in hunting, eating, drinking, music, joking, cock-fights, and with dogs and loose women. When he had no money to go on with he deposed the Wazir, took away his money, and appointed another in his place². According to a more lenient view, he was interested in valuable books ; in slave-girls, trained in various arts ; and in fine Arab horses which he loved to exercise in the desert³. When his Turkish boy favourite was taken prisoner he neither ate nor drank, he sighed and fretted ; and whenever the Wazir or a general came to him with important affairs he never ceased to ventilate his grief, with the result that he suffered in dignity and public esteem⁴.

Adad-ud-Dawlah was the only real royal personality of this House. His rule, in the end, extended from the Caspian Sea to Kirman and Oman. Not in vain did he again, for the first time in Islam, bear the old title of *Shahan-Shah*, reckoned before as blasphemous⁵. The title continued in his House, as the revival of an old Oriental practice. He carried the stamp of his northern lineage. He had blue eyes, reddish hair⁶. The Wazir called him Ibn Abu Bakr, the manure dealer, because he resembled a man of that name who sold manure to the gardeners of Baghdad⁷. He was cruel in his dealings. He caused the Wazir Ibn Baqiyyah who had worked against him and who had been delivered to him, already blinded, to be trampled to death by elephants—the first instance of this punishment in Islamic history⁸. Another Wazir, who felt himself unable to carry out an order given to him, committed suicide for fear of his displeasure⁹. But he was equally severe upon himself. When once a girl so thoroughly captured his heart that she took him away from his work, he had her instantly removed (Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 120 a).

(1) Misk, VI, 386.

(2) Misk, VI, 389.

(3) Misk, V, 419.

(4) Misk, VI, 469.

(5) Wuz, 388 ; Yaq. *Irshad*, II, 120.

(6) Yaq. *Irshad*, V, 349.

(7) Ibn Khall. Nr. 709 from the *Uyun-al-Seyar* of Hamadani.

(8) Misk, VI, 481.

(9) Misk, VI, 514. But much has been unjustly imputed to him. Thus Ibn Taghribardi relates (pp. 159 et seqq.) that he sued for the hand of the Hamadanid princess, Jamilah, but was refused. This angered and enraged him. He took everything away from her and reduced her to absolute poverty. According to another legend he compelled her to live in the prostitutes' quarter and on that account she drowned herself in the Tigris. As a matter of fact the girl, true to her brother, a mortal enemy of Adad-ad-Dawlah, fled with him. After his death she was delivered to Adad-ad-Dawlah who put her, along with her slave-girls and women companions, into his harem : Misk, VI, 507.

Like everyone anxious effectively to govern an extensive Empire he provided for quick news-service. The courier who came late was punished. Thus he arranged to get the post from Shiraz to Baghdad in seven days; that is a daily ride of more than 150 kilometres. He also developed and improved the espionage system. 'Every word that fell in Egypt came to his ears, and the people were on their guard even before their wives and slaves.' He swept the streets of Baghdad clear of thieves. An instance is mentioned by Ibn al-Jauzi (*Kit. al-Adkiya*, p. 38, according to the *Tarikh* of Hamadani) where he poisoned them like rats. He restored order in the Arabian and even in the more notorious Kirmanian desert, with the result that pilgrims had no more exactions to submit to or inconveniences to put up with. On the pilgrim-routes he dug wells and constructed cisterns and protected Medina by a wall. He renovated the half-ruined capital, Baghdad; built mosques and laid out bazars; repaired the bridges over the great canals, which had become so damaged that women, children and animals fell into the water while using them; made the bridge on the Tigris, which could only be used with risk to life, broad, spacious and safe, protected it with railings, appointed guards and supervisors; restored the famous garden which had become the 'haunt of dogs and depository of corpses.' He made the wealthy classes repair the dilapidated weirs. He redug the canals which had become choked with mud, and built mills on their banks: he patched up the holes in the dams and planted a colony from Fars and Kirman on the waste lands¹. But, all this notwithstanding—Babylonia was merely an appendage. The centre of his rule was always Persia. There the chief Qadhi resided. At Baghdad he only had four deputies to represent him². Indeed Adad-ud-Dawlah is said to have whole-heartedly despised Baghdad. He is reported to have said: In this town only two, worthy of being called men, I found; but when I closely examined them I discovered that they were Kufans and not Baghdadis at all³. He established a richly endowed bazar for seed-sellers and made arrangements for the cultivation of foreign fruits. Thus he introduced indigo plantation in Kirman⁴. At Shiraz he built a magnificent palace with 360 rooms⁵. At Baghdad

(1) Misk, VI, 509 ff. On the Province of Fars, see Guy Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 248.

(2) Misk, VI, 502.

(3) Supplement to Kindi. (Ed. Guest) p. 574.

(4) Misk, VI, 509; Ibn al-Jauzi, 119b.

(5) Muq. 449.

he enlarged the immense palace of the late Field-Marshal Subuktagin by purchasing the houses round about, and built a high masonry aqueduct to conduct, through desert and suburbs, water to his park. He used elephants for pulling down houses and consolidating the soil. He was the first to use elephants in the Muslim army¹. Death prevented the execution of his further and yet more extensive building schemes². He was up before dawn, had a warm bath, said his morning prayer, and this done, he conversed with his intimate friends. Then he transacted the business of the day and breakfasted—his physician being always present. After breakfast he slept till midday. The afternoon he dedicated to his friends, to recreation and to music³. He had very able teachers⁴. He loved learning; gave stipends to theologians, jurists, philologists, physicians, mathematicians, and mechanics⁵! Of his library we shall speak later. As a rule he studied a great deal and used to say: When I have mastered Euclid I shall give 20,000 dirhams in charity; when we have done with the book of the grammarian Abu Ali I shall give 50,000 dirhams in charity. He loved poetry, paid the poets, and preferred the company of the literati to that of his generals⁶. He was well-versed in lyrical poetry⁷. Tha'labi even cites Arabic verses which are said to be his, but they are nothing more than mere empty rhymes. Notwithstanding all this, his treatment of Sabi was ungracious—Sabi was then master of Arabic prose. To the philosophers he assigned a large room in his palace, next to his own suite, where they could discuss matters undisturbed. Even to the preachers and to the *muezzins* (those that call to prayers) he assigned salaries. He made provision for the poor and the foreigners who lived in mosques, and established an immense hospital at Baghdad. On the birth of every son he gave away 10,000 dirhams as alms and, when by a favourite wife, 50,000; for every daughter 5,000 dirhams. Even of the welfare of his non-Muslim subjects he was not oblivious. He allowed his Wazir, Nasr ibn Harun, a Christian, to build anew a church and cloisters which had been destroyed, and to give money

(1) Misk, VI, 464.

(2) Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Tarikh Baghdad*, Ed. Salmon, p. 56 et. sqq.

(3) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 120.

(4) Kifte, 226.

(5) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 120a; Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 518.

(6) *Yatimah* II, 2; Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 120a.

(7) *Irshad*, V, 286; Ibn al-Jauzi, *Kit.al-Adkiya*, 88.

to needy and indigent Christians¹.

A father to his people, however, he never was. He remained a foreign despot, who knew how to feed his flock to shear it all the more effectively. He increased old burdens, created fresh ones, and extorted money in all manners and shapes². He had, in the end, an annual revenue of 320 million dirhams. He wished to make it 360 millions—a million a day. "He hoarded dinars and did not despise a single dirham³."

The final verdict of Miskawaihi, who had personally served him, runs thus: If Adad-ud-Dawlah had not had some slight faults, which one does not care to mention when enumerating his numerous good qualities, he would have attained the pinnacle of earthly achievements and I should have hoped eternal bliss for him in the world to come⁴.

His talent for rule shows itself in the selection of his subordinates. Over Media he appointed the Kurd, Bedr ibn Hasanawaihi (d. 405/1014). Brave and just, he gave to the poor and widows 1,000 dirhams in alms every Friday. To the cobblers between Hamadan and Baghdad he made an annual payment of 3,000 dinars, to provide needy pilgrims with foot-wear. For shrouds he assigned a monthly gift of 20,000 dirhams. Moreover, he built bridges and three thousand new mosques and inns. Never, indeed, did he pass by a spring without founding a village there. For the holy town and the protection of pilgrim-roads, he paid 10,000 dinars every year. He provided for the construction of reservoirs and cisterns and for the storage of provisions at the stations on the roads leading to the holy towns. He gave money to the Alids at Kufa and Baghdad, to the Qur'an readers, and to the indigent nobility⁵. The Amir-al-Juyush (d. 401/1010), too, came from the school of Adad-ud-Dawlah. In the year 392/1002 he was sent to Baghdad to restore order there. He made the town, a prey hitherto to the robbers, so safe and secure that a slave could be sent out at night carrying a silver salver with gold pieces without any one interfering with him⁶.

(1) Misk, VI, 511; Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 518.

(2) Ibn al-Athir, IX, 16.

(3) Ibn-al-Jauzi, fol. 120b.

(4) Misk, VI, 511.

(5) Ibn al-Jahiz, fol. 161b.

(6) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 156b.

After Adad-ud-Dawlah the Buwayyids produced nobody of any usefulness or importance. Finally, the last sources of revenue gave way, and Jalal-ud-Dawlah¹ had even to sell his store of cloth in the bazar. He had no chamberlains, no servants, no porters. Not even had he any one to announce the hours of prayers².

Bejkem and Ikhshid³ represented the Turks in the circle of Muslim princes. Both were capable soldiers and efficient rulers. But they made no outward display. The first was a veritable condottiere. From Makan he went over to Merdawigh, and after the latter's death—he is said to have had a hand in his murder—with a few hundred Turks and Persians he joined Ibn Raiq in Babylonia. The former soldiers of Merdawigh continued under his command⁴. It was not a large body of men, 300 in all. At Ibn Raiq's behest he wrote to his former comrades in Iran and many responded, and joined him⁵. Then he meddled in politics, removed the name of Ibn Raiq from his banners and shields, drove him out of Baghdad, and became himself the Amir of Babylonia. He had then 700 Turks and 500 Persians under his command⁶. The Caliph, who preferred him to his predecessor⁷, conferred upon him the honourable title of Nadim (Table-companion⁸). But this Turkish⁹ soldier had no use for the literary friends of the Caliph. The only one whom he took to was the famous physician Sinan ibn Thabit¹⁰. He begged him to cure him of the tendency to sudden outbursts of anger and to point his faults out to him.

Bejkem was wonderfully courageous. With 290 Turks he put 10,000 men of the Baridi to flight (*Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 154 b). Within sight of the enemy he swam with his Turks across the Dajla and attacked the enemy who had reckoned upon perfect safety there. His Persians came after him in boats¹¹. When he was with the Caliph

(1) See Lane Poole's *Moh. Dynasties*, pp. 139 et sqq.

(2) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 182, 184b.

(3) On the Ikhshidids, See Lane Poole, *Moh. Dynasties*, p. 69

(4) *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 147 a.b.

(5) Misk, V, 508.

(6) *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 163b.

(7) Al-Suli, *Auraq*, 55.

(8) *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 166b.

(9) On Bedjkem, see the *Ency. of Islam*; see also Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, Vol. II, pp. 664 et. sqq. Tr.

(10) Misk, VI, 26 et sqq.

(11) *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 164

in Samarra and there heard that Ibn Raiq was proceeding from Baghdad to Syria he expressed a desire to go to Hit across the desert to seize him. But the Caliph would not permit this, because Ibn Raiq had been assured an undisturbed passage.

To Baghdad he brought many an uncouth practice of his earlier military life. When he tried to extort money from people by placing pans full of glowing charcoal on their bodies, it was pointed out to him that the practice of Merdawigh should not be introduced at the residence of the Caliph.

The Baghdadis disliked him for his objectionable ways and rejoiced when Ibn Raiq suddenly attacked Baghdad in his absence¹. The mob and the street boys jeered at him, calling after him "half of Bejkem's moustache has been shaved off." When they saw a Turk in a high cap they cried out: Fly away, our Amir is not Bejkem². He held, however, the status of a prince in consequence of his having founded a colony in Madain.

The grandfather of Mohamed ibn Tughj came from Turkistan under the Caliph Mutasim who, for the first time, enlisted Turkish soldiers in large numbers. His father rose to be governor of Damascus, but was disgraced and died in prison. His son enjoyed the 'sweet and bitter of life.' Ibn Tughj, every now and then, took military service under some general or other, and at one time even served as falconer to a nobleman. In the service of the governor of Egypt he distinguished himself by courage and heroism. This served as a stepping-stone to a governorship and eventually to the independent rule of Egypt³. He ruled as many countries as the most powerful Pharaoh: Egypt, Syria, Yaman, Mekka, Medina⁴. No wonder then

(1) *Kitab al-Uyun*, 179a.

(2) Bejkem was appointed Amir-al-Umara in 326/Sept. 938 in place of Ibn Raiq. He first directed his attention to the Hamadanids who would not pay tribute. He proceeded to Mosul against the Hamadanid Hasan. While he was away Ibn Raiq suddenly appeared in Baghdad. Bejkem had to make peace with Hasan in 327/938 and to return to the capital. A peace settlement was soon reached with Ibn Raiq, by the terms of which the latter received the governorship of Harran, Edessa, Kinnesrin with the district on the upper Euphrates and the frontier fortresses. In 329/941, Bejkem was surprised and slain in an expedition by some Kurds. See *Ency. of Islam*. Sub. Bejkem. Tr.

(3) In 318 he became governor of Damascus and in 321 Governor of Egypt. He did not take over the office, however, till 935 (823 A.H.); in 938 (327) he assumed the title of Ikhshid, and in 941 (830 A.H.) Syria was added to his dominions, and Mekka and Medina in the following year. The Ikhshidids ruled from 935-961. Tr.

(4) *Kit.al-Maghrib*, 20.

that he should refuse the invitation of the Caliph Mustakfi to accept the insecure principality of Baghdad after the death of Ibn Tuzun¹.

Ikhshid was corpulent and had blue eyes. He was so strong that none could stretch his bow. He suffered from attacks which could not be precisely diagnosed². Egypt fared well under him. He maintained order and issued a full-valued dinar³. His army was the most impressive army of his age. When in the year 333/944 he came to the Euphrates the inhabitants of Raqqah and Rafiqah were amazed at the number, orderliness, and equipment of his army. They had never seen the like of it⁴. In him credulity and greed formed a useful alliance. In cold blood he proceeded to extort money from all rich officials—friend or foe. Most of them deserved their fate.

Fond of ambergris, he received it as a present from all quarters and, of these presents, from time to time, he held an auction sale⁵. Stories are told of him how he did not shrink from making even small profits. And yet he never took to rack or torture, and spared women from extortions⁶. He venerated holy men (Salihun) and used to ride to them to invoke their blessings. "Muslim ibn Ubaidullah Al-Husain tells me : I described to Ikhshid a holy man in el-Qarafah, called Ibn al-Musayyab and lo! he rode with me to him, begged him for his blessings, rode on and said to me : Come, now I shall show you another holy man. I went with him to Abu Sulaiman Ibn Yunus and there I saw a fine old man sitting on a padded mat. He rose to meet Ikhshid and asked him to sit on the mat. Thereupon Ikhshid said to him : O Abu Sahl, utter some words of the Qur'an upon me, for the wind of the desert has hurt me. Then the holy man stretched his hand under the mat ; brought out a piece of clean, folded cloth ; put it over his head and uttered words of the Qur'an on him⁷. "

Ikhshid loved to hear the Qur'an read out to him and, on such occasions, wept⁸.

Once he had a wonderful experience. A man from Babylonia stood on the well of Zemzem in Mekka and called out : O ye people ; I am a foreigner ; yesterday I saw

(1) *Kit.al-Uyun*, 227b.

(2) *Kit.al-Maghrib*, 39.

(3) *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 208b.

(4) *Ibid*, IV, 212.

(5) *Kit. al-Maghrib*, 35.

(6) *Kit.al-Maghrib*, 15, 37.

(7) *Kitab al-Maghrib*, p. 34.

(8) *Ibid*, p. 37.

the Prophet of God who thus spoke unto me : Go to Egypt, present yourself before Mohamed ibn Tughj and tell him from me that he is to set Mohamed ibn al-Maderai free (the great Persian financier). The caravan proceeded to Egypt and the foreigner with it. They came to Fustat. Ikhshid heard of the matter, sent for him and questioned him : What have you seen ? He related the story. How much have you spent over your journey to Egypt ? 100 dinars was the reply. Thereupon Ikhshid rejoined : Here are 100 dinars from me. Return to Mekka and sleep at the very same spot again and tell the Prophet that you conveyed his message to Mohamed ibn Tughj, but he replied : I have such and such an amount to get from him—he named a heavy amount—and if he pays it back to me I shall forthwith set him free. The man answered : I shall not make jokes with the Prophet. With my own money I shall return to Medina and go to the Prophet of God, and appear before him, awake and not in sleep, and shall tell him : O prophet of God ! I have conveyed your message to Mohamed ibn Tughj and this is his reply. After saying this the man got up, but Ikhshid held him back and said : The matter has now taken a serious turn. We only intended to test you. You shall not leave before I have set him free¹.

He sent a messenger to him and set him free. In the year 331/942, a report came from Damietta that a robber, whose hand had been cut off as punishment and who had done penance and had lived as a servant of God in a mosque, had got back his hand. Ikhshid sent for the man to Old Cairo and bade him relate his story. I saw in dream, he said, the roof of the mosque open and three men descend—Mohamed, Gabriel, and Ali. I begged the Prophet to restore my hand to me. He did so, and I awoke with my hand restored. From Damietta a letter came stating that many trustworthy people testified to having seen him once with his hand cut off. Ikhshid gave presents to the man of miracle and was amazed at the power of God. Later it was discovered that all this was pure imposture and the excitement caused by the story gradually died out².

(1) *Kitabul-Maghrib*, p. 35.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

(To be continued)

THE NEWSPAPERS OF THE LATER MOGUL PERIOD

THE earliest distinct mention of antetypographic newspapers that I have discovered in the annals of Mahomedan India, so rich in historical literature, is in the times of Alamgîr I. Notwithstanding the Emperor's prohibition, a hereditary historian, Muhammad Hâshim, known in literature as the celebrated Khafi Khan, managed to record in secret the occurrences of that eventful period. In the year of the Hijrah, 1110, corresponding with 1698-99 of the Christian era, occurred the death of Ram Raja of Sattara, of the House of Sivaji. This was in the forty-third year of the reign of the Emperor Alamgîr I or Aurungzebe. At any time the death of the Maratha Chief would have been an important political occurrence. But at the time when it took place, when the great Emperor was prosecuting his long and endless warfare in the South, with the Marathas among other Powers, it was to Aurungzebe, no less than to the distracted heirs of the inheritance of Sivaji, a momentous event. The first intimation was brought to the imperial camp by the newspapers. We read in the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* of Khafi Khan :—

“The newspapers now reported that Ram Raja, after encountering some ill luck and failure in his descent upon Berâr, was returning to his own mountain home, when he died on the way, leaving three sons of tender years, and two wives. Immediately afterwards it was announced that the eldest son, a boy of five years of age, had died of small-pox. On this the chiefs appointed Tara Bai, the chief wife, and mother of one of the sons, regent. A clever intelligent woman, she had made a name during her husband's lifetime by her knowledge of civil and military affairs. Tara Bai proceeded to the almost inaccessible hills.”

The Emperor did not disbelieve the account, as more than one journal brought the same news, so the Emperor had no ground for doubt. He had confidence in the good faith as well as the accuracy of the Press. Accordingly, adds the Mussulman annalist :—

“ On receiving this intelligence, the Emperor ordered the drums of rejoicing to be beaten,.....the soldiers congratulated each other,.....saying that another prime author of the strife was gone.....and that (now) it will not be difficult to overcome two young children and a helpless woman. They thought their enemy weak, contemptible, helpless; but Tara Bai, as the wife of Ram Raja was called, showed great capacity for command and government, and from day to day the war spread and the power of the Marathas increased.”

The preceding extract, not only tells us of the existence in number of newspapers, (*waqas* and *akhbars*), but also shows their character, quality, status, and usefulness. It has been surmised by some that the so-called newspapers in the East, before the era of printing in this country, were simply confidential reports to Government. Such certainly were not these Indian papers of the seventeenth century. They were not of the nature of special news-letters for the eye of the Emperor himself only, or the Emperor and his confidential Ministers. They were in every sense newspapers, that is, public vehicles for the dissemination of news of the day. And they constituted a genuine Press.

The Mahomedan annalist gives us clearly to understand that the common soldiers in Aurungzebe's camp were supplied with their newspapers (*akhbars*) like the British privates before Sebastopol, and like them discussed their contents. Not only were these most implicitly believed in but they also created a most profound impression. Nor is this a solitary instance. With great liberality, the Mogul rulers of India allowed the utmost liberty to the Press in the matter of news and comments, and thus enabled the newspapers to be more useful than they otherwise might have been. These did not spare princes and satraps, and they took cognizance of news sure, in colloquial parlance, to cause a row.

The *Waqas*, as I have already said, were confidential despatches or documents, but the private newsletters (*akhbars*) were semi-public and were handed about and read out to large circles. These *akhbars* enjoyed a considerable degree of liberty.

“ However surprising it might seem in absolute governments, yet it is certain that the historians of the East wrote with more freedom concerning persons and things than writers have ever dared to do in the West. The government of the Hindoos of ancient times, was, no doubt

despotic, but no trace has been discovered in their history or law books of any restriction on writing. In those times, all was open to research and discussion, and there were no limits to their acquirements but the powers of their own minds. The Mahomedan Emperors who succeeded them gave every encouragement to learning. The Institutes of Timur and Akbar abound with incitements to their subjects to cultivate their minds and improve their knowledge. 'I ordained,' says Timur, 'that in every town and in every city a mosque and a school, a monastery and an almshouse for the poor and indigent, and an hospital for the sick and infirm, should be founded.' Their colleges were crowded with learned men, and in these schools there were no restraints on the liberty of investigation.

"The Mahomedan historians of Hindoostan wrote with freedom on the conduct and duties of their sovereigns, and some of their rulers acted up to the noble principles which their chroniclers inculcated. Abul Fazl states that Akbar was visible to everybody twice in the course of twenty-four hours, and that he received their petitions without the intervention of any person and tried and decided upon them. Under his reign there was greater liberty indulged in petitioning, in education and in writing than was enjoyed at that period in England. Except religion, all other subjects remained open for discussion during Mahomedan rule. The rights of their sovereigns, their duties, their privileges and their power over the people were discussed as freely and as fairly in the books of their learned men as the rights of the English people are in the ancient commentaries upon their laws. From their histories we learn that, while every act and speech of the monarch and his princes were recorded to form a history of his reign, his foibles, his follies and his weaknesses were open to the satire of the poet and the wit of the household fool. In Mahomedan colleges and schools there seems to have been no restraint on free discussion. Before the arrival of the Europeans in the East, India enjoyed a freedom of discussion as extensive as any part of Europe before the invention of the press, for on written books, the only means of circulating knowledge without type, there was no restriction*."

A remarkable example is afforded by Aurungzebe in his latest relations with his grandson, Mirza Azim ush-Shan.

* *Sketch of the Press in British India* by Leicester Stanhope, (London 1828) pp. 4, 28 and 24.

“ This Prince (Mirza Azim Oshan) held the important government of Bengal and Behar (during the last days of Aurungzebe his grandfather). As such he was second in resources and power to the Emperor himself. Yet the Bengal newspapers did not scruple to expose him. He was not a bad specimen of a Mogul Prince, but he had his foibles, as who has not ? and these were seized by the argus eyes of the journalists of the day. His Highness certainly harboured views of succession to the throne, like the rest of his family, and it was, I believe, with that object that he set himself to cultivate the people. But in procuring the good will of the Hindu subjects of the Empire, he went to the length which could not fail to displease the Mussulmans. For he actually celebrated the Hindu festival of the Spring with the appropriate red powder and red liquid. This was an abomination to the Sunni bigot on the throne, as the ruler of Bengal well knew, and it was Azim Oshan's interest to keep his Hindu proclivities out of his stern grandfather's notice. He was so far successful in this that no formal complaints from the orthodox Mus-sulman community in these Provinces reached the imperial ears. But that did not prevent the Emperor knowing of his grandson's vagaries. The Press did its duty, without fear or favour. It was through the newspapers that Aurungzebe learnt the truth.

“ Another more serious foible of the prince was his avarice. He would make money at any cost. This left him a prey to evil advisers and sycophants who served their own purposes by pandering to the prince's weakness. Under such advice he essayed to add to his functions of ruler the character of the chief merchant in the country. He began with monopolising all the seaborne imports and vending them to retailers. This was a hardship to the foreigners, chiefly Europeans, as well as to the people of the whole empire, and must have stopped the external commerce of the country. He established agents at all the ports to buy up the foreign cargoes cheap, to be afterwards disposed of by other agents to the best advantage to merchants and traders for circulation throughout the land. The Europeans and Armenians who were the importers were threatened with the loss of their occupation, but they found complaining to the Viceroy useless and they dared not appeal to the Emperor. Luckily, there was in the rudimentary Press an indirect but effectual check even on satraps of the blood Imperial. Again the journalists did their duty. The historians do not quote the words

of the newspapers. I presume they allowed themselves no comments. It was enough to publish the news, and explain the system to which the Viceroy gave the name of *Souda-e-Khas*—commerce in special—as distinguished from *Souda-e-aam*—commerce in general. Historians aver that Aurungzebe learnt of the innovation not from the official reports of his *Sewanahnigars* but from the newspapers. He immediately took steps for its discontinuance. On this double provocation, His Majesty wrote with his own hand to his grandson, commenting with bitter sarcasm on his vagaries. A yellow turban and saffron-coloured garments ill became a beard of forty-six years' growth, said the grave grandsire. As for Azim Oshan's fiscal reform, it was indeed *Souda-e-Khas* but only in the sense of *personal insanity* rather than *particular commerce*.

“Under the Mogul Constitution in India, the revenue administration of the country was kept separate from the functions of maintaining military possession and preserving civil order. The theory was to leave these in different hands, and so they were left in the palmy days of the Empire. If latterly, from time to time, they became centred in the same hands, the offices and occupations themselves were always kept distinct, and there was a persistent tendency to their separation into several officers. One was the Nazim or Subadar, the Lieutenant of the Emperor, the Governor. The other was the Imperial Dewan or the Chief Fiscal or Revenue administrator. Thus, when Azim Oshan was appointed Nazim of these Provinces, the Dewanship was given to an experienced officer of Hindu extraction converted to Islam, by name Jafer Khan, under the title of Moorshed Kuli Khan. The capital of Bengal was then Dacca, where they both resided and worked.

“Under the influences of poor human nature, the two offices are singularly well calculated to come into collision. Nor did the characters of the officers afford the least guarantee of mutual good understanding. The Viceroy was a Prince of the Blood, grandson of the Emperor, presumably a middle-aged imperial scapegrace who had not yet sown all his wild oats, surrounded by flatterers, and in whom the latitudinarianism of the House of Timour was barely kept under by fear of his austere grandsire. The Dewan was an abstemious bigot careful of his pence and the pence of the State, who regarded an army for governing Bengal as a costly luxury which could well be dispensed with. Moorshed Kuli Khan was always treading on the Prince's

corns unawares. He insisted on reduction of establishments in order that he might send an ample tribute from the Province to Delhi. The Prince saw that the dignity and *eclat* of his government was being continually shorn by this beggarly fiscal. His demands for money were frequently refused. Meanwhile, the viceregal court became the resort of disappointed soldiers of fortune, ambitious officers in the army, and dismissed officials in the civil service. Rowdies and desperadoes surrounded him at all times and poisoned his mind, already prepared by his own grievances, against Moorshed Kuli, until the Dewan's presence as well as office became hateful to him. At last, Azim Oshan, under the influence of his *entourage*, descended to a conspiracy against the faithful Moorshed's life. One morning as he was proceeding to pay his respects to the Prince at the Poshtah as usual, in his palki attended by a meagre retinue, he was stopped on the way by an ill-meaning crowd on pretence of demanding their pay. His guards showed funk, but the Dewan, who was no poltroon, at once descended from his vehicle and drew his sword. Unprepared for such a prompt exhibition of pluck, the rascals slunk away and dispersed, but not before the Dewan had recognized the leader Abdul Wahed, who commanded a favoured corps. Moorshed Kuli entered his palki and pursued his journey to the Poshtah and, presenting himself direct before Azim Oshan sitting in Durbar, reproached him for his pusillanimity in resorting to such underhand measures for compassing any one's death—in the present case the death of a good servant—and challenged him to single combat there and then as the more honourable way of killing. The Prince was confounded. He, of course, denied his complicity in the attempt, if any had been made. But Moorshed urged that without superior countenance nobody could venture upon such an impertinence as to stop the Imperial Dewan in his passage or to meditate his destruction. The Prince could only feebly insist on his innocence and mutter his wonder and indignation at what had happened. The Dewan did not wait but went straight to the chancellery and summoning Abdul Wahed, gave him an order for the arrears due to his corps, and disbanded it. He now returned to his private residence and thence he wrote to the Emperor fortifying his complaint by a narrative signed and sealed by several public officers. Then in anticipation of sanction, and without the courtesy of a farewell salaam to the Prince, he removed himself and his office, with all the revenue records and establishments, to a fine village

or township on the Bhagirati, not far from its confluence with the Ganges which, first as the seat of the Dewan and the Dewani, and afterwards as the capital, became famous under the name of Moorshedabad.

“The Viceroy doubtless did not neglect to report to the Emperor, remarking on the unaccountable hallucination under which one day, all of a sudden, the eccentric Dewan, of his own instance, removed the imperial exchequer and all the valuable records of generations of the most important Provinces of the Empire, to nobody knows where! All to no purpose, however. Moorshed Kuli Khan’s explanation must have been an able one and satisfactory enough. His character for veracity and probity supported it. And if anything was wanted to complete the favourable impression, that was supplied by the Press which was noted for its truth. No doubt the newspapers had before given some hints at least of the state of things in Bengal, and the strained relations between the two Chiefs of the State. And now they must have been full of the strange culmination, not only going into the origin and particulars of the famous quarrel but also informing the whole country of the great administrative *coup*, the change of venue of the Dewani and the whole Revenue Department, in detail. The end of it all was not only creditable to the Press and the Dewan, but also honourable to the Empire. Aurungzebe sanctioned the removal, supported his servant, and not only rebuked his grandson, threatening him with the severest punishment if a hair of his Dewan or an atom of his property were touched, but withdrew him from Dacca, bidding him fix his residence at Patna. The virtual Government of Bengal was subsequently given to Moorshed Kuli.

“Placed in full charge of Bengal, in both the Nizamat and the Dewani—the civil government and the revenue administration—Moorshed applied his whole energies and all the powers of his mind to justify the extraordinary confidence reposed in him by the Emperor. He attained the highest success and reaped its full reward from the justice of Aurungzebe. His chief solicitude was to acquire as large a surplus revenue as possible, which he religiously transmitted to Delhi. He held a great state ceremonial on the day of transmitting the treasure from Bengal once a year. The convoy was marched under a military escort with music playing and banners flying. The despatch was notified in the royal gazettes and newspapers, intimating the route to be followed, so as to warn the

Governors and authorities on the way, to facilitate the passage of the Bengal Tribute and take measures for its protection."

Bernier in his *Travels* thus writes about *Wakiahnavis* :—

"It is true that the *Great Moghul* sends a *Vakea-Navis* to the various provinces ; that is, persons whose business it is to communicate every event that takes place ; but there is generally a disgraceful collusion between these officers and the governor, so that their presence seldom restrains the tyranny exercised over the unhappy people. (NOTE.—A corruption of the Persian word *Wakiahnawis*, a news-writer, an institution of the Emperor Akbar's.) Fryer partly attributed Aurungzebe's non-success in the Deccan, although he had large armies there, to the false reports sent by his news-writers, stating :—'Notwithstanding all these formidable Numbers, while the Generals and *Vocanovices* consult to deceive the Emperor, on whom he depends for a true state of things, it can never be otherwise but that they must be misrepresented, when the Judgment he makes must be by a false Perspective*.' "

Niccola Manucci, the Venetian, who lived in the Court of Aurungzebe for a considerable time, thus writes :—

"It is a fixed rule of the Moguls that the *vaguianavis* (*waqi'ah-navis*) and the *cofianavis* (*khufiyah-navis*), or the public and secret news-writers of the empire, must once a week enter what is passing in a *vagia* (*waqi'ah*)—that is to say, a sort of gazette or mercury, containing the events of most importance. These newsletters are commonly read in the King's presence by women of the *mahal* at about nine o'clock in the evening, so that by this means he knows what is going on in his kingdom. There are, in addition, spies, who are also obliged to send in reports weekly about other important business, chiefly what the princes are doing, and this duty they perform through written statements. The King sits up till midnight, and is unceasingly occupied with the above sort of business**."

Manucci also tells us that Aurungzebe, when sending an embassy to Persia, sent with it the usual officials, a *waqi'ah-navis* and a *khufiyah-navis*†.

* *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656—1668* by Francois Bernier, (Constable's edition, 1891) p. 231.

** *Storia Do Mogor* by Niccola Manuci, (Indian Text Series), Vol. II, pp. 331—32.

† *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 128.

The author of *Scir-Mutakherin* thus writes on the State Intelligence Department as it flourished during the reign of Aurungzebe and his immediate successors :—

“ The *Vacaa-nuwiss* or Remembrancer, or Gazetteer and the *Savana-nuwiss*, or Historiographer, and the *Harcara* or Spy, were appointed for writing down the events that might happen in the respective provinces, territories and districts of their residence. Their duty was to inhabit such cities and towns as were the seats of command and Government, to the end that they might have it in their power to write down at daybreak such events as should have happened the whole day and night before, and to send the paper to the Emperor. There were posts established that carried the dispatches, with all speed, and in all weathers, to Court, where a *Daroga* or Inspector examined the same ; after which he reduced to a concise exposition the substance of such as deserved the Imperial notice, presenting at the same time the whole detail as forwarded by the provincial intelligencers. Nevertheless, whatever amongst those papers was addressed personally to the Emperor, was sacred, and could not be set open by any other (hand) than his own. It was perused by the monarch himself who alone could break the seal, and he alone ordered what he thought proper about the contents. By these means the Emperor was informed of every private man’s affairs. He knew what one had done to his neighbours at four hundred leagues from Court and what the latter had done to others ; and what such one wanted from such another, and what this other pretended from his antagonist ; he knew all that, and gave directions accordingly. Nor was it uncommon for him to be informed by such a channel of the requests and wishes of the concerned ones ; nor at all extraordinary to see directions arrive at the cities of their residence long before their private petitions could have reached the Court. So that the petitioners often had gained their cause in the middle of a distant province, some time before they had agreed upon the wording of their petitions. But all this correspondence was for the Emperor’s personal inspection only ; for if at any time it came to appear, that the secret Gazetteer, or the Remembrancer, or any other public officer, had himself found means to acquire the least interest with the Imperial Princes or with the Grandees of the Court, or with the men in eminent station, or was in any connection with them ; such a man was forthwith

dismissed, and another appointed in his stead.*

“ In short, as amongst the arts of Government information and knowledge of the state of the land and of its inhabitants hold a principal rank ; and the interest of the Legislators in gathering knowledge, is always to tranquillise and quiet the people of God, by whose providence the Princes and Rulers have come to have the command and power over them ; and as the happiness and ease of the subject are their main concern ; so to obtain the above end, no less than four persons have been appointed to discharge the duties of this one office of intelligence, *to wit*, the *vacaay-nugar* or Remembrancer, the *Sevanah-nugar* or Gazetteer, the *Qhofiah-neviss* or Secret-writer, and the *Harcara* or Spy, to the end, that should any one or any two of them attempt to send in writing an unfaithful account, still the truth and real state of things might soon be investigated by comparing their information with the accounts by the two or three others. Such a discovery was always followed by the disgrace of the faithless or uninformed writer, who never failed to be dismissed from a post of honour and affluence, and to be consigned to shame and distress**.”

In the Diaries of Streynsham Master I find the following references to *Waga'a* :—

I. Papers concerning Raghu the ‘ Poddàr ’ 1673–75 :—

A letter from Mathias Vincent, etc., to Walter Clavell, etc., O. C. No. 3837.

P. S. Dispeeded in the Evening. Wee have written of this to Dacca and Hughli that they might be truly inform'd, and to the former that they might give a true Account, in case the businesse should be asked concerning these, though hope to prevent its going further any way but in a *Wacka* (*Waka'a*, newsletter) for us.

II. A relation of De Soito's Business :—

The papers wrote in Portuguez were then produced, of which I gott coppyes before the Cozzee, and are the same that goe herewith, No. 1. to 4 : at which time, according to (Mr.) Vincents, etc., orders, of January the 28th.

* The newsletters (Akhbārs) were written by agents at the courts of the Emperor and his sons, when the latter happened to be subahdars or provincial governors. They were for the perusal of the masters of the agents and not for the general public. Hence they were not really newspapers.

** *Seir-Mutakherin*, (reprint by R. Cambray & Co., Calcutta), Vol. III. pp. 178—75.

1675-6, I laid the stress of the matter on Isaacson's being or not being our chiefe in Ballasore, and accordingly *Wacka* (*Waka'a*, news) or testimonyes thereof was there signed by us both¹."

In the Diary of William Hedges, another reference to *Waq'a* is found :—

From Bengal, Letter to Court, of December 14th 1694 :

"The 15th of August we thought it very oppertunely to putt in Execution a warrant we had received from Fort St. George concerning one Messenger who had unlawfully taken possession of a house next adjoining to the Interlopers, and in order thereunto wee sent our Sergeant with 20 men, souldiers and seamen, to Hugley to seize his person, and take charge of the house, for we had heard he had taken the Interlopers protection, and our main designe in sending so many men was to Interrupt their business and trade by Scaring the Government and Making them believe there was Something Intended against Pitts person, that thereby it might have been entered in the *Waacka* or Gazett to the Nabob and Duan that our Intentions were to oppose Pitt by force, which in all probability would have putt a Stop to their proceedings, for neither the Nabob nor the Duan would have given them any Countenance, or permitted them to trade, had such a Story been entered in the *Waacka* (*Waka'a*, Ar. "news-letter") that Wee designed Quarrell, for this the Duan was all along afraid of, and prevented him from giving them a *Perwanna* sooner²."

There were also private persons stationed in various towns whose business it was to collect all the news they could and write it out in their letters (*akhbars*) to be sent to their correspondents in distant places. They were called news-writers or *akhbar-navis*. The native princes also maintained a regular corps of news-writers in their dominions whose business was to keep their masters well informed of what was going on around. Similar news-writers were also in the employ of prominent merchants and other citizens ; they resided in chief cities and transmitted regularly news-letters to their employers.

The names of some of the pioneers of the Press in India have been preserved. The Imperial Gazetteer (*Wakanagar*)—the doyen of Journalists throughout the Empire

¹ *The Diaries of Streyنشam Master* (Indian Record Series) Vol. I., p. 386, and Vol. II, p. 52.

² *The Diary of William Hedges, Esq.*, printed for the Hakluyt Society. (1889) Vol. III, p. 22.

during Aurungzebe's reign—was Mirza Ali Beg. There were many places of profit without toil and trouble under the Great Mogul, but the office of the intelligencer by appointment was not one of such. This officer was in constant attendance upon His Majesty, following the court like its shadow wherever it went. Ali Beg was with the Emperor through all his campaigns in the South, and doubtless reported them. Aurungzebe had his frontier gazette too as well as his home journal. A Syed of Belgram, well-known in literature for his epistolary style, Abdul Jaleel, was the official intelligencer in Guzerat. His dignity may be understood from the fact that he was also Paymaster of the Forces in that important Province. Simultaneously appointed to these posts, he was at the same time raised to the peerage as a *mansabdar*, and granted a *jagir* to support his elevation. So sudden an accession of good fortune could not fail to excite jealousy against the lucky man and rage against his patron the Mirza. Complaints are never wanting, and those against the new Paymaster and Gazetteer of Guzerat were encouraged, if not fomented, at the *Durbar*. Nothing definite was made out against him; nevertheless, it was thought expedient for peace to remove him from Guzerat. No degradation was contemplated and no loss inflicted on the faithful public servant. Similar situations were provided for him in the same frontier to the North-West. He was appointed *Bukshi* and *Sewananiger* at Bukhir in Sind. Here too the tongue of malice followed him. The times were difficult. The great Alamgir Shah had long since gone to his rest. His successor too had passed away. The weak and easy Furokhsheer was now on the throne. It was the era of uncertainty and hastening confusion. Jaleel was recalled. But his good star had not yet deserted him. His explanation satisfied the Emperor or the Syed in power, or rather Raja Ratan Chand who as the Syed's trusty factotum ruled the Empire, and Jaleel was restored to his offices and dignities and emoluments. But he was growing old and had no more inclination to go to his frontier station. The aspect of the times also warned him to stay at court to maintain his interests. So he prayed to be permitted to execute his office by proxy. This indulgence was allowed. So he remained at Delhi, occasionally visiting his home at Belgram. Latterly, in 1133 Hijri, he resigned in favour of his son. He did not long survive. He died in Delhi in 1138 Hijri. His remains were carried to Belgram to be buried.

Asaf Jah's minister, Azimul Omrah, was originally a gentleman of the Press. In the invaluable history of Nawab Gholam Hossein, who wrote as actor as well as reporter, there is an incidental enumeration of several of the chief offices at the Court of Mahammad Shāh, among which mention is made of Kaem Khān, son of Jaafer Khān, head of the Post and Gazette Office.

Through the long period of destruction and reconstruction following the death of Aurungzebe and extending through the whole of the eighteenth century, the Mogul institutions which were greatly developed during Aurungzebe's reign were well maintained, paid for and protected. And these were followed by the Europeans in India in quite the indigenous manner.

In the early annals of the English in Bengal during the first half of the eighteenth century, the Company's servants frequently availed themselves of these news-agents at Hooghly, then a centre of the Mogul Government in Bengal, to bring their grievances to the notice of the Court. The following are taken from the Bengal Public Consultations :—

70—27th March, 1704 :—Ram Chandra's Instructions.—It is ordered that Ram Chandra, the *Vakil*, be sent at once to Hugly. He is to write down in his own language the following directions :—"He is to declare to the Governor, the *Buxie* (*Bakhshi*) and *Wacca Nevis* (*Waqayanavis*), that we have appointed him *vacqueel* in Hugly for the affairs of the English."

853—1st June, 1714.—Present to the Royal Messengers :—The two Gursburdars the Swanagur, the Buxeys Naib, the Mufty and the Botard being come from Hugly to be witness of the public show and rejoycing we made for the Honour of the Kings Seerpaw, which that they may notifiye in their *Vaccaes* (*Waqas*) to Court its necessary on that occasion to make them a Small Present in Goods, etc."

" 916—28th April, 1715 :—Complaints of Extortion at Cassimbazar.—The Duan conniving att the Custome House Officers at Cossimbazar, or encourageing them to seize severall of our Merchants Factors, who provided goods for us on pretence of Custome, which the King excuses us from the payment of, and Wee having wrote severall addresses to the Duan complaining of the grievance which his Officers have not suffered our *Vacqueel* to deliver, Ordered Therefore now Wee are sending the cus-

tomary yearly present to the Governour and officers in Hugly that Messrs. Samuëll Browne and William Spencer go to Hugly and in the Governours Durbar request the *Vaccanagur* (*Waga negaur*) and news Writers to note the cause of our Complaint in the *Vacca's* (*Wagas*) and public Newspapers, by which means it will of necessity come to the Duans knowledge and possibly induce him to Order the money extorted from our people may be returned to them, or att least those under confinement be released and no more extorted from them."

" 919—5th May, 1715 :—The English Protest recorded in the newsbook.—Messrs. Browne and Spencer being returned from Hugly the 2nd Instant delivered in a copy of an Article in the news Books entered att their Desire by the *Vacanagur* (*Waganegaur*) the Translate of which is entered after this Consultation. A copy of an Article in the News Book (entered in itt) at the desire of Messrs. Browne and Spencer by the *Wackanagur* (or Intelligencer). Messrs. Browne and Spencer who are Members in the Government of Calcutta whom the Governour Mr. Hedges hath sent hither They on the Day of Adaulutt (or Justice) declared that by the Order of his Imperiall Majestie whatever they bought or sold was exempted from Custome that the Nabob conformable to that order had given his *Perwanna* for our free trade since which the Droga of the Custome house att Muxsoosavad took from their Factors (who had bought Silk and Sugar on this Account) Custome by force upon this they writ a Letter of request to the Nabob but his Officers throwing Obstacles in the way their *Vackiel* had not an oppertunity to present itt for which reason all their Factors refuse to receive Impress money for goods for their expected Ships whose arrivall approaches that they were in hope this affaire being entered in the news Book, a Request will be made to the Nabob to exempt us (according to ancient usage) from Custome and that an Order will be issued forth for the restoreing what hath been taken from their Factors by force. Upon this the *Wackanagur* entered in the news Book according to Information given, that if for the future the Droga of the *Cuttchurray* did not refraine from exacting Custome from the English (conformable to the Imperiall order, and the *Duans Perwanna*) and restore what he hath hitherto violently exacted by obstructing the English affaires, great numbers of Merchants will suffer for in Stopping the English trade, all the trade of Bengal is stopt. Theres likewise entered by the *Sanwannagr*

(*Sarwannehnegaur*) and *Eckbarnavis* (*Akhbarnavis*) in their news Books, an article of the same intent and meaning with the above written."

1022—13th May, 1717 :—" It being necessary to make some Publick Rejoycing upon the Advice We have received from Mr. Surman and that all the Country may know Our Phirmauns are actually in Mr. Surmans Possession. Agreed that next Wednesday We make a Publick Dinner for all the Companys Servants and a loud Noise with Our Cannon and conclude the day with Bonfires and other Demonstrations of Joy which we know will be taken notice of in the *Wacka* and other publick News Papers."

1025—10th June, 1717 :—Three Royal Rescripts.—Mr. Feake delivered a letter from Coja Surhaud in which He received three of the Kings Royall Phirmauns attested by the Cozzee of Dilly of Which He now gives us Two, One for Madrass, and One for Suratt, the other for Bengal He left at Cossimbuzar, He likewise delivered an Attestation under the Seals of the *Swannagur Wackernagur*, and the *Herrcoradroga*, Concerning the Cullundan Stolen from Contoo the Cossimbazar Broker, in which were severall Bills of Debt on the Company."

233. Diary-Patna, September and October 1717 :—" The *Goorzeburdar* (*gurzbardar*) going to the *Wackanagar* (*Waqainigar*) ; this Latter spoke to the *Subah* (*Subahdar*) for an order, for our hiring Boates (Surman Embassay was there proceeding to Delhi), which was granted." November 20th 1717 :—" The Honourable Robert Hedges Esqr. attended by some Gentlemen off the Councill, The Inhabitants off note in Calcutta, and Soldiers off Fort William came above Hugly ; where the Honourable President received the following things from His Imperiall Majesty Furruckseer (Farrikhsiyar) by the Hand off a *Goorzeburdar* (*gurzbardar*), and in the presence off the *Wackanagar* (*Waqi'anigar*) etc., and proper Officers."

1061—25th November, 1717 :—Presents for the Imperial Officers.—" The *Gursburdar* and *Chilla* (i.e.) Kings Slave being come from Hugly it is necessary and according to Custome to give them Presents which they may apply to their own use The sum of two thousand Rupees which was presented the *Gursburdar* at reveny being for the King and Registered by the *Vaccangur* and News Writers

who were present at the delivery of it. Ordered therefore that We present them *viz.*—

For the *Gursburdar*—

500 Madrass Rupees.
A Seerpaw Viz.—
1 Ps. Kincaub.
1 Cheera or Turbant.
1 Puttea or Sash.

For the *Chilla*—

500 Madrass Rupees.
1 Ps. Aurora Broad Cloth.
A Seerpaw Viz.—
1 Ps. Kincaub.
1 Cheera or Turbant.
1 Puttea or Sash.

The *Vaccanagur Swannanagur Horrcora* also the *Cozzee's Naib*, and the Bootard being come from Hugly to take Notice of the Ceremony's and Respect We mett and received the Kings favours with It is necessary We give each of them a Present on this Occasion to influence their giving a handsome account of it.

Agreed therefore that We present them as follows (*viz.*)—

Vaccanagur.

6 yds. Scarlett Cloth.
2 Ps. Aurora Cloth.
2 Ps. Ordinary Green Cloth.

Swannanagur.

1 Ps. Aurora Cloth.
1 Ps. Ordinary Green Cloth.

The Horcorra.

10 yds. Aurora Cloth,
10 yds. Ordinary Green Cloth¹.

An instance occurs early in the reign of Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719) when Chhabela Rām, Governor of Akābarabad, complains that the deputies of the Waqi'ah-Nigar write whatever comes into their heads, because they were not allowed by him to act to their own profit. As a fact (so the Nazim asserted) the country was a hundred-fold more peaceful than under previous governors, and travellers were passing to and fro in complete tranquility.

¹ *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, by C. R. Wilson, Vol. I, p. 247, Vol. II, pp. 173, 216, 217, 268, 270, and 289, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 235 and 251.

To this Farrukhsiyar replied that after all the office of News Reporters was to some extent worthy of trust, and how could it be supposed they wrote without finding out the facts¹.

In the second year of Muhammad Shah, in 1720, the Carnatic suffered from an awful visitation of Nature in the shape of an unprecedented flood which submerged a large tract of country, sweeping away whole villages with their men and cattle and their habitations. We find from the *Seir Mutakherin* that the Government at Delhi and presumably the people of Hindostan in general owed to their Press the best accounts of the calamity. The Imperial Gazette of Hyderabad, we are told, brought news of an extraordinary fall of rain out of season on the 7th Safer which not only overflowed the rivers and lakes but split a mountain or hill and drowned the population of the affected parts.

All these authentic details clearly show that the Imperial news agent or Reporter or Intelligencer was a powerful functionary in the Mogul regime, and that the indigenous news agency was in full swing to the last day of the Mogul Empire into the thick of the British period.

Bengal had its establishment not only under Nawab Serajud Doula, but also during the reigns of Nawabs Mir Muhammad Jafer Khan and Mir Muhammad Kasem. The correspondence between the British of Calcutta and the country powers during the revolutionary period in Bengal, which, commencing with the death of Nawab Aliverdi Khan, culminated in the grant of the *Dewani* to the British, frequently mention *hirkaras* and *akhbars* (papers of news). The spies formed an important part of the machinery of state. Raja Ram Narain Singh of Midnapur (brother of Raja Raj Narayan Singh, a powerful landlord and a political factor), as the head of the *harkaras* (spies) and in charge of the Intelligence Department of Nawab Serajud Doula, enjoyed the emoluments and held the position of one of the principal Ministers of State.

Before the grant of the *Dewani* to the English in 1765 I find *Waqayanigari* still flourishing in Bengal: During this period the head *Waqainigar* resided at Patna and his deputies were dispersed through every district².

1. Letters of Chhabela Rām Nagar, British Museum, MSS. Oriental No. 1776.

2. *Dictionary of Mohammedan Law, and of Bengal Revenue Terms, with a vocabulary, Persian and English*, Calcutta, 1797.

December 7, 1763.—Sahkiru-d-daulah to Major Adams. Has been granted the *Bakshnigari* and *Waqaya'nigari* of Bengal and Behar with an allowance of Rs. 2,000 a month and a *jagir* of 80 *lakhs* of *dams*. Hopes the Major will assist him in the settlement of his business. Will not fail to serve the English and the Nawab as best as he can. The addressee must have heard of the injury the writer received from Mir Qāsim. The writer's uncle Muhammad Mir Khān and his cousin 'Izzat Khān kept him several months in prison and seized his office of *Waqaya'nigar* as also his allowance and *jagirs*. The *ex-Nazim* acted very contrary to the Wazir's inclinations also; and because the Wazir, the English and the Nawab Mir Ja'far had a friendship for him, the *ex-Nazim* oppressed him.

January 14, 1764.—Sahkiru-d-daulah to Mr. Batson. Has been appointed *Waqaya'nigar* and *Bakhshi*, etc., of Bengal and Behar, and has sent Muhammad Wāris Khān and Rāy Sidā Māl to manage his affairs¹.

According to Munshi Faiz Bakhsh, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Farah-bakhsh*, Shujā'd-Doulah, Nawab Vizier of Oudh (1753-1775), had in his employ 22,000 *harkarāhs* (messengers) and spies, through whom news reached him from Poona every seventh day and from Kabul every fifteenth day.

Bombay under the Mahrattas had a vigorous Intelligence Department. The famous Trimbakje Danglia of Mahratta history originally held without reproach the post of a *jasoos* or spy. Even in 1773-74 the influence of *Akhbars* (indigenous newspapers) was felt very keenly in the court of the Peshwa and among the Mahrattas. The following is a striking illustration² :—

"There is a well-known Poona anecdote, which though oftener told of Mahdoo Rao, was one from which the latter used to say his brother would become an enterprising officer. While spectators of an elephant fight at the Gooltekree, a small hill in the environs of the city, one of the animals, when enraged, came full speed towards the spot where they sat. Most of the attendants, and all the principal people, whose fears overcame their politeness for the Peshwa, hurried off, and Narrain Rao jumped up to run with the rest. Mahdoo Rao caught his arm ;

1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* (Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, 1911) Vol. I, entries 1968 and 2023.

2. *Grant-Duff's History of the Mahrattas* (reprint by R. Cambray & Co., Calcutta, 1912), Vol. II, pp. 250-51.

“Brother,” said he, “what will the Ukhbars¹ say of you?” He instantly sat down with composure, and the danger, which became imminent, was averted by the extraordinary bravery of a Mahratta Sillidar named Appajee Rao Phatunkar, who drawing his dagger, sprung in front of the Peishwa, and turned the animal aside, by wounding him in the trunk.”

In the summer of 1792, the public newspapers of Delhi announced that the Emperor had expressed to Madhaji Sindhia and the Peshwa his hope that they would enable him to recover the imperial tribute from the Bengal Provinces.

In 1813, the Lahore *Akhbars* were principally filled with details of the progress of the united army of Ranjeet Singh and of Futeh Khān, Vizier of Kabul, in the conquest of Kashmir, and the occupation of Attock by the forces of Ranjeet Singh².

It would seem from the above that the Press had struck root sufficiently and was so appreciated as an important agency for the supply of news that on the decay and destruction of the Mogul Power, the journalists continued it on their own account. No doubt their circulation shows that these newspapers were liberally patronised by local governments and chiefs. And these newspapers were all written, and their copies multiplied, by hand.

On the disruption of the Mogul Empire, the State Intelligence Department (*Waqayanegaur*) gradually ceased to exist, but the private manuscript newspapers or *akhbars* continued to circulate and became numerous for purveying the stirring political events that frequently occurred in almost all parts of Hindustan during these troubled times. When the great anarchy was over by the subjugation of the Mahratta Powers, and the British rule became consolidated under Wellesley and Hastings, the *akhbars* were quite vigorous in circulation.

¹ “Native newspapers.” Narrain Rao had indeed “a gazette to himself,” but far different from his brother’s anticipation.

² *The Calcutta Gazette*, 15th and 22nd April 1813.

S. C. SANIAL.

(To be continued)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

“Kitabu'l-Huda.”

BY YAQUB HASAN, (Bombay, Khilafat Press).

(Difference of opinion, with regard to the value of this undoubtedly remarkable work in Urdu is so strong, not only among the general public but also among the Ulama, that we consider it our duty to our readers to give a place to both opinions, in order to enable them to form a fair idea of it. Below we print two criticisms with which we have been favoured, one from the pen of no less an authority than Nawab Sadr Yar Jung Bahadur, the other by a less important writer, a mere student, whose views are typical, however, of a growing school of thought.

Ed. “I.C.”).

I.

An utterance is an expression of the mind ; so it is essential, in order to understand an utterance, that we should bear in mind the meaning of the speaker ; that is to say, we should approach the study of an author's writings without any preconceived idea or prejudice about them, and should try to collect as much material as possible from the external environment, or the commentaries of the chief disciples, of the writer. No sensible man would deny this rule. And it was for this reason that the orthodox of old, in order to understand the Holy Qurân, made use of the traditions of the Arabian Prophet (Peace be on him) and of the Companions, for fear lest they should misinterpret the Qurân.

The Qurân has laid down principles for its understanding :—

1. Some of the verses of the Qurân are authoritative and others figurative. The first kind of verses should be learnt by heart and strictly obeyed. Of the various interpretations of the second kind of verses only such should be accepted as do not contradict the meaning of the authoritative or didactic verses.

If a wrong-headed man were to read this verse (declaring the action of the Prophet upon one occasion to have been the act of God) then he might say that the Prophet is God or that he must have been possessed of Divine Power. But, as we find in the authoritative part of the Qurân that the Prophet is عبد الله (God's slave and messenger) so to ascribe to him Divine rank is infidelity.

2. In every concern of life and, in understanding the Qurân in particular, the decision of the Prophet is final.

ما أتاكم الرسول فتخذوه وما نهاكم عنه فانتهوا

“That which the Messenger (of Allah) brought unto you hold fast to it, and that which he forbade you, desist from it.”

Thus, to interpret any verse of the Qurân in such a manner as to contradict the meaning explained by the Prophet (Peace be on him) is not only a sin but is against common sense. In connection with this verse : وابدرك بك حتى

“Worship thy Lord until that which is sure befalls thee,” the meaning of the word يقين (that which is sure), as is found in the Traditions of the Prophet, is موت (death). So, to adopt a different meaning here would be to go astray ; although we know that the meaning of the word يقين in the Qurân is not موت everywhere.

As is evident from the verse يتلوا عليهم آياته ويزكيهم و يعلمهم الكتاب و الحكمة “He shall recite unto them His signs, and shall purify them and shall teach them the Scripture and Wisdom.” God sent the Prophet as a supreme Teacher, therefore he tried his best to make the people understand the real meaning of the Word of God.

But the person who seeks to write a commentary of the Qurân with the help of the dictionary only, offers no guarantee of the truth of his explanations ; on the contrary there is every likelihood of their being far from the real sense. Such is the difficulty which our friend Mr Yaqûb Hasan has to encounter. From the perusal of his book, “Kitâbu'l Huda” it appears that, just as a pleader, to support his client, twists every scrap of evidence, so also Mr. Yaqûb Hasan has made out his brief beforehand and tries to extract such interpretations out of the Qurân as will support it. In proof of what we say, we give below

some extracts from the book that deny the existence of Spirits, Satan and the Angels.

Page 175, Para. 58, under the heading "Angels," he writes : "The mention of the Angels occurs for the first time in the story of Adam." Thinkers will understand from this one line how weak is his faith in them.

A few of the sub-headings in the book will help to show the reader how Mr. Yaqûb Hasan is endeavouring to create a particular impression, which is dead against the authorised interpreters of the Qurân, in the minds of his readers :—

1. In some passages of the Qurân Angels are said to be nothing but spirit.
2. Angels are pure spirit.
3. Angels are quite innocent.
4. The knowledge of Angels is limited.

The sub-headings of Para. 59 "Divine mission of the Angels" are :—

1. One of the duties of the Angels is to bring the message of God to man.
2. The message of God is Spirit.
3. An Angel brings the Word of God to the heart of the Prophet.

Para 60, "Appearance of Angels."

1. "Angels appear to Prophets and Saints also in the form of men."
2. "The Holy Prophet also saw an Angel in the heavens."

Para 61. "The descent of Angels."

Para 62. "The Spirit, *i.e.*, the help of Angels to men."

Para 63. "The relation of Angels and Prophets to God."

Para 64. "Powers of the Angels."

Para 65. "Faith in Angels."

Para 66. "Duty of Angels."

Now hear the upshot of all this classification and deduction from the mouth of the author himself : "From this it is evident that the pure medium between the Creator and the Created is called by God Angels. Hence the medium of the Angels between God and His actions is so fine that the idea of its existence or non-existence can with difficulty be conceived by the human mind."

The author says in his preface "I am indebted to Moulâna Husain Ahmad (Muhaddith, Muhâjir, Madani) for his drawing my particular attention to some of the most important words in the Qurân, while translating the verses which are the key-note of the subject of this Chapter. I examined those words carefully and collected them from the verses of the Qurân where they occurred, and noted them down, and from the translation of every word I adopted such a synonymous word as would apply everywhere. This literal research led me on to many discoveries which were at first far from my mind."

If the above-mentioned, so-called "discoveries" of the author are the result of his great care and labour, then, not to speak of ourselves, even Moulâna Husain Ahmad Sahib will never congratulate him.

Respect and reverence prevent us from saying anything against Ulama and men of learning. Therefore we are forced to say that Messrs. Moulâna Husain Ahmad, Moulâna Khalîl Ahmed Sahâranpûri (deceased) and Moulâna Muhammad Ali Monghyri, have not carefully perused this book, otherwise they would never have taken this responsibility upon their shoulders. It would appear that these opinions of the Ulama were obtained only on the previous book "*Kashshâfu'l-Huda*," in which the author did not let himself go as he has done in the present work. And it is perhaps on this account that Moulâna Suleymân Nadvi also could not escape the influence of those opinions. He says in his preface (dated 2nd Moharram ul-Harâm 1343 A.H.): "In short, in this book every man can learn what the Qurân teaches about this belief or doctrine, what it decides; what matter though the author departs from the traditional interpretations, since he tries always to understand what the words of the Qurân teach. I have read this part from beginning to end and I differ from the author at one or two points, but, thank God, he has kindly carried out my corrections." And in his introduction dated 22nd December, 1929 (16th Jamâdi'us-Sâni 1345 A.H.) the last paragraph begins: "It is not necessary that one should agree with the author word by word. Mr. Yaqûb Hasan has accomplished a great work which I should have judged beyond his capacity."

The tenth chapter of the book which covers pages 126—195, deals mostly with "Iblîs" and "Shaitân"—"Iblîs and Shaitân," "The nature of Shaitân," "Doings

of Shaitân," "The appearance of bad actions as good," "Influence of Shaitân on Prophets," "Inspirations and the reverse," "Obedience of Shaitân," "Shaitân in Man," "The Shayâtîn. Servants of Solomon" and "The touch of Shaitân."

We now quote from the summary of the results of this long list of so-called "discoveries :"—Para. 76 "According to the Qurân the beginning of Satan was in this wise, that when God made man from the dust of the earth and breathed into him His spirit, He commanded all the Spirits to prostrate themselves before man, and to obey him. Then all the Angels prostrated themselves before man except Iblis.....Satan did not know that God, by endowing man with knowledge and wisdom, had enabled him to conquer the fire and control evil deeds as he can control good ones."

On pages 217 and 243 the author says in effect that bad people are called Shayâtîn (Satans) in the Qurân, and so there is no separate existence of Satan as is generally believed by Muslims. We wish that he had but referred to the Traditions, to the compilation of which so many learned Traditionists devoted their lives, and which form one of the most accurate and preserved chapters in the history of the world; he would never then have made such a blunder, which has been committed by many other authors before him.

Pages 227—256, of Chapter XI, deal mostly with "Jinn" (genis). The headings are :—

"Jinn in the sense of Shaitân."

"Jinn, Servants of the Prophet Solomon."

"Urî Jinn."

"Jinn and Men."

To make easy the meaning of the verses of the Qurân according to the intellectual needs of the age is no doubt a noble work, but it should be borne in mind that, where philosophy contradicts the statements of the Qurân, Muslims ought to have complete faith in the Qurân and consider the philosophy to be false. If one keeps such faith one will surely find sufficient arguments to refute the arguments advanced by philosophers and thereby one can conclusively prove the truth of the Qurân. As God says : لَدِينِهِ سَبِيلًا "We guide them in Our ways."

If anybody wished to write a book on any scientific or literary subject—say, for instance, Physics,—he would first lay down certain principles in consultation with

specialists, and then write the book. The book would then deserve attention from the public. If the writer failed to do so, then his book would meet with the same unfortunate fate as did the "Tafsîru'l-Qurân" of the late Sir Syed.

It should be borne in mind that, in order to understand the Qurân thoroughly, reference should be made to the Traditions of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him), as he was its best interpreter by word and deed. It is also necessary to follow the traditions handed down by the Companions and their Followers in interpreting the Qurân, as they were the only people who fully understood its meaning. Following these rules, anyone can write a good *Tafsir*; as the Qurân says : لَا تَقْضُ عَجَابَ الْقُرْآنِ "Do not follow the marvels of the Qurân." A good Tafsîr of the present day is that of Moulâna Hamîduddin Sahib, B.A.

As the author has not observed the above rules many defects are to be found in his "*Kitabu'l-Huda*," to which we have drawn his attention. God grant that he may take our criticism in good part, and carry out such corrections that the book may be called in truth "*Kitâbu'l-Huda*," and may not follow blindly the custom of second-rate authors who fall foul of their reviewers.

SADR YAR JUNG.

II.

The first of the ten projected volumes of Mr. Yaqûb Hasan's *Kitabu'l-Huda* is in itself a formidable work. Considering that the greater part of the author's life has been spent in avocations far from literary, and that it was during a long term of imprisonment that he first began to study the Qurân and learnt to value it as something more than a tradition of his race, the present work has quite romantic interest and is something of a miracle of modern times. Strange though it may seem, this is the first recorded instance of a serious attempt to explain the Qurân by the Qurân. The fact that it is made by a man of modern education and mentality may possibly incline old-fashioned Muslims to extend to the mode of exposition their distaste for modernity; nay, it is more than probable that some will raise a strong objection to the method merely on the ground that it was never used before. In the first Islamic century men, finding much in Holy Scripture which was difficult to understand, eagerly sought for ex-

planation from the surviving Companions of the Prophet, who could remember what the Prophet himself had said as to the interpretation of the passages concerning which they were in doubt. In the second Islamic century such information was still sought and was collected into books ; only in the third Islamic century appears the theory that research was thenceforth closed, and that, since the Holy Prophet and his fortunate Companions and all who knew them or knew those who knew them were no more, therefor no more knowledge of the Sacred Book could be obtained, or ought to be desired or sought. This would have been reasonable in the case of any ordinary work of literature ; when, the author and all those who knew him being dead, their records would be naturally accepted as the last word concerning his intention. But no Muslim believes the Holy Qurân to be a "literary" work in the accepted use of the term, nor does any Muslim believe Muhammad (ﷺ) to have been its "author." The Prophet himself referred to it always as a miracle of Allah's mercy, an achievement far above his personal capacity. That being so, it is strange that study of the Word of God among the later Muslims should have been focussed on what folks remembered the Holy Prophet and his contemporaries to have said concerning it, rather than upon the Word of God itself. There have always existed among Muslims men who carried the Holy Qurân (the meaning) in their hearts as well as the Holy Qurân (the words) upon their lips ; but for several centuries these were in a small minority, and the words of the Qurân were taught to people as a charm without the meaning, which was considered sealed up from the common ken, to be approached only by the path of old interpretations.

That is why Mr. Yaqûb Hasan's attempt to show that the Qurân explains itself, by grouping all the verses which treat of a particular subject together in the chronological order of their revelation so far as this can be established from tradition, will be regarded by many as an over-bold, nay, impious attempt. It is none the less of great importance to the future of Islâm. For Mr. Yaqûb Hasan's arrangement brings into relief the fact that the Qurân contains no word that is definitely against the conclusions and discoveries of modern science. This appears particularly when the story of the creation of Adam and Eve as narrated in the Qurân is compared with the same story in the Bible. It is as if the Qurân foresaw the modern criticism and forestalled it.

The new arrangement of the verses according to subject and in chronological order is indeed so illuminating, that one could almost wish that Mr. Yaqûb Hasan had been content with that and had not added his own exposition, interesting though it is. By such a course he would have proved his case without arousing adverse criticism of the kind which some of his deductions are certain to arouse, though almost all of them have been foreshadowed in the pages of some ancient commentator. The only serious criticism that the present reviewer would make, upon his own account, of Mr. Yaqûb Hasan's expositions, particularly in regard to spiritual beings, is that Mr. Yaqûb Hasan too obviously endeavours to prove that the Qurân is not at variance with a certain school of modern European thought. At the same time there are other schools of European thought and one of them, most modern of them all, is "Spiritualism."

In connection with his chapter on the Jinn, a suggestion, first made by a Syrian author, that the Jinn were Bronze Age people conquered by the people of the Iron Age, living underground in terror of their lives, and going abroad only at night, may be of interest. It is based on the fear of iron attributed to the Jinn in Arab folklore and on the fact that, in the stories, they possess bronze vessels, but never anything of iron. If it is a fact, as stated by Mr. Andrew Lang in one of his essays, that in England a tribe of "red fairies" were executed at Chester in the reign of Henry the Eighth, it seems at least possible that similarly outcast creatures existed in the deserts of the Hijjâz in the time of our Prophet. The fairies, like the Jinn, are credited in folklore with a dread of iron. But that is by the way. From the grouping of the verses referring to them, Mr. Yaqûb Hasan's deduction is clear, that the word Jinn, as used in the Qurân, bears three distinct meanings, and in one at least of those meanings concerns creatures no less human than ourselves.

The work is of such interest to Muslims that one feels inclined to beg those who would, perforce, object to the author's commentary to read only the Coranic verses in the new arrangement, ponder over them and form their own deductions; and afterwards, long afterwards, read Mr. Yaqûb Hasan's exposition.

MUHAMMAD ABDUH.

A Jesuit Father's View of Indian Culture

[Indische Fahrten : By Joseph Dahlmann, S. J. 2 vols. imper 8vo. pp. xvii and 344, xv and 311. With 502 illustrations, three maps and full index. Freiburg in Breisgau : Herder and Co. 1927].

THESE fine volumes form the second edition of a record of wanderings through India in recent years by Father Dahlmann, who is a well-known authority on Buddhism, the head of a religious institution in Tokyo, and Professor of German Literature in the Imperial University of that city.

They are the work of a careful and observant traveller who has seen much in Europe and Asia, who has an eye for beauty of form and spirit, imagination and sympathy in interpreting the ideals of foreign peoples, an honest purpose in telling his wander-story, and a command of as clear a style as the German language can brook. As the author is a zealous apostle of his own church, he never makes that complete surrender to alien culture which results in extravagance and vitiates criticism. His two volumes contain some six hundred large and unspaced pages of patient, solid descriptive writing, and maintain an even level of temperate and efficient judgment, such as we associate with trained encyclopædists. As such, they are worthy to stand among the works of that small but growing band of writers who are building up the intellectual and æsthetic synthesis of Eastern and Western ideal and achievement.

It is as a picture-gallery first and foremost that we must regard these handsome volumes, which contain no fewer than five hundred photographs very carefully chosen, reproduced and arranged, the only slip being the printing on the same page of views of Macao, and Bassein near Bombay. The result is, we are able to enjoy, what is otherwise a difficult operation, a pictorial survey of that bewildering cosmos of architectural delicacy, lavishness and splendour which is one of India's glorious legacies, together with some idea of the multifarious interest of human life to-day in its various settings which the abundance and austerity, the niggardliness and caprice of Nature have conditioned. There is a medley of Asian and African life shown in these pictures, the result of tropical suns, ocean-winds, trade-routes, religious enthusiasm and other factors, physical and psychic. On the Greek coins of the Kabul valley are faces of kings who can still be seen stalking the streets of Hyderabad; among the

Lamas of the Tibetan fringe and the Buddhist monks of Mandalay are men I have known in Japan.

All the familiar things are here, Rangoon, the Taj, Greek coins from Afghan valleys, Chitor, Udaipur, Golkonda, the Seven Pagodas, and Ramaswaram. But there is abundance besides, revealing the variety, the distinctive characteristics, and here and there the collaboration of the two main elements in Indian art, relieving and setting off each other with striking effect.

With the surging life, human and animal, of Ramayana friezes ; with the overdecoration and repetition of Burmese architecture, a direct rejection of the spirit of the founder of Buddhism,—we have the peace of the total impression of a Mohammadan mausoleum. With the gaudiness of the Jain temples of great cities, and the too evident fear of leaving any material uncarved or unworked, alike in the domestic decoration of Rajputana and the sanctuaries of South India,—we have the stern sufficiency of a mosque in its bare surroundings. With the riot of the grotesque in Dravidian sculpture, with the disfiguring of the human body and the surrender to emotional ecstasy of Hindu votive craft, we have the reserve and finality of tomb and pavilion, archway, dome and minar in Mogul architecture.

That is a first impression of the book, and correct in the main. But it must not allow us to lose sight of the many exceptions to this facile generalization. What could be quieter or more consoling than the seclusion of the cloisters of Elura, or of so much of the Buddhist stone carving from Chandi Mendoct in Java to Gandhara itself? What more exquisite than the delicate foliation of the tombs of Salim Jistis (*sic*) and Itimàd ud-Daulah? There is elaboration, purely geometrical it is true, even on the grave of Timur in Samarqand, where we should naturally expect the simplicity of a great rock in a thirsty land. And in India, beside the cool reticence of portrait studies, we find throughout the Mogul period the loveliest miniature work in the interior decoration of the great monuments of the time of Shah Jehan. Look too at the wonderful arboreal tracery in marble of the Sidi Sayyid Mosque in Ahmedabad and the royal serail in Delhi. Look at the balustrade and arabesques of the Qutb Minar, and the elaborate exterior decoration of the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah in Bijapur. There is impressiveness and solemnity in the stupas of Sanchi and Mihintale, in the black pagoda of Kanaruk,

the medley of Patan, Gwalior Fort, Tanjore, Sreringam and many another. Both kinds of art have their supreme moments and their decadence ; both, as these volumes show, afford endless study both in detail and in relation to the mind and soul of the races that erected them. In his treatment of the world of Hindu temple-sculpture, Father Dahlmann takes the point of view of the ordinary cultured Westerner steeped in the traditions of Greece and Rome. He is an outsider—a Philistine if you like—compared with an enthusiast like Dr. Coomaraswamy, a fervent convert like Sister Nivedita, or an earnest student such as Lord Ronaldshay or Sir Charles Eliot. The following are his general conclusions, which are illustrated by arresting photographs of the temples of Bhuvaneshwara, Puri and Kanaruk, so full of interest to the student of art and anthropology.

“The underlying character of the Indian temple is everywhere the same. It is meant to be the earthly house of the god to whom it is dedicated. From this idea develops the plan of the Hindu Sanctuary in both its parts, namely, as *Vimana* or holy of holies, and as *Mantapa* or hall of prayer. The *Vimana*, a rectangular, rather narrow and dark chamber, is the real dwelling place of the god, large enough to contain the statue or the symbol of godhead which takes its place. Something mysterious, spectral, almost uncanny weighs down the darkness of the inner chamber lighted only by a faint glimmer of daylight. The fantastic forms of the gods in the background stand out like apparitions of another world,—not a happy and blissful world, but one that is dismal and depressing. So much the brighter and less confined does the *mantapa* seem to any one entering, which is erected in front of the *vimana* as a chamber of prayer for the devout. Compared with a Christian house of God this room too is small throughout. Then the Indian temple is just as little intended as the Greek to provide room for large gatherings met inside the walls for divine service, or to be instructed in religious truths. The great annual festivals bring many thousands to the big temples. These pilgrims find room in the temple courts and the great corridors which surround them.

“*Vimana* and *mantapa* are recognizable by their peculiar superstructure. Above the *Vimana* as the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where the godhead dwells in effigy or symbol, rises the *sikhara*-tower, the distinguishing feature of the Hindu temple, which impresses on the structure just as

peculiar a character as the towers of our Gothic cathedrals. This tower takes different forms in north and south. In the north it resembles a rectangle diminishing upward in curved ribs, with a dome-shaped crowning piece. These towers can be likened to colossal vases set upright, with four dented convex sides. In the south they resemble a pyramid rising in many stories and concluded by circular roofing. In similar manner the *mantapa* varies by reason of the peculiar construction of the roof. In the north the roofing diminishes gradually upwards, in the south in layers.

“ In these main divisions of the arrangement of space the architecture provides sculpture with surfaces over which it spreads its decoration in the most exuberant richness. It is primarily in the prodigal wealth of its ornamentation that the Hindu temple becomes the truest expression of the essence of Hinduism. The virtuosity of the sculptor celebrates therein its most brilliant triumphs. In the delicate blossoms and foliage, in the soaring of lines drawn in the manner of arabesques, in the multifarious grotesque designs, the eye discovers many pleasing images. But it also comes across the dark and the darkest side of this temple-art. Something uncanny, demonic, grins at us from the darkness of the inner chamber lighted by the faint glimmer of a candle..... So much the more splendid appears the porch with the luxurious magnificence of its pillars, on which the richly decorated dome-shaped roof rests. The walls are, as it were, spanned over with sculptures, and the dreamy mood of the speculative brooding of the Hindu lies heavy and sultry on the figures. One is not conscious of the least trace of any noble distinguished spirit of moderation such as is expressed in the creations of classic art. From the depths of a mystic, speculative ecstasy this sculpture cannot be raised to the height of the ancient art-life. While the Hindu is almost entirely wanting in the delicate sense for harmony, for pictorial and plastic beauty, which the Greeks displayed in such high degree, we find a definite predilection for the colossal, the grotesque, the insipid and the absurd, for animal forms, mixed forms, revolting monsters and caricature. It may be that these mythological deformities originally possessed a deeper mystic and allegoric meaning; but among the people the meagre spiritual content rapidly evaporated, and there was left only the caricature,—a repulsive distortion of the once religious idea. All is exuberantly

and immoderately developed as by no other people on earth. The propensity to a positively unbridled fantasy breaks out everywhere with an almost demonic appearance.

“Just as the power of imagination can only represent the divine in shapeless deformities, in the unnatural, the distorted, and the monstrous, so the plastic execution can only bring home to the reverent the being of the gods by gigantic and wildly fantastic images. At one time the divine beings are represented in actionless repose and dreamy enjoyment; at another they are seen in battle with superhuman creatures as weird and terrible powers. Where a higher, a divine capacity should be revealed, art can only attain to this by a monstrous accumulation of limbs or a fantastic joining of animal heads and human bodies. One never sees the gods represented in complete human form, doing and enduring, benign or wrathful with all human sufferings. Anything suggesting pithy constancy, energy and determination is completely suppressed. But what appears in the revolting imagery along with the procession of the frightful and the terrible is the entire surrender to an unbridled sensual existence. Indian temple-art has taken into its service the most voluptuous sculpture on earth. A train of wanton sensuality runs right through this art. Any one, therefore, who would learn to know the religious architecture as expressive of the innermost being of Hinduism, must not close his eyes to this aspect.

“It is characteristic of Indian sculpture” writes Wilhelm Cohn, ‘that in it the most passionate sensuousness and an earthly humanity are in colloquy.’ Whole temple walls are exclusively covered with representations of the crudest life of the senses. That is not the isolated aberration of an art otherwise devoted to the serious and lofty representation of divinity. The horrible degeneration here and there by no means originates in an occasional lapse of the artist, if he deserves this name. The artist here confronts a tendency which has from time immemorial taken possession of the Hindu. ‘Voluptuously impelled figures, radiating sensual life,’ belong just as surely to the inventory of temple-art as the *devadasis*, servants of the godhead, belong as dancing girls to the personnel of the temple services. The succession of these orgies reveals the mightiest god of the Hindu Pantheon, Siva, as Nataraja the Dance-king, in the so popular figure of a naked dancer seized by wild dance-lust, who stretches out his four arms and with one leg moving ecstatically in a circle, crushes to

pieces the king of the demons with his other leg, torn by a rush of blood. The above mentioned student and lover of Indian sculpture thinks to find as the deepest basis of this passion for decoration that 'in the Indian religiosity the sensual is regarded under the aspect of the divine.' This aspect cannot surprise us, when we find that, according to the testimony of Winternitz, in certain ceremonies connected with dedication 'all barriers are let down'. The speech of temple-art is only the interpreter of these orgies.

"That in its outlines is the Brahman sanctuary, as it shows itself to the eyes of the wanderer north and south, whether it be dedicated to Vishnu, the God most friendly to mortals, or to Siva, the most terrible,—a medley of noble art-forms and of the most barbarous productions of the sensual nature."

If Father Dahlmann's criticism of Hindu sculpture is so drastic, his praise of the beauty of Mohammedan architecture is tempered by his religious predilection, though this does not debar him from paying what we must regard as a generous tribute of admiration from such an ardent son of the Church. In his discussion of Agra and the influence of Austin of Bordeaux at the court of Shah Jahan, he says :

"The Emperor, led by his aspiration to glorify his sovereignty in architecture which should in every respect outshine the glory of Akbar, found in the art of this man a means of forming a style that had nothing in common with any previous splendour of art. In this style he built himself a new palace, while the work of Akbar was abandoned to decay.

"Scarcely twenty years are gone, and it seems that all the great achievement of the mighty spirit of Akbar in Fatehpur is forgotten by his scion. But this scion created after no inherited art; he builds like a Titan so magnificently that all the beauty handed down by his ancestors begins to pale. . . . Much, very much is to our eyes strange and inexplicable. We cannot think ourselves into this unheard of revel of splendour and abundance. . . . All that the highest might and pomp could attain to has here been pressed into service. Thus the Chapel of the Medici in Florence suffered a resurrection in the architectural glory of India as a memorial of the highest power of Islam. The same artistic skill which made one chapel a jewel of Christian art made the seraglio of the Mogul Emperor a

jewel of Saracen art. But it is just in this apparent approximation and inner affinity that there is revealed also the deep gulf that separates Christian from Mohammedan art....

"The Indian artist combined with a masterly technical skill a sense of form and colour which rivalled those of the Florentine master. And yet, when one confronts these lustrous white surfaces of marble and the fresh spring-like colour-sense of the flowers and arabesques with the work of Christian art, everything appears not merely sober but absolutely poor, notwithstanding the blended wealth. These fairy-like images are wanting in spiritual beauty. In the Mohammedan artist we miss what discloses to every Christian a source of the richest life, a vision of the mystery of the divine life and activity.... Saracenic art was not wanting in the loftiest thoughts waiting for expression, in susceptibility to the charm of the harmony of colours, or in skill in the handling of material. One thing only it lacked,—spiritual content,—but in that it lacked all*. Never have I felt more vividly the poverty of ideas, the incapacity for profound imaginative creation of a non-Christian religious sphere of thought, than in the monuments which the golden age of Mogul art under Shah Jahan displays."

Peace to Professor Dahlmann! Mohammedan art has yet to find its royal interpreter. Meanwhile it remains one of the wonders of the world, not only for its loftiness in detail and ensemble, but for the subtle ways in which it associates itself with natural scenery, even the wildest, not to speak of its deep and subconscious relations with the human soul.

But if this lack of spiritual symbolism in a familiar form impresses Father Dahlmann in the finest Mohammedan art, he recognizes and extols the spiritual quality in the life and character of individual Muslims. Writing of the *Memoirs of the Emperor Baber*, he says :

"These *Memoirs* are one of the most remarkable of all literary creations of the spiritual life of Asia. Written by an unsettled, roving nomad, a man who delighted in battle, they reflect, in their homely and plain and yet so living and clear speech, a picture of a people which stands for us, in the changing aspects and events, a true expression of the Asiatic life that we feel so far and strange. Without knowing it, the Prince, in the picture he has sketched of himself, has drawn the genius of the magnificent epoch

*The Muslims shun all that savours of idolatry—Editor, I. C.

which was founded by him in the life of India and Central Asia. There gleams before us, in contrast to the ostentatious picture of court life which fills out the pages of the Asiatic historiographer, a real piece of Asiatic history. The people, with their customs and habits, begin to live before our eyes, and we also, unnoticed, begin to live under him and with him. What is told us is not merely memories in which a rough soldier and wild roving nomad, at the end of his life of battle, knows only how to recount for us marches and countermarches, sieges and stormings, ramparts and bastions. In these Memoirs are the impressions and remarks of a keen observer, of a finely cultivated ruler versed in all branches of Asiatic literature, not as first collected after the lapse of years, but as they impressed themselves on the memory fresh and direct in the living stream of events. But more than on the course of events emerging before us, the attention centres on the fashions of this unique man, his character, so fresh and serene, so free from all constraint and convention, amidst the most dismal disillusionings so rich in hope, courage and resolve, and at the same time so warm-hearted and friendly, in many features of such manly nobility that he involuntarily commands our admiration and sympathy.

“The frankness with which he unconsciously portrays himself, while he tells us of all his roving expeditions and his labyrinthine movements, give these sketches a magic that takes the reader captive. Not altogether unfitly has this son of the Asiatic steppe been called the Prince of all Autobiographers. Descending from Timur on his father’s side, from Jingis Khan on his mother’s, and thus in direct line the offspring of both the most terrible scourges of Asia, and by this double ancestry born rather to all the others than to one prince in whom something of the genius of an Alexander lived, he discloses, through his restless and lacerated life of wandering, a spiritual force not unworthy of the greatest of rulers. With the enterprising energy of the Mongols and the pre-eminent audacity of the Turks he associated already as a boy the culture of the Persians, so highly developed on all sides of spiritual life. Master of Turkish, his mother tongue, he had command also of the classical speech of Central Asia, Persian, as an equally perfect master of style in prose and verse. He is just as proud of a graceful *ghazal* of his pen as of a bold victory with the sword.

“Surrounded by obstacles, in the very act of flight, and in face of the highest danger, he finds the quiet to

sing of his unhappiness in an ode full of poetry. He gives the impression that in this common offspring of Timur and Jinghis the overflowing energy of both Titan-conquerors of Central Asia had flowed together,—no more in the all-scorching glow of the tumultuous and ungovernable nomad, but ennobled by a spiritual life which, though it stands so far behind Christian culture, was able to rouse the slumbering latent forces of a nomad people to brilliant activity. Sword and poetry work together to found a realm whose fame has not even to-day lost its magic in the world of Central Asian peoples.”

At the end of his travel-record Father Dahlmann briefly sums up his conclusions, which are indicated by the sub-titles of his last chapter,—India's Religious Ideals no Source of Restoration for the West; the Three Foundations of Western Culture,—Jerusalem, the home of the true faith, Hellas, the creator of a Universal Culture, Rome, the Giver of Law. And for him the three summits in Western Culture are found in the character and work of Pericles, Augustus and Julius. For him, too, India's hope lies in the imperishable life-force of the Church.

But it is only fair to the author to say that these convictions are rarely obtruded in the book, which is an admirably patient and painstaking account of many sides of a vast rival world of contrast to such energies as are symbolized in those three high names, which mean so much to Western history and civilization.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

SHORTER NOTICES

REVUE DES ETUDES ISLAMIQUES.

(*Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guethner*).

THE famous name of Monsieur Louis Massignon, Professor at the Collège de France, at once won our respect for this Review, of which he is director, and which was founded at the same time as "Islamic Culture," for the study of everything connected with the Muslim World. *La Revue des Etudes Islamiques* has an inclination for things modern, however, while we, for our part, lean towards the treasures of the past. Two numbers of this French review have reached us, of which the first contains, in addition to an account of all the books and periodicals lately published in connection with Islamic studies, a full report of the transactions of the Commission appointed by the Governor-General of Algeria, on the demand of the Kabyle inhabitants, to "seek the legislative, regulatory, juridical and administrative measures which it would be advisable to take for ameliorating the condition of the Kabyle woman." The second number is almost exclusively occupied by a contribution of extraordinary interest, the Memoirs of Ghâzi Mustafa Kemâl Pasha, which, contrary to the former custom of Turkish statesmen, whose autobiographies were stilted and conventional, full of pious ejaculations and trite reflections, but revealing nothing of the writer's personality, form an amazingly frank and vivid human document. Mustafa Kemâl describes his adventures during the war in detail, but quite simply, sums up the Kaiser, Ludendorf and Hindenburg neatly in a few lines of narrative, and incidentally portrays himself for us as a quiet, strong, far-seeing, and by nature incorruptible man. His judgment of contemporary Turkish personalities is not so fair, for some of them had hurt his pride and bitterly offended him, but even here he gives them credit for their works. This curtailed French translation makes us long for a sight of the Turkish original. We wish long life and many readers to our French contemporary.

THE OSMANIA MAGAZINE.

This is a quarterly, bilingual magazine produced by the staff and students of the Osmania University College, Hyderabad. A magazine is one of the necessities of a modern University, and its production marks a definite stage in the evolution of the University life, the stage, as one might say, of full self-consciousness. It is only about eight years ago that the University consisted only of the Translation Bureau and the Intermediate Class ; but it has progressed rapidly since then and is now a University in the most modern acceptance of the term, though not yet quite full grown. This magazine is proof of the near approach of maturity. The second and third numbers have appeared in one volume, of which 120 pages are devoted to the English section and 203 to the Urdu section, which in quality as well as quantity somewhat excels the former, as it should do in an Osmania publication.

The Principal of the College gives a very interesting account, in English, of his recent visit to England in connection with the Centenary Celebration of the London University, and of his efforts to make the Osmania University's achievements known in England. Professor Speight's all too short article on "The Soul of India and Western Research" follows. Professor Hussain Ali Mirza's "Side-Lights on Education" deserves to be widely read. Dr. S. A. Latif approaches his subject, "Ghalib's Outlook on Life" from a somewhat peculiar angle and deals with it in an original manner, which we find delightful, quoting Urdu verses freely by way of illustration.

The Urdu portion of the magazine is even more interesting, the original poetry contributed being surprisingly good. The general get-up and print is excellent and the magazine is almost free from those mistakes which generally characterise the Urdu press.

KHUDA-KI-PADSHAHAT—"The Kingdom of God."

This little book is published by Messrs. Abdullah and Mohiuddin Ahmad, Secretaries, Jamiat-i-Dawat-o-Tabligh-i-Islam, Akbari Gate, Lahore. It contains an Urdu translation of the essay by the late Prince Sa'id Halim Pasha, ex-Grand Vizier of Turkey, which appeared in the first number of "Islamic Culture." The work has been translated into idiomatic Urdu by Moulvi Syed Hashimi

Sahib, a distinguished member of the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University, and contains a foreword by Mr. Pickthall, who knew the author well.

The essay breathes a true Islamic spirit. It dispels the errors which too many Muslims have come to cherish almost as beliefs of recent years. As Sa'id Halim Pasha wrote : " The great majority of the representatives of the Muslim intellectual classes are intent only on endowing their countries with hardly disguised copies of Western institutions." He, on the contrary, was convinced, and convinces his readers, " that the Reformation of Islam consists simply in Muslims learning to understand better, and apply better, the teachings of their own sublime religion." The author asks the Muslims to hold fast to the Shari'at which, if properly interpreted and applied, will " infallibly lead to an unparalleled degree of moral welfare and material prosperity." The author describes the various diseases which affect the Muslim world and Western society respectively, and prescribes the remedies for them both. We commend the book to the Urdu-reading public as conducive to a right understanding of Islamic laws and civilization. Every educated Muslim ought to have a copy of it.

SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNI.

By Md. Habib, B. A., (Oxon.), M. L. C., Professor of History, Muslim University, Aligarh. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay), Rs. 2-8-0.

This book, as its name indicates, is a brief study of the conquests, character and administration of Sultan Mahmûd of Ghazni. The first chapter is devoted to an account of the Muslim world as it existed in the 10th century A.D., wherein the author shows how the ' Weakening of Spiritual Zeal ' brought about the decline of the Abbaside Caliphate, and how the Persians gained importance in the Muslim world. The Persians were in turn eclipsed by the Turks and the Tartars, and about the end of the 10th century the Turks held a position in the Muslim world as important as that of the Kshatriyas in Indian history. The second and third chapters deal with the subject proper. The former tells how Mahmûd came to the throne of Ghazni and how he strove to extend his Empire by an unending series of invasions ; so far as India is concerned the author describes seventeen invasions at some length. The fourth chapter contains a careful and concise account of the character and value of Mahmûd's work.

Some 'fanatics' regard Mahmûd as the Holy Warrior fighting in the service of the Lord. Such short-sighted persons have grossly misrepresented the spirit of Islâm. Prof. Habib takes a strictly impartial view of the work of the great Muslim conqueror, depicting him as he appears in the light of historical events. "Far from being a missionary, he was not even a fanatic; though, like a clever man with a keen eye to his own profit, he fought with Hindus and Mussalmans alike for the extension of his Empire." On another occasion, writing of his raids on India, he remarks "They were not crusades but secular exploits waged for the greed of glory and gold. The Ghaznavid army was not a host of holy warriors resolved to die for the Lord; it was an enlisted and paid army of professional soldiers accustomed to fight Hindus and Mussalmans alike." It is true that "Islâm as a world force is judged by the life of the Prophet and the second Caliph" and not by that of a Sultan Mahmûd. The fifth and last chapter gives a brief history of the fall of the Ghaznavid Empire. Mahmûd was essentially a warrior and a general of extraordinary ability. As an administrator he was an utter failure. His successors were no better. His vast empire, as is usual in such cases, came to an end not long after the strong hand of its founder was withdrawn. The language is simple throughout and the facts are set forth in an interesting way.

MUSLIM REVIEW.

Calcutta Muslim Institute (Annual Subscription Rs. 5-8-0).

This is a magazine for the study of Islamic civilisation under the honorary editorship of such well-known Oriental scholars as Mr. A. H. Harley, Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali and Mr. Mahfuzul Huq. It is concerned chiefly with the Indo-Persian tradition of Islamic culture. The first number of the second volume contains some excellent articles. "The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau (continued)" by Professor Muhammad Habib; "The Origin of Manicheism" by Von Wesendonk, translated by Mr. Fida Ali Khan, which is a genuine contribution to our knowledge of the subject; "The Part Played by the Nawabs of Oudh in later Mughal History" by Mr. Najmul Hasan; "The History of Urdu Poetry" from the *Ab-i-Hayat* of Azâd, translated by Professor A. H. Harley; and the first instalment of "An Account of Muhammad Reza Khan, the Founder of the Chitpore Family," by Amir Ali Midhat Jung. The Review is presented in a highly readable form, is carefully edited, and the matter it contains is such as will appeal to every Indian Muslim.



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LAILAT-UL-QADR

The Night of Glory ! Lo ! it brings to thee,
By angel hands unseen, a mystic key
To give to Faith and Hope
That long have sought to ope
The shining portals of Eternity.

It is the Night of Bliss, the Night of Grace,
More hallowed than a thousand months of days !
Behold ! God's grace descends,
Each hour His blessing lends
To crown each thought and act of prayer and praise.

The light of all the stars shines in thine eyes,
And in thy heart—see !—Heaven mirrored lies !
Watch till each star's withdrawn
Into the folds of Dawn ;
Watch till the Sun of Peace ascend the skies !

Watch till the skies their folded depths unroll,
Watch till the light of Heaven flood thy soul !
The promise of the Night
Thrills into love and light,
Creation shines and Peace pervades the Whole !

NIZAMAT JUNG.

THE EARLIEST BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PROPHET AND THEIR AUTHORS

(Translated by Marmaduke Pickthall from the
German Typoscript).

III

THREE of Al-Zuhri's scholars are known to us as the authors of books on the Maghâzi: Mûsa ibn 'Uqba, Ma'mar ibn Râshid and Muhammad ibn Ishâq, who all three sprang not from the Islamic noblesse but from the stratum of the Mawâli (bondmen).

Mûsa ibn 'Uqba ibn Abî Ayyâsh was a Maula of the family of Zubair ibn al-Awwam, or more precisely of Zubair's wife, Umm Khâlid¹. His grandfather on the mother's side was likewise a Maula of Ibn al-Zubair², with whose family his was also closely associated. The year of his birth is uncertain; a chronological indication is provided, however, in the answer which 'Uqba gave to the question whether he had ever seen one of the Companions of the Prophet³: "I undertook the pilgrimage at the time when 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar was in Mecca; that was in the same year in which Najda, the Haruri (a leader of the Kharijites), was present there." Tabari⁴ has preserved for us a report concerning this presence of Najda and his horde in Mecca. He relates: "In the year 68 (therefor still in the time of 'Abdullah ibn al-Zubair's anti-Khilâfat) four pennons waved in 'Arafât: that of Ibn al-Hanafiya, that of Ibn al-Zubair, that of Najda behind them, and that of the Umayyads to the left of them." Tabari then adds: "Ibn 'Umar began his agitation as Ibn Zubair broke up;" thus there can be no doubt but that the pilgrimage of Mûsa ibn 'Uqba took place in the year 68 A.H.; he would

(1) Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib* X 360; Dhahabi (ed. Fischer) I c. 487.

(2) Ibn Sa'd V 221.

(3) Ibn Hajar 362.

(4) II 782.

therefore have been born anyhow not much later than 55 A.H. As al-Wâqidi¹ states, Mûsa was accustomed to forgather with his brothers Ibrâhîm and Muhammad, in the Prophet's mosque in Madînah for the purpose of study; both his brothers, like him, were experts in Hadîth and Fiqh, but only of Mûsa the youngest is it reported that he furnished legal judgments. We hear nothing else concerning his activity in public life and, as it seems, he kept up no relations with the court of the Umayyads. His death took place about a decade after the destruction of that dynasty, in the year 141².

Mûsa ranks as a special expert in the Maghâzi, and Malik ibn Anas says: "You must hold to the Maghâz of Mûsa, for he is trustworthy." or, according to another version, "He is a trustworthy man who, in spite of his great age, has collected the Maghâzi, and does not bring too much of them, as others have done³." According to this, Mûsa's book was probably less in bulk than other works which treated of the same theme, and probably Malik in his utterance is hitting at Ibn Ishâq, with whose *Kitabu'l-Maghazi*, as we know, he often has fault to find. The Maghâzi of Mûsa were handed on by his nephew Ismaîl ibn Ibrâhîm ibn 'Uqba⁴ who died in 158 A. H., and Yâqût⁵ makes use of them in his rescript of Abu Nu'aim. The work has not been preserved to us or, more accurately, nothing is known of its existence. Aloys Sprenger was assured in Damascus that a copy did exist of which he was, however, unable to obtain a sight. (Diyarbakri, the author of the *Tarikh Khamis*, completed in 940 A.H., has, it appears, made use of the work⁶); we, however, still possess only an abstract which contains one or several ahâdîth from each of the 10 *Ajza* (parts) of the work; it is in the Prussian State Library and was published in original text and German translation by Eduard Sachau in 1904. From this abstract it appears, as was to be expected, that the work of Mûsa was not restricted to the Maghâzi in the narrower sense of the word, but at the least includes the Hijra in its purview; further, that Al-Zuhri was

(1) Ibn Hajar 363; Dhahabi 488.

(2) Ibn Hajar, *Ibid*; Dhahabi, *Ibid*; Bukhârî, *Tarikh* 166.

(3) Ibn Hajar 361.

(4) Ibn Sa'd V 810; E. Sachau, *Das Berliner Fragment des Musa ibn Uqba* (*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1904) 449.

(5) ed. Wûstenfeld IV 1008, compare also III 872.

(6) Khamis II 60, compare also I 589.

the weightiest authority of Mûsa, as was already to be concluded from the verdict of Ibn Ma'in¹: "Mûsa's book going back to Al-Zuhri is among the most trustworthy of these writings." The assertion made without quoting any authority² that Mûsa had heard no traditions from Al-Zuhri must deserve no credit, or can in any case only be accepted in the sense that Mûsa was indebted for the statements of Al-Zuhri not to his direct instruction but to the communications of one of his scholars, or to his written notes. In the Berlin abstract, at the places where he quotes Al-Zuhri, Mûsa mostly employs the formula: *Qala Ibn Shihab* (Ibn Shihâb said) or *Za'ama Ibn Shihab* (Ibn Shihâb contended), which both can indicate written notes of Al-Zuhri; but once at least in this Berlin abstract he uses the formula: *had-dathani al-Zuhri* (Al-Zuhri narrated to me).

Besides in the Berlin abstract, we find numerous quotations from Mûsa's work also in Ibn Sa'd, who likewise used the work in the edition of Mûsa's nephew Isma'il³. From the quotations in the third and fourth volumes of Ibn Sa'd it results that Mûsa's work contained lists of the emigrants to Abyssinia, of the participators in the pacts of 'Aqaba, and above all of the men who fought at Badr—lists such as Shurahbîl Ibn Sa'd (see the first article of this series) had prepared. Malik is reported to have said of these lists⁴: "Those who are named in Mûsa's book as having fought at Badr did actually take part in the battle of Badr, while those whose names he does not mention did not." Ibn Sa'd's teacher also, Al-Wâqidi, has borrowed various statements from Mûsa's work; in his *Kitabu'l Maghazi* he quotes him only seldom⁵, it is true, but Ibn Sa'd received several of Mûsa's reports through Wâqidi as intermediary⁶. Tabari also has incorporated a number of Mûsa's traditions in his chronicle; in addition to such as refer to the time of the Prophet, several also concerning the time of the Khulafau'r-Râshidûn and even concerning the time of the Umayyads⁷. That he

(1) Ibn Hajar 361.

(2) Ibn Hajar 362:

(3) Ibn Sa'd IIa 1, IIIa 1.

(4) Ibn Hajar 361.

(5) v. Wellhausen's Translation 80, 344, 403.

(6) e.g. IIIa 241; VIII 10, 11, 171, 190, 191. I am indebted for these and other informations concerning the authorities cited in Ibn Sa'd to the kindness of Herr Dr. W. Gottschalk, who communicated them to me from the manuscript Index to Ibn Sa'd.

(7) Ibn Sa'd V. 288; Baladhûri, ed. Ahlwardt 280.

devoted his attention to the prefatory history of Islam his notice of Zaid ibn Amr, preserved in the *Kitabu'l Aghani*¹, shows. Among his authorities—the system of the Isnâd is the rule with him, and only in a few of the preserved extracts from him does he name no sponsor—is first and foremost his maternal grandfather, Abu Habîba, who informs him of an occurrence so late as in 91 A.H.² From the Isnâd it is only seldom to be known with certainty how far the accounts concerned are borrowed from the written records of older authorities; in one place³, however, Mûsa expressly mentions such records of Ibn 'Abbâs as made use of by him: "Kuraib (the *Maula* of Abdullah ibn 'Abbâs who died in 98 A.H.) left with us a camel load of the writings of Ibn 'Abbâs, and if Ibn 'Abbâs's son 'Ali wanted a MS. he asked in writing for the Sahîfah to be sent to him, which was then copied out for him." Besides such *Suhuf* of his predecessors, Mûsa had also at his disposal copies of original documents; he quotes verbatim a letter addressed by the Prophet⁴ to Mundhir Ibn Sawa. Mûsa's book also contains chronological data⁵ and occasionally, if perhaps but rarely, he quotes poems too⁶.

Ma'mar ibn Râshid, born at Basra about 96 A.H.⁷, was a *Maula* of the sept Banu Haddân⁸, belonging to the family of Azd. In his youth he heard the renowned Muhaddith of Basra, Qatada ibn Di'ama (who died in 114 A.H.⁹) and afterwards took to travelling in order to enlarge his knowledge. He began these wanderings it seems, after the death (in 110 A.H.) of Hasan al-Basri¹⁰ in whose funeral he took part¹¹. Later he wandered as far as to the Yaman¹², which none of the Muhaddithîn had done before him¹³. In Sana'a, the capital of the Yaman, people tried to detain him permanently, and the effort was successful, for he married there¹⁴.

(1) III 16.

(2) Tabari II 1231.

(3) Ibn Sa'd V. 216.

(4) Baladhûri ed. de Goeje 80.

(5) e.g. *Khamis* I 539.

(6) e.g. Ibn Sa'd III 241.

(7) Ibn Hajar 248.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Bukhârî *Tarikh* 118; Ibn Sa'd VII 2; Nawawi 569.

(10) Ibn Hajar 248.

(11) Ibid. Nawawi 569.

(12) Ibn Hajar and Nawawi, Ibid; Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'arif* 258; Ibn Sa'd V 397.

(13) Nawawi, Ibid.

(14) Ibn Hajar 245; Nawawi, Ibid.

Afterwards, he was from time to time again at Basra, as for instance when his mother died¹; he then, however, returned again to the Yaman, where he died in the year 154 A.H. (or, as others say, somewhat earlier) at the age of 58². It was later asserted that he disappeared, but his disciple 'Abd al-Razzâq expressly states that he died in his family circle at Sana'a and the Qâdi of Sana'a married his widow³.

Ma'mar is depicted as a man who was distinguished for admirable moral qualities⁴, and also as a Muhaddith he enjoys a universal good repute; Ibn Juraij is reported to have said of him: "Hold fast to this man, for no-one of his contemporaries is more learned than he⁵." The *Fihrist* names him as author of a *Kitabu'l Maghâzi*⁶, of which, however, only fragments have come down to us, especially in Wâqidi and Ibn Sa'd, some also in Baladhuri and Tabari. Most of his statements go back to Al-Zuhri, and Ma'mar says expressly⁷ that he addressed questions to Al-Zuhri. In the year when he dedicated himself to the *talab al 'ilm* (quest of knowledge) he evidently attended the lectures of Al-Zuhri with diligence; and Ibn Ma'in⁸ names Ma'mar along with Malik and Yûnus as most trustworthy authority for the traditions of Al-Zuhri. Ma'mar too did not restrict himself to the Maghâzi in the narrower sense of the word; he paid attention also to the biblical history of former Revelations—Tabari especially has preserved much of this part of his work—and also the history of the Prophet before the Hijrah⁹. Moreover, in Ibn Sa'd and Tabari he furnishes information on particular events of the time of 'Uthmân and Muawîya. Ma'mar is one of the weightiest sources of Al-Wâqidi, and Ibn Sa'd received his traditions through the intermediary of 'Abd al-Razzâq ibn Hammâm. This Yamanite disciple of Ma'mar who died in 211 A.H. also, according to the *Fihrist*¹⁰, compiled a *Kitâbu'l-Maghâzi*, which, however, will probably have been only a new edition of

(1) Ibn Sa'd V 397.

(2) Ibn Hajar, *ibid*; Tabari III 2522.

(3) Ibn Sa'd V 397; Ibn Hajar 245.

(4) Ibn Sa'd V 397.

(5) Ibn Hajar, *ibid*.

(6) ed. Flügel 94. It is there erroneously designated as *Kûfi*.

(7) e.g. Baladhûri, ed. de Goeje 22.

(8) Nawawi 569.

(9) Ibn Rusta 68 (*Bibliotheca Geographorum III*) has preserved reports concerning the history of Yathrib in the pre-Islamic time.

(10) ed. Flügel 228.

his master's work. The nephew of Wahb Ibn Munabbih, 'Abdul Mun'im ibn Idris, was also one of Ma'mar's Yamanite scholars¹.

Muhammad ibn Ishâq, the third in the row of Al-Zuhri's disciples who composed a *Kitâbu'l-Maghazi*, outshone the fame of all his predecessors and contemporaries by his work; and his book is the first which has come down to us, not only as fragments or extracts but as a whole, though with considerable lacunae. His life and writings have at last been fully dealt with in Johann Fück's Monograph, *Muhammad ibn Ishaq*, published at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1925; and throughout the following exposition I have made use of that distinguished work and, where it seemed to me necessary, supplemented it.

Ibn Ishâq also sprang from a family of Mawâli. His grandfather Yasar, probably a Christian Arab was, at the taking of 'Ain at-Tamr in 'Irâq in the year 12 A.H., sent with other prisoners to Madînah², became a slave in the possession of the family of Qays ibn Makhrama ibn al-Muttalib, by whom he was set free after his conversion to Islâm. Yasar had three sons, and one of them, Ishâq, married the daughter of a Maula named Sabih³, who presented him with a son Muhammad, the subsequent Sâhibu'l-Maghâzi. Muhammad ibn Ishâq seems to have been born about the year 85 A.H. That is to be deduced, as August Fischer has pointed out, from the fact that all the direct authorities of Ibn Ishâq died after 100 A.H.; and that on the other hand he does not name among his authorities some of the most famous Madanî traditionists who had died in the ninetieth year of the Hijrah. A report⁴ communicated by Al-Wâqidi also agrees with this datum: "Muhammad ibn Ishâq used to sit in the back part of the mosque in the neighbourhood of the women, and it is reported that he conversed with them in the night. This was brought to the knowledge of Ismaïl ibn Hishâm⁵ the Governor of Madînah, whereupon he had Muhammad ibn Ishâq's hair shaved—he had a luxuriant growth of hair and a

(1) Ibn Sa'd VIIb 97.

(2) Tabari I 2122; Baladhûri ed. de Goeje 247; Fück 27, Note 2.

(3) Qastallâni IV 328.

(4) Yâqût, ed. Margoliouth VI, 400; *Fihrist* 92.

(5) In Yâqût's text Hishâm is named, to be sure, but since he was Governor of Madînah from 82 to 86 A.H. he can hardly be in question, and it will be certainly his son Ismaïl who is meant. In the *Fihrist* the name of the Governor is not mentioned.

handsome face—had him scourged and forbade him to sit any more in his former seat.” The governorship of Ismaïl lasted from 106 to 114, and Ibn Ishâq was therefor from 20 to 30 years old at the time. His father, before him, was a zealous collector of traditions, who is often named as authority in his son’s works. Muhammad Ibn Ishâq must therefor from his youth up have been obliged to occupy himself with the transmission of Hadith, and afterwards have enlarged his knowledge by frequenting the most esteemed experts, such as A’âsim ibn ‘Umar, ‘Abdullah ibn Abî Bakr and Al-Zuhri, all three of whom he uses as fountain-heads in his book. But he endeavoured also to procure accounts from everywhere else, and names some 100 authorities from Madînah only.

In the year 115 A.H. Ibn Ishâq repaired to Alexandria¹ where he heard in particular the lectures of Yazîd ibn Abî Habîb (died 128 A.H.), who was first to naturalise the study of Hadith in Egypt². From Egypt Ibn Ishâq betook himself not, as is generally supposed, to ‘Irâq, but as Fûck has made probable, first to his native city, Al-Madînah; perhaps it was when on a visit³ that his teacher Al-Zuhri pointed out Ibn Ishâq to his audience in 123 A.H.⁴; and again in the year 132 A.H. Sufyân ibn Uyaina met Ibn Ishâq in Madînah⁵. Residence in his native city was finally made disagreeable for him, a state of things to which the enmity of two men contributed, that of Hishâm ibn ‘Urwa and that of Malik ibn Anas. Ibn Ishâq had come to know the traditions of Hishâm’s father, ‘Urwa, of whom we spoke fully in a former article, through Al-Zuhri and also through ‘Urwa’s client Yazîd ibn Rumân, and he exploited them to great advantage. Hishâm himself, too, to whom, along with Al-Zuhri and Yazîd, we are indebted for a large portion of the material garnered by his father, appears occasionally in Ibn Ishâq’s work as his authority, but it would seem that on a particular point he marked down Ibn Ishâq as unworthy of credence. Ibn Qutaiba⁶ states in this connection: “Ibn Ishâq was accustomed to receive traditions from Fâtimah bint al Mundhir, the

(1) Ibn Hishâm, Wüstenfeld’s edition II. p. VII.

(2) Goldziher, *Muhammadanische Studien* II 73; Fûck 30, note 27.

(3) Bukhârî, *Tarikh* 221.

(4) Ibn Khallikan I 612.

(5) Bukhârî, *Tarikh* 155.

(6) *Kitabu’l-Ma’arif*, Wüstenfeld’s edition 247.

wife of Hishâm. Hishâm heard that, and declared it false by his saying: Has he then been paying visits to my wife?" Very similarly in the *Fihrist*¹ the account runs: "Muhammad ibn Ishâq received traditions from Fâtimah, the wife of Hishâm. Hishâm heard this and declared it to be false by his saying: When, then, has he been at my house?" Somewhat toned down is the answer of Hishâm as reported by Yâqût²: "He says he has been with my wife? said he, as if he would deny it." In itself it was nothing unheard of that a collector of traditions should receive them from women. We have already seen that 'Abdullah ibn Abî Bakr, who likewise belonged to the Madani aristocracy, had no objection whatsoever to his wife 'Amrah narrating accounts to his pupil, and that pupil was no other than Ibn Ishâq. Probably Hishâm also had no objection whatever to his wife, who was besides considerably older than her husband and some 35 or 40 years older than Ibn Ishâq³, communicating accounts to him; he was, however, quite unaware of any visit of Ibn Ishâq to his house at which the latter had received traditions from Fâtimah, and he therefor doubted the accuracy of Ibn Ishâq's statement.

The hostility of Malik ibn Anas, the renowned author of the *Muwatta*, was on other grounds. It is several times reported that Ibn Ishâq professed the doctrine of the Qadar⁴ and Abu Zura' states that Duhaim, who died in 245 A.H. declared to him that Malik's hostility to Ibn Ishâq was caused by his Qadarite views⁵. Ibn Ishâq is said to have expressed aversion for Malik's learning, and a scholar of Ibn Ishâq, 'Abdullah ibn Idrîs, informs us of Ibn Ishâq's expressions as well as Malik's answer⁶: "I was with Malik ibn Anas when a man related to him: Muhammad ibn Ishâq says: Lay the knowledge of Malik before me, I will handle it as a surgeon. Thereupon Malik said: Look at this Dajjâl (antichrist) who belongs to the Dajjâilah." Before that—remarks the reporter, whom the answer of Malik interests first and foremost as a specimen of language—"I had never heard any man use the plural Dajjâilah." In contrast to his master Zuhri, Ibn Ishâq maintained

(1) Flügel's edition 92.

(2) Margoliouth's edition VI 399.

(3) According to Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhîb* XII 444, she was born in 48 A.H.

(4) Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'arif* 301.

(5) Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhîb* IX 42; Fück 20, Note 40.

(6) Yâqût, Margoliouth's edition II 400.

apparently no sort of relations with the court of Damascus. Perhaps the ruin of that dynasty in the year 132 A.H., and the rise of the Abbasids to power was an additional reason for him to forsake his native city. Anyhow we hear¹ that he betook himself from Madīnah to Kūfa, al-Jazīrah, Rai and Baghdad, where he is said to have remained till his death. Another account gives closer details of his sojourn in those regions²: "Muhammad ibn Ishâq stayed with Al-'Abbâs ibn Muhammad in Al-Jazīrah (where Al-'Abbâs was Governor in 142 A.H.); then he repaired to Abû'l-Ja'far Al-Mansûr (who reigned from 136 to 158, but moved to Baghdad first in 146 A.H.) to Al-Hira and wrote the *Maghâzi* for him. The folk of Kūfa therefor heard his expositions just as the folk of Al-Jazīrah had heard them when he stayed with their Governor. Then he repaired to Rai (where the crown prince Mahdi had been living since before 151 A.H.). There the people of Rai heard his lectures, and those who transmit accounts from him are more numerous in these lands than they were in Madīnah. Then he went to Baghdad and remained there till he died." Ibn Ishâq died in Baghdad in 150 or 151 A.H.³ and was laid to rest in the Khaizuran cemetery⁴.

That Ibn Ishâq wrote his *Kitabu'l-Maghazi* for the Khalifah, as this account says, cannot anyhow mean that he composed it on a commission from the Khalifah. The list of authorities cited by him, of itself, shows that he had composed his material principally on the basis of the traditions collected by him in Al-Madīnah, as well as on the basis of those which he had collected in Egypt; on the other hand he nowhere names the authorities of 'Irâq. The work was obviously completed when Ibn Ishâq finally left the city of his fathers, and we know also a Madani who passes on the work of Ibn Ishâq: Ibrahim Ibn Sa'd (died 184 A.H.) It may still, none the less, be supposed that Ibn Ishâq undertook some supplementary alterations in his work for love of the Khalifah, or that he suppressed passages which he feared might be displeasing to the Khalifah. We can, however, on the other hand, affirm that Ibn Ishâq in his work treats of an event which it cannot have been very pleasant for the Abbasid Khalifah to have remembered: the part taken by the ancestor of his race, Al-'Abbâs, in the battle

(1) Ibn Sa'd VIIb, 67.

(2) Yâqût, Margoliouth's edition II 399; compare Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'arif* 247.

(3) Ibn Sa'd VIIb, 67 and the remaining biographical articles.

(4) Yâqût ed. Margoliouth VI 399.

at Badr on the side of the Meccan opponents of the Prophet. That part Ibn Ishâq expressly affirms¹ and names Al-'Abbâs among the prisoners of Badr. It is true that the part played by Al-'Abbâs is mitigated by the fact that, according to an account accepted by Ibn Ishâq and going back to Ibn 'Abbâs², he fought against the Prophet much against his will and, according to another report traced back to a Maula of 'Abbâs³, he as well as his wife had long adhered to Islâm, if he had not yet openly professed Islâm. That Ibn Ishâq introduced these alleviating statements first under the influence of the Abbasid court is not probable; for the Madani student of Ibn Ishâq's already named, Ibrahîm Ibn Sa'd, has borrowed the statement that Al-'Abbâs after his imprisonment acknowledged his nephew as Prophet⁴. But even if these statements of Ibn Ishâq were first introduced at the time when he had left his native city, still he did not go the length of consenting to suppress the part taken by Al-'Abbâs at Badr, as Ibn Hishâm and Al-Wâqidi did later. The work of Ibn Ishâq bears the title *Kitabu'l-Maghazi*⁵ and was originally divided into the three sections of *Mubtada*, *Mub'ath* and *Maghazi*⁶, that is to say it treated of the pre-Islamic history of Revelation, the youth of the Prophet and his activity in Mecca, and lastly the Madînah period. In its original form the work is no longer completely preserved to us. A manuscript to be found in Constantinople in the Kuprulu Library, of which one might suppose from the printed catalogue that it contained the book in its original form, revealed itself to me on a closer inspection as the rescript of Ibn Hishâm. This rescript, however, which in Wûstenfeld's edition (Göttingen 1859), as also in the Bulâq impression, has become generally accessible, enables us, in conjunction with the numerous fragments preserved in Tabari and other historians, to make a clear picture of the design of the work in its original shape. Ibn Hishâm (died 218 A.H.), who received Ibn Ishâq's work from the latter's immediate student Bakkai (died 183 A.H.), himself states in his Preface⁷ what alterations he has

(1) Tabari I 1841; Ibn Sa'd IVa 7; Tabari I 1844.

(2) Ibn Hishâm 446; Tabari I 1323; Ibn Sa'd IVa 5.

(3) Ibn Hishâm 460; Tabari I 1339.

(4) Ibn Sa'd IVa. 7.

(5) Ibn Sa'd VI 276, VII b. 81; Ibn Qutaiba Ma'arif 247; further passages in Fûck 84 Note 1.

(6) Fûck 84, notes 5-6, quotes the passages where these indications are found.

(7) ed. Wûstenfeld 4.

taken it upon himself to make in Ibn Ishâq's work. Thus he has left out the biblical history from Adam to Ibrahîm, and also named of the progeny of Ismaîl only those who were direct ancestors of the Prophet. Further on, he has left out some tales recorded by Ibn Ishâq in which the Prophet is not mentioned, to which there are no allusions in the Qurân, and which contain neither the occasion nor the explanation nor the confirmation of any other matter reported in Ibn Ishâq's book. All these omissions he has undertaken in order to reduce the volume of the work. Others, however, for other reasons : he has discarded such poems as were known to no connoisseur of poetry questioned by him; besides allegations whereof the mention was malicious, or likely to be disagreeable to certain people; and lastly such reports as are, indeed, ascribed to Ibn Ishâq, but were unknown to Al-Bakkai. Ibn Hishâm also made sundry emendations and additions of manifold genealogical and lexical import, which, however, he always indicates as inserted by him; alterations of the text, however, he did not undertake; and his rescript contains no indications only as to where, each time, he has left something out. We are in a position, however, with the help of fragments of the work of Ibn Ishâq preserved for us in other books, to restore a great part of the omissions made by Ibn Hishâm and thus fill in the lacunae in his rescript. Tabari in particular has preserved in great part the section concerning the biblical Prophets; in his Tafsîr as well as in his Chronicle he gives voluminous quotations from those sections of Ibn Ishâq's work belonging to the *Mubtada*, while Al-Azraqi has preserved for us voluminous reports dealing with the previous history of Mecca, which are likewise lacking in Ibn Hishâm. It is to be concluded from Ibn Hishâm's preface that, as against these very substantial omissions from the *Mubtada*, the "cuts" made by him in the *Maghâzi* proper were but slight; but here too it is above all Tabari who offers us the possibility of filling in the gaps—e.g. he has preserved the report concerning the capture of 'Abbâs at Badr¹, which, as already observed, Ibn Hishâm, for fear of "some people"—i.e. in this case, of being unpleasant to the ruling dynasty—has left out.

If we pay attention to these data preserved for us in quotations not to be found in Ibn Hishâm's text, we arrive at the following picture of the plan of Ibn Ishâq's work.

(1) Tabari I 1841. For the quotations from the original work of Ibn Ishâq in other writers, see Fück 86, notes 22-32.

(a) The pre-Islamic history (*al-Mubtada*), which in its turn is divided into four sections, the first of which treats of pre-Islamic Revelation from the creation of the world till 'Isa. It is this section which in Ibn Hishâm has suffered most from the shears of abridgment. As Ibn Ishâq is everywhere concerned with chronological computations, he has prepared such calculations for this section also. As sources, besides the Qurân, the traditions of Wahb ibn Munabbih, those of Ibn 'Abbâs, statements of Jewish and Christian men of letters, and also the biblical text itself, come under notice. Besides the biblical figures, the Arabian peoples Ad and Thamûd appear, to whom likewise, according to the Qurânic exposition, Allâh had sent his Messengers; but also Tasm and Jadis, not named in the Qurân, are mentioned. The second part of the *Mubtada*, of which the substance is preserved in Ibn Hishâm¹, and which can further be completed out of Tabari², deals with the history of the Yaman in pre-Islamic times. Pre-occupation with the history of Al-Yaman had been brought on by study of the Qurân; Sûrah 85, which treats of the *Ashabu'l-Ukhdu*, gave occasion for research into the spread of Jewry and of Christendom in South Arabia, for the traditional explanation sees in these verses an allusion to the downfall of the Jewish king Dhu Nowâs; while in the *Ashabu'l-Fil* (Surah 105) they wished to recognise the host of the Abyssinian governor of the Yaman, Abraha, which was prevented by a divine judgment from prosecuting the attack on Mecca and its sanctuary. The third part of the *Mubtada* treats of the Arabian tribes and their idol-worship³; the fourth, of the immediate ancestors of the Prophet and the Meccan cult⁴. On the whole, *asanid* are rare in the *Mubtada*, and are found most often in the first part.

(b) *Al-Mab'ath*, which comprises the Prophet's life in Mecca, the Hijrah and perhaps also the first year of his activity in Madînah. In this section the number of the *asanid* increases and Ibn Ishâq leans chiefly on the traditions of his Madani teachers, which he sets forth in chronological order, and in the case of which he often prefaces to the individual reports a short comprehensive statement of contents. In this section, besides the narratives produced with or without Isnâd,

(1) ed. Wüstenfeld.

(2) I 801-58.

(3) Ibn Hishâm 49-70.

(4) Ibid. 71-101.

occurs also a document, recorded by Ibn Ishâq only and not by any of the later compilers of Maghâzi-writings—the famous treaty of the Prophet with the Madani tribes, the so-called “Community-regulation” of Madînah¹. Further a whole series of lists²: the list of the first believers; that of the Muslims who emigrated to Abyssinia; of the first Muslims among the Ansâr; of the participators in the first and second pacts of ‘Aqaba; of the Muhâjirîn and of those Ansâr who received them in Madînah; of the Muhâjirîn and Ansâr who were made brothers by the Prophet.

(c) *Al-Maghâzi*, i.e. the history of the Prophet in Madînah from the first shock of war with the heathen tribes on till the death of the Prophet. The Maghâzi proper preponderate throughout and besides them only the last illness and the death of the Prophet are treated in detail. Here the Isnâd is the rule, and the authorities of Ibn Ishâq are his Madani teachers, above all Al-Zuhri, A‘âsim ibn ‘Umar and ‘Abdullah ibn Abî Bakr, to whom also he is already indebted for the chronological scaffolding. Ibn Ishâq has, however, considerably increased the material collected from them and others by the accounts added by him from other sponsors, in particular by statements which he had received from relatives of the families of the men and women who took part in the events³. For the presentation of the actual Maghâzi, Ibn Ishâq employs a fixed scheme; he sends a brief comprehensive statement of contents on in front, follows it up with a collective account composed of the statements of his weightiest teachers and completes this principal account by individual reports gathered by him from other sources. In the *Maghâzi* also lists are frequent⁴; thus Ibn Ishâq has recorded a list of those who fought at Badr as also of the killed and captured; of those who fell at Uhud, in the War of the Trench (Yaum al-Khandaq), at Khaybar, Mûta and Tâif, as well as of the emigrants who returned from Abyssinia.

Fück has compiled a list of 15 scholars of Ibn Ishâq⁵, of whom it can be proved that they handed on their

(1) Ibid. 341. Only Ibn Sayyid al-Nâs gives it again, following Ibn Ishâq, in his ‘Uyûnu’l-Athâr. See Wensinck, *Mohammed en de joden te Medina*. (Leyden 1908) 82.

(2) Ibn Hishâm 162, 208, 287, 288, 305, 322, 344.

(3) Fück 42, notes 74–82, makes full statements concerning the Isnâd in this section.

(4) Ibn Hishâm 485–515, 607–11, 697, 768, 781–88, 801, 875.

(5) *Muhammad ibn Ishaq* 44.

master's *Kitabu'l-Maghazi*. Only one of them, the already mentioned Ibrâhîm Ibn Sa'd was his scholar in Madînah, all the others learn to know his work upon the life of the Prophet at Kûfa, Rai and Baghdad. Best known to us among the texts handed down by his scholars is that of Al-Bakkai, on which Ibn Hishâm relies ; on the other hand, most of the fragments preserved in Tabari go back to Salâma ibn al-Fadl (died 191 A.H.) As I gather from a communication very kindly made to me by Mr. F. Krenkow, the *Mustadrak* of Al Hakîm al-Naisabûri, now printed in Hyderabad, contains in the chapter on the Maghâzi numerous extracts from the work of Ibn Ishâq, which he, like Ibn al-Athîr (in his *Usdu'l-Ghaba*) and Ibn Hajar (in his *Isaba*), borrowed mostly from the version of Yûnus ibn Bukair (died 199 A.H.). The latest extracts from the Maghâzi of Ibn Ishâq preserved seem to be those to be found in Ibn Hajar¹; but long before that the wide publicity of Ibn Hishâm's rescript had diminished the need of the original work. Al-Ya'qûbi (died about 300 A.H.) already uses Ibn Hishâm's rescript².

The weightiest teacher of Ibn Ishâq is Al-Zuhri, and the personal relation in which Ibn Ishâq stood to him is often expressed in the form of the Isnâd ; as when Ibn Ishâq says : " I spoke to Muhammad ibn Muslim Al-Zuhri ;" " I asked Al-Zuhri ;" or, when Al-Zuhri speaks to him : " I have collected for thee what which people have related to me³." Ibn Ishâq also sent to Al-Zuhri a document communicated to him by Yazîd Ibn Abî Habîb in Egypt concerning the embassies sent by the Prophet to various princes, in order to have the authenticity of the statements therein contained confirmed by him⁴. Besides Al-Zuhri, A'âsim and 'Abdullah ibn Abî Bakr, the adherents of the House of Zubair deserve prominent mention among the authorities of Ibn Ishâq ; not only to Yazîd ibn Rumân⁵, the Maula of 'Urwa ibn Zubair, who imparted to Ibn Ishâq the traditions of 'Urwa, but also to other mawâli of the Zubair family⁶, as well as of relations of that family,

(1) Fück ibid 84 note 8.

(2) Ibid 82.

(3) Ibn Hishâm 5, 259, 781, 755, 779 ; Fück 10, note 88.

(4) Ibn Hishâm 972 ; Tabari I 1560.

(5) Dhahabi ed. Fischer (*Biographien von Gewährsmannern*) 84 Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib* XI 825.

(6) Wahb ibn Kaisân, Ibn Hishâm 151 ; Ismaîl Ibn Abi Hakîm ibid 154.

Ibn Ishâq is indebted for numerous reports ; to Hishâm and Yahyâ, the sons of 'Urwa¹ ; to 'Umar bin 'Abdullah, the nephew of 'Urwa², to Muhammad ibn Ja'far, the nephew of 'Urwa³ and lastly to Yahyâ ibn 'Abbâd ibn 'Abdullah, the great nephew of 'Urwa⁴.

Besides the Islamic connoisseurs of Hadîth, Tafsîr—in this field the Maula Muhammad ibn Abî Muhammad was his foremost teacher⁵—and Maghâzi, Ibn Ishâq turned also to non-Islamic learned men when he wanted information concerning Jewish, Christian and Parsi traditions. Thus he names among his authorities *ba'd ahlu'l-'ilmi min ahli'l-kitabi'l-awwal* (some learned men of the people of the former Scripture) or *ahlu'l Taurat* (People of the Book of Moses) and *man yasqu'l ahaditha'an al-Aajim* (those who deal in traditions of the Persians⁶). In introducing such statements he seems to have stood alone among the learned of Madînah and later it was made a reproach to him ; whereas in South Arabia Wahb ibn Munabbih had already, before Ibn Ishâq, received such non-Islamic information without any scruple ; moreover Ibn Ishâq several times names Wahb as his authority for biblical stories, and Al-Mughîra ibn Abî Zabîd⁷ is the vehicle by which the statements of Wahb reached him. Apart from Wahb, Ibn Ishâq appears to be the oldest Arabic author who gives passages from the Old and New Testaments in literal translation. Thus he introduces the passage from Genesis 50 v. 22 with the words “ and in the Taurât it is said⁸ ; ” the passage from Genesis 4. vv. 9—16 with the words “ and people of the Taurât say ⁹ ” and the passage from John 15 v. 23ff with the express statement that it is from John the Evangelist (*mimma athbata Yu-hannisu'l-Hawari*¹⁰). If Ibn Ishâq at the same time substitutes al-Manahhamana for the Greek Paraclete, that shows that the passage was communicated to him according to the so-called Palestinian-Christian translation¹¹.

(1) Ibn Hishâm 202, 205, 277, 418.

(2) Ibid. 277, 418.

(3) Ibid 848, 471, 791, 797, 809, 820, 825, 981.

(4) Ibid 447, 461, 465, 480, 570, 680, 794, 815.

(5) Fück 29, note 22.

(6) Tabari I 140, 121, 189, 212, 418, 787 ; Ibn Hishâm 197 ; compare also Goldziher *Die Richtungen in der islamischer Koranauslegung* 90.

(7) Fück 29.

(8) Tabari I 418.

(9) Ibid. 141.

(10) Ibn Hishâm 149.

(11) Nöldeke-Schwalley, *Geschichte des Qorans* I 9.

Also some genealogical lists show close agreement with the biblical text ; thus the list of the sons of Ismaïl agrees word for word with Genesis 25 vv. 13-16¹. The lists, letters and other documents imparted by him are given mostly without *isnad*, after copies which he had taken². But his master 'Abdullah ibn Abi Bakr, in whose family, as we have seen, a copy of a writing of the Prophet given to his great grandfather had been preserved, had already collected a series of such bits of writing, and these his scholar Ibn Ishâq communicates only on the authority of his master³. Another piece of writing is similarly given on the authority of his Egyptian master, Ismaïl ibn Abî Habîb⁴.

Already the precursors of Ibn Ishâq had, besides the prose accounts and documents of their collections, incorporated poetical testimonies too ; none, however, so far as we can judge, did it to so great an extent as Ibn Ishâq. The author of the *Fihrist* relates⁵ : " It is said that poems were made for Ibn Ishâq, brought to him and he then offered to put them in his book. That he also did, and introduced poems into his book by reason of which poetry got a bad name among the traditionists." The same reproach had been made to him already by Muhammad ibn Sallam Al-Jumahi⁶ (died 231 A.H.), who adds that Ibn Ishâq pleaded in self-excuse that he was no connoisseur of poetry and accepted whatever poems were brought to him. That was no excuse, however, for having put poems in the mouths of men who generally had never composed a verse, of women even more than men; and he even went so far as to give poems of Ad and Thamûd without asking himself who had held them in remembrance during the thousands of years which had elapsed since the downfall of those peoples. In fact Tabari⁷ has preserved for us some poems from the time of Ad and Thamûd which were taken by Ibn Ishâq in his work ; and Ibn Hishâm also declares, of a whole crowd of the poems quoted by Ibn

(1) Ibn Hishâm 4.

(2) Thus Ibn Ishâq says of an epistle of the Prophet to a tribe :

(3) Ibn Hishâm 955 ; Tabari I 1717 ; Ibn Hishâm 959 ; Tabari I 1724 ; Ibn Hishâm 961 ; Tabari I 1727 ; Ibn Hishâm 965 ; Tabari I 1748.

(4) Ibn Hishâm 962 ; Tabari 1740.

(5) Flügel's edition 92 ; Yâqût, Margoliouth's edition II 400.

(6) *Tabaqatu'sh-shu'ara*, Hell's edition, 4.

(7) I 236, 237, 241, 242.

Ishâq in his work, that they are not known to any connoisseur of poetry. Only very seldom does Ibn Ishâq state to whom he is indebted for acquaintance with a poem. He had received some of the poems concerning events of the Madînah period from his master 'Abdullah ibn Abî Bakr¹, as he informs us; and concerning one of the elegies of the daughter of 'Abdul Muttalib on her father's death, which Ibn Ishâq gives in full, Ibn Hishâm² makes the comment "I have seen no connoisseur of poetry to whom this poem was familiar; it must be then that he had transmitted it on the authority of Muhammad ibn Sa'id ibn Al-Musaiyab." We shall not be far wrong if we take it that this son of the famous Faqîh of Madînah was not only the transmitter but also the author of this poem; if his father himself did not compose it, of whom we have seen that he stood in a peculiarly close relation to the poet's art.

Now how is the inclusion of such poems to be judged, and does Ibn Ishâq deserve the criticism of Al-Jumâhi? There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of many of the poems cited by Ibn Sa'id, especially such as relate to the events of Madînah, and many also in the time of Ibn Hishâm were acknowledged as authentic by the connoisseurs of poetry. Ibn Ishâq himself will not have held many of the remainder to be at all authentic, but he made no special inquiries as to their authenticity as the professional connoisseurs of poetry were wont to do, and the question of their authenticity did not particularly touch him. In so far as they seemed to him worth communicating he quoted them, because they served to embellish the narrative and because the insertion of poems in the prose account was in accordance with the old traditional art of Arabic narrators. In an essay on "The poetical insertions of the Sirah³," I have pointed out that we find such insertions in the accounts of the Aiyâmu'l-'Arab as well as of the Islâmic conquests and that there too, as in Ibn Ishâq, *Naqaid* are frequent—i.e. poetical contests in which the representatives of the two hostile, confronting parties recite one after another, and in which the poet who comes second answers his predecessor in the same metre and the same rhyme. We even find in the accounts of the contests between Aûs and Khazraj in the pre-Islamic time the same poets as champions of

(1) e.g. Ibn Hishâm 789, 793, 818.

(2) Ibn Hishâm 108; from Ibn Hishâm 111 it results that the remaining elegies also went back to Muhammad ibn Sa'id.

(3) *Islamica* II 308 seq.

the opponent clans as later on in the Maghâzi (Hassân ibn Thâbit, 'Abdullah ibn Rawaha). Ibn Ishâq shows an unusual impartiality in the introduction of the poems ; he even allows the opponents of the Prophet, by inserting the verses uttered by them, to speak unhindered, and in some cases Ibn Hishâm has deemed it necessary to tone down too sharp expressions used by these poets. It deserves also to be emphasised—and this holds good not only for the poems quoted by Ibn Ishâq but also for those preserved in other historians and narrators of the earliest time—that these poems are never, properly speaking, of a narrative nature, though they mostly contain allusions to the events narrated in the prose account. The poems have rather a lyric than an epic character and belong, too, never to the narrator himself, but are put into the mouth of one of the actors in the events, either of the hero himself or a member of his clan, who gives expression to his feelings on the occurrence ; into the mouths of women also, above all where lamentation for the dead resounds. Ibn Ishâq was perhaps the first who, for certain events for which he possessed a number of poetical testimonies, put them all together at the end of the section concerned¹ ; whereas elsewhere, with him as with other narrators, they interrupt the prose account. The material in traditions transmitted to him by his teachers, which he enlarged with numerous statements collected by himself, Ibn Ishaq compiled into a well-arranged presentation of the Life of the Prophet. Into this presentation he further introduced lists, documents and poems, which likewise he had partly taken over from his masters, partly gathered independently. The compilation and arrangement of this material alone means a considerable work, and if he had precursors in it still he is perhaps the first who not only brought all periods of the life-time of the Prophet symmetrically into his work, but also widened the biography of the Prophet thus shaped into a history of Revelation in general, in which the life of the former Prophets was also included. So far as the work of arrangement of the material is concerned, the independent labour of Ibn Ishâq consists in this, that he linked the individual reports one to another by short connecting

(1) *e.g.* Ibn Hishâm 516, 611, 648, 656, 700, 728, 772, 798, 828, 857, 929.

statements of contents¹, and further in this, that he very frequently—especially in the Maghazi in the narrower sense of the word—out of several reports of his authorities, given under their names, constructs a united general statement as his teacher Al-Zuhri had already done in many cases.

However opinion may stand with regard to the trustworthiness of a great part of the statements gathered together by Ibn Ishâq—He himself often expresses his doubt in interjected remarks such as *fima yaz'amun wa 'llahu a'lam*—as a literary labour his book stands on a remarkably high level, and for us it is all the more valuable since it represents the oldest of all the works of Arabic prose literature preserved to us.

In the *Fihrist*² a *Kitabu'l-Khulafa* is also ascribed to Ibn Ishâq and in Tabari's Chronicle Ibn Ishâq is frequently quoted as authority for the events of the time of the Khulafa ur-Râshidîn. Evidently he treated of the conquests in particular, and established their chronology; but he also collected reports concerning the tumult against 'Uthmân; and isolated statements going back to him even concerning events of the time of Muâwiyah are to be found. The fragments which have been preserved to us are not, however, sufficient to afford us an insight into the plan and scope of Ibn Ishâq's *Kitabu'l-Khulafa*.

(1) By this the headings of Wüstenfeld's edition of Ibn Hishâm are not meant, which are taken neither from Ibn Ishâq nor from Ibn Hishâm, but were introduced by later copyists of the text. The statements of contents of which I speak consist rather in the sentences with which Ibn Ishâq is wont to preface the accounts quoted by him.

(2) Flügel's edition 92: Yâqût, Margoliouth's edition VI. 401.

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

(To be continued).

THE REAL ALAMGIR

It was in the second month of 1046 A.H. (July, 1636 A.D.) that the Emperor Shâh Jahân invested his third son with the viceroyalty of the Deccans, and himself continuing his journey towards Mandu, formally sent him to his new head-quarters at Daulatabad. An ordinary event in the political life of a Mughal prince, this proved to be the beginning of an extraordinary career which was destined to dominate the whole field of Indian history for a century. For the fact is to be especially noted that from Prince Aurangzaib's entry into public life at the age of eighteen, the record of more than three-fourths of the most important civil and military achievements of the reign of Shâh Jahân himself are hardly anything but a narration of the services rendered by that prince. The conquest as well as annexation of the Nizâm Shâhi Kingdom of the Deccan was carried through by Aurangzaib. Besides the capture of Aussa and Udgîr, the disturbances in the north-eastern province of Konkan, which was occupied by the Mughals by virtue of a treaty, were put down in the early days of his Deccan administration. Sahuji, who was flying from place to place in this mountainous country, was forced to surrender, and the few fortresses possessed by him together with the child of the Nizâm Shâhi dynasty, whom he had set up as king, were given over to the Mughals, who then allowed him to enter the service of Bijapur. Two years afterwards Aurangzaib conquered the districts of Baglana (1048 A.H., 1638 A.D.) and made them a part of the Empire. This obscure and difficult tract lies between Khandesh and Sûrat. Its fortresses were renowned for their impregnability, and even the armies of Akbar were not able to gain a permanent footing there¹. But the indomitable prince by his courage and faultless conduct of the campaign was able to reduce the province

(1) *Vide* Badshâh Nâmâ, vol. II, p. 105; also *Imp : Gazetteer*, vol. VI, p. 191.

completely after a struggle of a few months, and it was in recognition of this bold enterprise that he was promoted to the rank of Panzdah-Hazari and a command of nine thousand horse.

This military success, as well as the fame of Aurangzaib's good administration of the Deccan, which Shah-Jahân had left in a state of utter confusion, brought for the first time to light those ill-feelings of Prince Dara Shukoh, which he had harboured from his very boyhood against his younger brother, Aurangzaib. Dara Shukoh, in his intellectual and moral or military and administrative capacities, was no equal to Aurangzaib, but the fondness of his father and the flattery of dishonest courtiers conspired to turn his head. Disdain for his younger brother soon hardened to the hatred of real rivalry, which is scarcely surprising in the case of a ruling dynasty which had to observe no fixed law regarding the succession to the throne. But what is to be particularly noted is the historical fact that it was Dara Shukoh who began the dangerous game and early displayed his determination to humiliate and weaken his brothers—especially Aurangzaib, who from this time began to regard him as an “unkind brother.”

It is naturally difficult to retrace all the incidents which slowly caused the widening of the breach, but this much seems to be certain : that with the increase of Dara Shukoh's influence in the Central Government as well as in the Imperial Harem, his obnoxious interference and petty intrigues against the brothers also increased till Aurangzaib, of whom Dara was probably most jealous, could no longer stand it ; and at the time of his visit to Agra to participate in the great feast in celebration of Jahân Ara Begum's recovery from a dangerous and painful illness he tendered his resignation and asked leave to retire completely from public life. A man of extreme piety and religious devotion, such as no other prince of the house of Timur had ever been, Aurangzaib had always regarded worldly pomp and pleasure with hearty contempt, and from his youth till his old age was more inclined towards a calm and contented asceticism than the noisy pomp of royalty. Moreover he must by then have realized the dangers of his successful princely career, which was sure to involve him in civil wars with his brothers, quite a normal development in those days, when the sword was the sole arbiter of the right to rule. So, the resignation was the impulse of a God-fearing but somewhat

pessimistic and exasperated youth to escape out of a tangle of base rivalries that were sure to lead to future bloodshed; but it also implied protest against the Imperial policy. Shâh Jahân was visibly annoyed and the court annalist had to record the whole episode with stern brevity. We have, however, besides other references, an interesting letter of Aurangzaib in the Adâb-i-Alamgiri¹, addressed to Jahân Ara Bégum about ten years after the event, which affords insight into this particular crisis as well as the general state of affairs.

خیر اندیش آر ز ر مند بعد اظهار اشتیاق معروض می دارد که
بر خاطر عطف مآثر پوشیده نخواستد بود که اعلی حضرت از غایت عنایت
این مرید فدوی را به منصب امتیاز بخشیده اند به هر خدمتی که از
پیشگاه خلافت ما مورد شده به قدر امکان و استقلال آن را به تقدیم رسانیده
به هیچ باب کوتاهی نه نموده و اطاعت و بندگی پیرومر شد حقیقی
را سعادت خویش دانستم در جمیع کارها نظر بر استرضائی خاطر
مقدس داشتیم، نمی داندم که درین وقت چه نقصیر و خطا ازین مرید
سر زده که امورے که موجب خفت و عدم اعتبارش دور و نزدیک
است، به ظهور می رسد - اول مقدمه قلعہ اسیر زهی
خسارت و ندامت و کم هالعی این مرید که با وجود آنکه مدت بست
سال صرف خدمت و بندگی نموده در طریق عقیدت به جان و مال
مضایق نه کرده، هنوز بر ابر برادر زاده سهل (؟) هم سامان اعتماد
نمیسد - مشفق من اگر چه این فدوی هرگز خود را داخل مریدان
و بندها نه شمرده بجز غلامی دعوی نه دارد و به هر وضعی که دارند
خورسند است، لیکن از آنجا که اردولت اعلی حضرت عمرے به عزت
ناموس گذرانیده و در همین ولایت مدتی به استقلال بسر برد
درینولایز پیرومر شد حقیقی بے خولاش و اظهار این مرید محض به
فضل، ایالت این مملکت را به این اخلاص آئین مرحمت فرموده
اند، ظهور این امر و خلاف مرید پروری و بنده نوازی و سبب خفت
و اهانت و عدم استقامت حال فدویانست - چون بدین آئین زیستن
و مردن دشوار است و لطف ندارد و برائی امور فانی ناپائیدارد و
رنیم و آزار نمی توان برد و خود را بدست دیگران نمی توان سپرد
همان بهتر که به حکم اعلی حضرت که سروجان مریدان فدای رضائی ایشانست
از ننگ چنین حیات و ارهد تا مصلحت سلکی قومی شود و خاطر ها ازین فکر
بیاساید - این مرید پیش از بدیه سال این معنی را در یافتن وجود خود
را مغل مطلب دانستم استعفا نموده بود و ثانی الحال محض بجهت

(1) Adab-i-Alamgiri, though not much known, is one of the collections of Aurangzeb's early letters of proved authenticity. We have a fine manuscript copy in the Hyderabad State Library though some letters found in other copies are missing.

خو شنود می پیر و مر شد حقیقی، که اهم مقصد این فدوی است به این وضع
تن در داده کشید آنچه کشید - بایسته همان وقت معاف می فرمودند
تا گوشه اختیار نمود غبار خاطر کسی نمی شد و به این کشمکش نمی
افتاد..... توقع که آن مشفق مهربان این معنی را در خلوت به مسمع
جلال رسانیده هر آنچه از زبان الهام بیان بشنوند اطلاع دهند -
(آداب عالمگیری صفحہ ۲۹۸ و ۲۹۹)

Translation.

“After expressing affection, this well-wisher begs to submit that it cannot have remained unknown to your kindly-inclined mind that it was His Majesty who out of extreme favour had honoured this devoted servant with a distinguished position. He (the writer) had always exerted himself to perform, as far as it lay in his power and capacity, every task which the Imperial court had appointed him to do. Never and nowise did he falter in doing his best, believing loyalty and obedience to his real preceptor to be his virtue and in every act he always kept in view the sacred wishes and approval (of his Majesty). He is, therefore, at a loss to understand what fault he has committed lately that things that go to lower him and his credit in the public esteem are being manifested. First, there is the case of the Assîr fortress—what a shame and misfortune for this devotee that, though he has spent as many as twenty years in devotion and service and never cared for his life or property in that faithful pursuit, he still lacks the confidence reposed in his puny nephew. Well, gracious madam, although your humble petitioner has never counted himself among the trusty followers and slaves of the Emperor and has no claim but humbly to submit, contenting himself with whatever position he is placed in, he yet begs to say that as he has been leading a life of honour and dignity under the august auspices of his Majesty and has enjoyed such authority (particularly) in these provinces—it was his Imperial Majesty who, without any request or wish of this humble petitioner, most graciously bestowed the government of these lands upon his loyal servant—the occurrence of these things is contrary to the magnanimity and slave-cherishing generosity, and a cause of damage to the credit and reputation of his Majesty’s obedient servants and thus prejudicial to the stability of their position. As it is hard and unpleasant to pass one’s life in this manner and impossible to suffer pain or grief for perishable temporal things and live at the mercy of others, it

would be far better that, by the orders of his Majesty, to whose pleasure his devotees would gladly sacrifice their lives, he (the writer) were released from the disgrace of such a life so that the interests of the State might be insured and hearts might be relieved from anxiety (due to the existence of the writer). Ten years ago this devoted servant had discovered the purpose (of his persecutors) and, realising that his existence was an obstacle in the way of his rivals, had tendered his resignation and afterwards endured to accept this mode of life again solely to please his real preceptor (the Emperor), which has ever been an all-important object of this devotee—and thus had to suffer what he suffered. It would have been certainly far more advisable to grant an exemption (from Imperial service, to the writer), so that he might have retired to a corner and, causing no uneasiness to others, have saved himself from these troubles and anxieties..... I hope that the good and gracious sister will please convey these views to the august ears of his Imperial Majesty and inform me of whatever is delivered by the inspired tongue of the Emperor¹."

The letter, besides giving us his reason for resigning the public service, also seems to mark the second stage on his career, when, a full grown man of thirty-five and face to face with the bitter realities of his high position, he is being gradually forced to pick up the gauntlet, albeit with regret, for the coming struggle.

But to return to the narrative. His resignation was not accepted, and he was soon prevailed upon to go to Gujerat as its governor. 'This province was considered to be extremely turbulent in those days and it was only Aurangzaib's firm and efficient administration that gave real peace and safety to the country folk of that fertile province. It was in recognition of these meritorious services that, besides receiving many precious gifts, he was after one year and a half promoted to a still higher rank, and the number of his forces increased. The Imperial armies were in the meantime ready to march against Balkh but there was none to take over the peculiarly difficult command. Aurangzaib was, therefore, selected for the task and went to lead the expedition.

(1) *Adâb-i-Alamgîrî*, 298, 299. 'Sarkar has also quoted the last part of the letter in his *History of Aurangzeb* (Vol. I, p. 77) but, misinterpreting some very important expressions, has produced quite a distorted version of the Persian text.

That expedition was sent on the pretext of reinforcing the armies of the king of Bokhara, Nazar Mohammad Khân, who, having been defeated in a civil war in his country, was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor. The underlying idea, however, was to recapture the patrimony of Taimûr and Babar from the Uzbeks, the old enemies of the Mughals; and a large army of fifty thousand men under the command of Prince Murâd Bakhsh was sent out to establish the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor over the southern valley of the Amudaria or Jaxartes. As soon as these armies entered the city of Bokhara, Nazar Mohammad Khan probably realised his folly in asking help from a strong neighbour for he stealthily took to flight, while the Uzbek warriors from the skirts of the Hindu Kush to the shores of the Caspian at once took up their bows and arrows to turn out the Indian intruder from their country. No pitched battle had yet been fought when the pleasure-loving Prince, Murâd Bakhsh, in spite of his father's pressing orders to remain there, left Balkh and returned to India. Prince Shujâ' also declined the honour of a terribly hard as well as unpopular command and the whole responsibility of the expedition devolved upon Prince Aurangzaib, who, in the beginning of 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.), started from Lahore, reaching the military base of Balkh a few weeks later. Engagements with the Uzbeks had already commenced and for the next seven or eight months fighting was continuous. Aurangzaib had not even twenty-five thousand men¹ with him, and he had to give battle to a whole nation of warriors. The Uzbeks did not possess such fine and effective weapons, but they were far greater in number than the Mughals and their guerilla tactics soon wore out the patience of the Indian soldiers, who had perhaps never had much heart in the war.

The Emperor at last began to realise the impossibility of the task of reducing a freedom-loving, warlike people to submission. The royal forces were recalled and Aurangzaib, having somehow or other made a treaty of peace, brought them safely back to Kâbul. The loss of life on the side of the Mughals is estimated at about six thousand, which includes the five thousand men who died of cold and sickness.

(1) Badshâh Nâma, Vol. II, p. 702. According to Khâfi Khân the Moghal army consisted of thirty-five thousand men, but this figure probably includes those ten or twelve thousand soldiers, who were garrisoned in different fortresses.

In spite of the failure of this expedition, the abilities and bravery of the Mughal Commander-in-Chief were acknowledged by friend and foe alike; and later he was nominated for the next most important expedition to Kandhar. His actual post at this time was the governorship of Multân and Sindh in which he had to cope with certain tribes not yet reduced. Aurangzaib was the first Mughal Subadar, who not only quelled those disturbances but, in spite of Dara Shukoh's treacherous intrigues with, and instigation of, the local chiefs, added the littoral of Baluchistan and Makran as a fresh conquest to the Mughal Empire. With the introduction of administrative reforms and the development of agriculture, he turned his attention towards the revival of the maritime trade of Sind, which had been long in a state of decay. The sea-ports had been so long neglected that they had become quite useless and no ships could enter them. Aurangzaib built a new port there, and Shâh Jahân was so pleased that he exempted it from customs duty with a view to encourage trade.

In the meantime the important fortress of Kandhar—that perpetual bone of contention between India and Persia during the reign of the Mughal dynasty—was seized by the young Shâh Abbâs II, and Aurangzaib, who was despatched too late to relieve the siege, only found himself in the position of a weak besieger of a thoroughly well-equipped and large army with which the Persian conquerors had already garrisoned the strong fortress. Without heavy artillery and other preparations, it was impossible to carry on the siege. The Prince was ordered to retire, and his only consolation was a brilliant victory over another advancing army of the Persians, whom the Mughals routed completely some thirty miles west of Kandhar. (1059 A.H. 1649 A.D.).

The Emperor was anxious to retrieve the failure, and three years later a far more numerous army was sent to recapture the valuable fortress, under the joint command of Aurangzaib and the prime-minister Sa'dullah Khan. But the Emperor, who himself came to stay at Kabul, left little option to the local commanders to work out their own plans by his constant interference in the operations. For the successful siege of a great and almost impregnable fort only two months' provisions were supplied to the besieging army and when the Mughals were unable to cause a breach in the walls in face of a really more effective artillery, the Emperor, losing patience,

decided to withdraw the army rather than allow Aurangzaib to storm the fort. The Prince, to his dismay, was blamed for the failure and ordered to return and again take charge of the Deccan provinces (1062 A.H. 1652 A.D.)

This appointment itself was, however, proof of the fact that in the eyes of the Government no other noble or prince was a better administrator than Aurangzaib, for during the last eight or nine years the internal state of the Southern province had so rapidly deteriorated that it had become a burden to the Imperial treasury. Commerce and agriculture were both in a state of decay and the revenues had dwindled from three crores and sixty-two lacs to an annual collection of only one crore¹. The army was losing its reputation. The kings of Bījapūr and Golconda had begun for the last few years to evade the payment of the annual tribute and behaved with arrogance in other ways. Shâh Jahân makes pointed reference in his letters to the new governor to their base opportunism and ingratitude².

With the arrival of Aurangzaib at Daulatabad a remarkable change occurred. Aurangzaib was the first governor to organise the survey and classification of the cultivated lands of these provinces. With the assistance of Murshid Quli Khân and Multafat Khân that "Revenue Settlement" was put for the first time into force which was known for a long time as "Dhara Murshid Quli Khân." (Murshid Quli Khân's assessment). Many desolate localities were repopulated and thanks to the generous Takavi grants many uncultivated areas were rendered fertile and productive. The little town of Khirki, rechristened Aurangabad after the name of the Prince, began to be built on an extensive plan and rapidly developed into a large and beautiful city.

Having settled the internal affairs of his province and reorganised his forces, Aurangzaib was free to turn his

(1) *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, p. 51. See also *Ma-a-sir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, p. 496 and 497.

(2) *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, p. 34. It may be pointed out that the relations between these Shīa' States and the Mughal Empire have been so ingeniously and thoroughly misrepresented by some bigoted Shīa' historians of the period that a separate volume is needed to expose their propaganda against Aurangzaib. But, having neither leisure nor desire for such a controversial task, I have merely endeavoured here to bring the true facts of history to light so as to enable the reader to form his own judgment; and have referred to these false charges only when they appear to be definite.

attention towards the Deccan States. It must be remembered that the Mughal conquerors had already prepared the way for absorption of those kingdoms in the Mughal Empire. After the capture of Ahmednagar, Bījapūr had of its own accord fallen into the trap, and the king of Golconda was regarded by both Shâh Jahân and Aurangzaib as a weak and dishonest tributary. The fabulous wealth combined with many tales of the moral vice and administrative corruption of the Qutub Shâhi court naturally excited the interested ire of their powerful neighbours, who could always find a plausible pretext to plunder a demoralised state whose political existence had come to depend mainly on a dishonest and treacherous diplomacy. Even after the arrival of Aurangzaib at Daulatabad, Golconda continued to evade the demands of the annual tribute, considering herself safe and strong enough to ignore the threats and warnings¹ of the young Viceroy of Daulatabad—unless some big Imperial army were despatched from Northern India to help him. In fact the Emperor himself, who gave his formal sanction to use force against the king of Golconda, appears to have been taking the military preparations and advance of Aurangzaib towards the Golconda frontiers rather lightly when news came that the daring prince had already struck his adversary with a vigour quite amazing. The Mughal vanguard under the command of Aurangzaib's eldest son, Prince Mohammed, reached Hyderabad so rapidly that Abdullah Qutub Shâh could escape with difficulty to the fortress of Golconda which was besieged by the invaders after Aurangzaib's arrival on the spot². (1066 H. 1656 A.D.)

The power and resources of Golconda were by no means contemptible, but what made Aurangzaib so bold was his knowledge of Abdullah Qutub Shâh's cowardice and utter incapacity to withstand the redoubtable Mughals. Reporting his advance towards Golconda to the Emperor, he writes :

(1) Besides payments of tribute other questions had cropped up pending settlement by Golconda—a recent but more serious case being that of Mir Jumla's son who, after his discontented father had joined the Imperial service at Agra, was taken into custody by the king of Golconda and Shâh Jahân was peremptorily demanding his release.

(2) The Bazar gossip recorded by Bernier and Manucci, as well as the story told by the author of "*Vâke'â-ti-Alamgiri*," to the effect that Aurangzaib treacherously fell upon Golconda without previous notice, is absolutely devoid of truth. As is evident from the *Shah Jahan Nama* of M. Wâris, *Adab-i-Alamgiri* and other contemporary authorities, the Qutub Shâhi king had received Aurangzaib's ultimatum, days before the actual invasion took place.

“ This devoted servant does not think it advisable to wait any longer. He, therefore, starts from Nanded for Golconda and will remain in that country till Mir Jumla arrives (from the Imperial court), so that Qutub-ul-Mulk, if so desired by the Emperor, may be arrested and his whole State occupied. But if the Emperor does not, in spite of his ingratitude and such criminal conduct, approve this, he will be forced to pay the arrears of tribute only, with some indemnity¹. ”

Whether Shâh Jahân himself approved this proposal of Aurangzaib or not, Dara Shukoh could obviously never accede to it. With the ageing of his loving father, the influence of the eldest son of the Emperor in State affairs was increasing ; and he had come to envy Aurangzaib more than all his brothers put together. On the part of Aurangzaib, too, it is evident that his former discontent with his elder brother had now assumed quite a different aspect. The days when he, with a view to escape the malice and hatred of his brother, was ready to retire from the world had passed. He was now a man of ripe age and had many interests to look after. Then there were the more difficult duties of a true Muslim's life as he understood them ; and even if he did not covet the position of Emperor of India, it seems certain that the mere idea of Dara Shukoh, a mediocre heretic, autocratically leading Muslim India into irreligion, was to him intolerable. But, with all this, history must admit to the imperishable credit of Aurangzaib, that in the whole course of the struggle with his elder brother he was never the aggressor. It was always Dara Shukoh who obstructed the younger brother's way to fame and prosperity and scrupled not to employ the meanest trick, or vilest treachery, in order to weaken Aurangzaib's hard-earned position. In the case of Golconda, as later also in that of Bijapûr, Dara openly sided with the Deccan Kings and did everything possible to prevent or at least hinder Aurangzaib—even as a representative of the Mughal Empire—from gaining an advantage over his defeated enemies.

The situation was already tense when the Fates conspired to precipitate the crisis. Shâh Jahân fell seriously ill and Dara Shukoh took the supreme authority of the realm into his own hands (Zû'l-hijja 1067 H. : 1657 A.D.). In order to strengthen his position, his first act was to recall from the Deccan the royal forces

(1) *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, p. 88.

recently sent to reinforce Aurangzaib against refractory Bījapūr. He also ordered the Viceroy of the Deccan to hand over Berār to Prince Murād Bakhsh, who, for his part, received an Imperial order to evacuate his province of Gujerat, to which Qâsim Khân was nominated as governor. An Imperial army followed these despatches to execute them by force if necessary.

These ill-advised acts of Dara, and a heavy censorship of all news that used to be regularly sent out from the capital to the provincial towns, only caused alarm and confusion all over the country and gave credence to the rumours of Shâh Jahân's death or imprisonment, at the hands of his eldest son. Prince Shujâ' the second son of the Emperor, made haste to proclaim himself Emperor in Bengal and with his war boats and Portuguese guns at once began to move towards Agra to punish, as he declared, a regicide. The youngest brother, Murād Bakhsh, who was more impetuous than the others, followed suit. In a fit of rage he murdered his only honest and able servant, the Diwân 'Alî Naki, seized the rich port of Sûrat by force from the Imperial officers and crowned himself king at Ahmadâbâd. He, however, could not but realize his comparatively weak and inferior position, and had been, from the very beginning, imploring Aurangzaib to help him by himself taking the lead in the struggle.

The Viceroy of the Deccan was certainly in a far better position to advance his claims to the throne than his brothers. Personally a most valiant soldier, he was also regarded as an expert in every important branch of the military art. In matters of civil administration even his opponents admitted his extraordinary skill and exemplary diligence. His personal character, piety, learning and intelligence gave him a distinct superiority over his rivals. With such qualifications and with very considerable material resources at his disposal, he could naturally be the most formidable opponent of Dara Shukoh. But his real difficulty lay in the probable eventuality of Shâh Jahân identifying himself with the interest of his eldest son, in which case to fight Dara would mean revolt against his father, and Aurangzaib, truly God-fearing man as he was, still shuddered to contemplate such a sacrilegious act. On the other hand, with the implacable Dara Shukoh coming to power, the brothers could expect no quarter for themselves. Not only their authority but their honour and their very lives:

were in danger. In fact the armies of Dara were already in the field. Shujâ' was defeated near Benares (1068 H. Feb., 1658) and being hotly pursued; while Jaswant Singh and Qâsim Khân had gone to Malwa to first annihilate Prince Murâd Bakhsh and then leisurely turn their arms towards the arch-enemy of their new master. Aurangzaib, for weeks oppressed by hesitation and anxiety, moved slowly to the Northern frontier of his province, still hoping against hope that his father might completely recover and somehow free himself from the evil influence of Dara Shukoh so that he (Aurangzaib) might not have to do anything to offend his revered father¹. But the hope gradually changed to despair as the Emperor could not, even after regaining his health, "shorten" Dara's "hands of despotic authority."

Aurangzaib at last decided to prevent his enemy from achieving his first objective of crushing Murâd Bakhsh, who had been all the time crying for help and writing letter after letter to ask for the protection of Aurangzaib's strong arm. A pact was accordingly signed between the two brothers, binding Murâd Bakhsh to serve with his army under Aurangzaib throughout the war of succession till the whole Empire should be won, when he was to receive, besides one third of the booty, the provinces of Kabul, Kashmîr, Northern Panjâb, and upper and lower Sindh as a subordinate kingdom for himself. I crave the indulgence of the reader for giving below the full text of this remarkable document, with its careful translation into English, because almost all the Anglo-Indian writers have, in their mistaken righteous indignation, emphatically condemned Aurangzaib for treacherously playing the role of a subservient ally to Murâd Bakhsh, whom he had promised according to these veracious historians to crown Emperor of Hindustan and, that done, to disappear himself from the scene—while Babu Jadu Nath Sarkar, with all the material and original sources before him, has not only done nothing to dispel this utterly false idea, but rather appears inclined to lend it his support by making the real issue vague and ambiguous :—

(1) There are numerous letters in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri* showing these real feelings as well as the great anxiety of Aurangzaib at this time. Also see *Alamgir Namah* (p. 49). Babu Jadu Nath Sarkar has described these events fully in his *History of Aurangzeb* (Vol. I, Chap. XIV) without giving vent, for once it seems, to his terrible hatred against his hero.

“The Treaty drawn up according to the request of Prince Muhammad Murâd Bakhsh.

“Whereas in these times of auspicious beginning and happy ending, which are the season of the rising of the sun of happiness and prosperity and the hour of the diffusing of the dawn of grandeur and exaltation, when the high-soaring royal falcon of world-subduing resolution is spreading its wings after the prey of its objective, and the enemies of the standards of strong faith of the Prince of the Apostles (on him the brightest of blessings and the purest of peace) have become the cause of this determination—and the whole right-pursuing intention is concentrated on the object that with the endeavours of the victorious defenders of the faith and with the strength of the arms of the triumphant warriors in the cause of religion the thorns of heresy and impiety may be uprooted from the evergreen garden of the Domain of Islam, and the chief of the heretics (Dara Shukoh) may be annihilated with all his followers and allies, and the dust of disunion may not settle upon the inhabitants of the spacious and pleasant courts of paradise-reminding Hindustan, which, having been cleansed from the contamination of infidelity and paganism, has been made the seat of government through the blessings of the great efforts of the glorious forefathers, as majestic as the heavens, and the noble ancestors as stately as the firmament, may God award them their best reward from the tributes of the faithful, (whereas at this time) the most honoured rightly-guided, fortunate and beloved brother of the most illustrious house, who, having acted according to the promptings of (his) reasonable and sensible judgment, which is the promoter of power and the most glorious gift of God, has thus obtained the divine guidance of alliance and friendship in this expedition of laudable ends, and has on surest oaths laid afresh the foundation of co-operation and fraternal understanding, which had already been confirmed with promises and pacts, and has made it obligatory upon himself that after the extermination of that enemy of Faith and Empire and the settlement and satisfactory arrangement of State affairs, he, pursuing the same safe path of harmony and unity, will, in this similar manner, accompany us at all times, to all places and in all exigencies—that he will be friend of our friend and foe of our foe *and will in no circumstance act against the will of our benevolent heart and that he will rest contented and happy with what is given to him according*

to the solicitations of that pearl of the crown of magnificence and power (viz : Murad Bakhsh) and will not desire more. It is, therefore, with extreme kindness and affection and in view of the fact that he has fulfilled the previous promises, being written down by (our) eminent pen that, God willing, our favours and kindnesses towards him shall, as long as nothing is given effect to against (the notions of) sincerity, fidelity and gratitude by that distinguished brother of praiseworthy actions and good dispositions, continue to be lavished upon him. The losses and gains of both the parties will be regarded as of one and we shall always respect the alliance in the best possible way. The favours and kindnesses that are being extended to-day to that brother dearer than life, will, after the attainment of the looked for (object) and the overthrow of that undesirable heretic, be always bestowed upon him as now and even more than these, while not the smallest of the particulars of these (gracious promises) shall be left neglected. In accordance with the (mutual) agreement the provinces of Lahore, Kâbul, Kashmîr, Multân, Bhakkar and the whole of that district right up to the Persian Gulf will be left, as settled before, to that illustrious (brother) of exalted house, and no difficulties in this respect shall we allow to happen. After the extermination of that heretic of unworthy deeds and the uprooting of the bramble of his tumult and mischief from the four (sided) gardens of the divinely bestowed eternal Empire, in which work the company and association of that young plant of the garden of prosperity and Empire is necessary and indispensable, he will be sent, without the slightest hesitation or delay to these limits (viz : the above-named provinces.) The honour of the promises of love, friendship, liberality and fidelity will not (likewise) be defiled with the dust of the words of intriguers, who are the most wicked of the people and nothing will be contemplated (on our part) but the welfare and success of that pride of humanity and pupil of (our) eye in both the worlds. We call God and His Apostle to witness the truth of this pledge and for the sake of further assurance and peace of that dear brother's mind we adorn this agreement with our own seal and signature. He also on his part ought never to lose sight of the purport of the holy Verse : 'Abide by your promises. Verily the truthfulness of the promise will have to be answered (on the Day of Judgment)' and should exert himself to his utmost to fulfil the terms of the agreement, which is an antecedent to fair fame both in this world and the next, and should persevere in this same straight

path. He should also properly safeguard his excellent conduct against unreasonable change and pay no attention to the counsels of imprudent fools, who, with the extreme baseness of their ambitions and meanness of their natures, prefer the acquirement of vile gains and attainment of wicked advantages of their own to the welfare and interest of their master. (Such people) adopt various means and with gilded and false reports spread mischief and disorder; and there are innumerable bands of this type in this age. (He should, therefore,) walk on the path of alliance and friendship by the light of the glorious candle of prudent judgment and proper reasoning and protect this torch, which gives the light of the Sun, from the gusts of their cold respirations. May God favour us and also you with (the power to do) what He likes and approves of. Allah always does the right and He guides man to the (right) path¹."

(1) عهد نامہ کہ ہم موجب الاماں پادشاہزادہ

محمد مراد بخش قلمی شد

چون درین هنگام خجسته آغاز فرخنده انجام که اوان طلوع نیر سعادت و اقبال وزمان سطوع صبح عظمت و اجلال است و شاهباز بلند پرواز همت جهان کشاد رهوای صید مقصود بال کشادہ اعدای اعلام دین متین سید المرسلین علیہ من الصلاۃ ابهاها و من التحیات از کاها-
و جہم قصد گردیدہ و تمامی نیت حق طویت مصروف آنست کہ ہم مساعی غازیان ظفر لواء و زور بازوے مجاہدان نصرت انتماء خال العاد و زند تم از گلشن ہمیشہ بہار دیار اسلام پراقتد و رئیس الملاحدہ بہ اتباع و احزاب خویش نیست و نابود شود و گرد تفرقہ ہر ساکنان عرض و وسعت آباد ہند و ستان بہشت نشان کہ از میا من جد و اجتناب جدان عظام گردون مقام و آبا ئی کرام فلک احتشام جزا ہم اللہ تعالیٰ خیر الجزاء
از لوث کفر و شرک مصفا گشتہ بعوزہ د رآمدہ نہ نشیند برادر بہ جان ہر ابرا عزار شد از جہنم کامگار نامدار عالی تبار بمقتضائی رائے صواب نماے خرد آرائے دولت افزا کہ اجل مواہب الہی ست عمل نمودہ
درین مہم عاقبت محمود توفیق موافقت و مراقت یافتہ بود مواخات و موالات را کہ بہ روا بطہود و موافقت استحکام پذیرفتہ بود مجدداً چنانچہ باید ہم ایمان کثیر الا یقان موسس ساختہ با خود مقرر کرد کہ بعد استیصال آن دشمن دین و دولت و استقرار و انتظام امور سلطنت سر بہ جادہ قویم وفاق و اتفاق و رزیدہ ہمین و تیرہ ہم وقت و ہم جا در ہم کار رفیق بودہ شریک باشند و بادوست و ست و بادشمنی ما دشمن بودہ در هیچ حال از مر ضیات خاطر عا طر بیر و ن نہ روند

و از جمله ممالک محروسه آنچه حسب التماس آن درة التاج حشمت و کرامت بی ایشان و اگذاشته شود قانع و خورسند گشته افزون طلبی نه نمایند، بفرمان از روع و فور شفت و عافیت و نظر به مراتبی که پاس عهد آن نمودند اند مرقوم فلم و الارقم می گردند که انشا الله تعالی تا آن زمان که از آن برادر را رجعت بخجسته اطوار نیکو خصال خلاف اخلاص و یک رنگی و حق شناسی به وقوع نیاید. اشفاق و مهر با نیهای مادرباره ایشان بروز خواهد بود و نفع و ضرر جانبدان را یکداندستند در جمیع اوقات اتحاد را با بلغ و جهی مرعی خواهد داشت و اطاف و مراحمی که امر و نسبت به آن عزیز از جان میذلول است، پس از حصول مأمول بهر فنا دن ملحد نامقبول به همان نمط باکم بهتر از آن معمول گشته دقیقه از دقیقه آن مهمل بهم خواهیم گزاشت و به وفائے وعد و پیرداخته چنانچه سابق مقرر شده بود صوبه لاهور و کابل و کشمیر و مالت و بهکر و تمام آن ضلع را تا ساحل خلیج عمان به آن نامدار و لاتبار و گزاشته درین باب مضاعفه را مجال نخو هم داد و بعد فراغ از استیصال ملحدانکو هید افعال و قمع خاربین شر و فساد او از چارچمن دولت خداداد ابد اتصال که رفاقت و همراهی آن تازه نهال بوستان سلطنت و اقبال در آن کار لازم و ناگزیر است بے توقف ایشان را بد آن حدود روانه نموده اصلا و مطلقا به تاخیر رخصت راضی نخواهیم شد و شرف عدت محبت و مودت و صداقت و فتوت را از غبار انفعال و باغرض که اشرافا ساند از صفا نبیند اخته جز بهود درین و کامیابی نشاتین آن عین انسان و انسان العین نخواهیم اندیشید و در صدق این دعوی خدا و رسول خدا را گواه گرفتیم و این وثیقه را بجهت مزید اطمینان و استظهار خاطر آن گرامی برادر به مهر و نقش پنجم مبارک خاص مزین گزرا نیدیم باید که ایشان نیز منطوق این کریم و دوام و بوالعهد آن اعهدها که مستولاً را مطمئن نظر سعادت اشراف گشته در پاس لوازم معا هدت که مورث نیکنامی دنیا و آخرت است - باقصی الغایة کوشیده برین مذهب صواب مستقیم باشند و اوضاع پسندیده خود را از وصمت بغیر و جهی که شاید صیانت نموده گفته نا بخرد آن کوتاه اندیش را که از غایت دانست همت و رکعت فطرت جلب منافعه ردیم و تحصیل اغراض فاسده خویش بر صلاح حال و مآل ولی نعمت میدارند و از انواع طریق درآمد به افایل باطله مموهم هنگامه شورش و فساد را گرم می سازند و از آن دست اشرار درین جزو زمان بسیار و بیشمار اند به سمع رضا اصفا نم کنند و پیوسته به نور شمع سعادت فر و زخرد دور بین و عقل صلح گزین در مسالک معاشرت سلوک نموده این مشعل خورشید ضیا را از باد دم سرد آن نگاهدارند و فقنا الله تعالی و ایاکم بما یحب و یرضی "والله یحق الحق و هو یدعی السبیل —"

Having thus made up his mind Aurangzaib moved from Burhanpur and crossed the Rubicon, which in this case was the River Narbada, with a well-equipped army of about thirty thousand men. After a few days march Prince Murâd Baksh joined him in the way with his contingent of eight thousand, the combined forces thus becoming nearly equal to those of the Imperialists under Jaswant Singh and Qâsim Khân¹ who were encamped at Ujjain. Before the actual engagement Aurangzaib sent word to Jaswant Singh that he would not go back to the Deccan unless he saw his father at Agra and that this movement was neither a revolt nor a preparation of war against the Emperor. He therefore asked Jaswant Singh either to escort him to Agra or to withdraw from his way².

Jaswant Singh, however, did not agree to either and as a result sustained a crushing defeat near Ujjain (Rajab 1068 A.H., April 1658) which completely shattered his forces as well as his own military reputation. The town founded by Aurangzaib as a memorial of this victory, still exists and is called Fatehabad.

The greatest and the decisive battle between the brothers was, however, fought a month and a half later at Samugadh, a place some ten miles to the east of Agra. It was here that Aurangzaib proved his matchless abilities as a general and Murâd Bakhsh his personal valour. But Dara Shukoh, who was simply boiling over with rage at the news of the rout of Jaswant Singh's army and paid no heed to his father's counsels of peace and reconciliation with his brothers, may reasonably have felt sure of victory considering that any inferiority in his command was more than compensated by the vast superiority of his army in numerical strength and equipment³.

In fact the first onrush of his numerous host caused havoc in the lines of his opponents, but this was only a passing advantage over a general like Aurangzaib, whose lines were formed again as fast as they were pushed back and, when the first assault began to flag, Prince Mohammad Sultan delivered his counter-attack on the left flank of the enemy. His horsemen had been waiting for the

(1) *Waqi'at-i-Alamgiri* p. 28. (2) *Alamgir Namah*, p. 58; Khafi Khan p. 12; *Waqi'at-i-Alamgiri* p. 18.

(3) To meet Aurangzaib's thirty-five thousand men, Dara Shukoh had brought in the field an army of about one lakh (*Waqi'at-i-Alamgiri* p. 10.) According to Khafi Khan the number of horses alone was sixty thousand.

signal to charge under the cover of their artillery, and in spite of the pressure of the enemy on both wings they had not changed their position, under the strict orders of Aurangzaib. This fresh force now advanced at full gallop and, joined by the right wing, so fiercely attacked the left of the enemy that their advancing columns were hurled back in confusion only to become a target for Aurangzaib's well served artillery. The impetuous onslaught of Dara Shukoh's Rajputs and Pathans was, with equal success, repelled by Murâd and his heroic soldiers with help from the centre led by Aurangzaib himself. Murâd received several wounds and his howdah was literally bristling with arrows like the back of a porcupine. In a few hours the valiant resistance of the Deccan army broke down the frantic attacks of the enemy and the forward movement of Aurangzaib to help Murâd Bakhsh, soon developed into a general advance to hem in from three sides the demoralised Dara, who for the first time visibly gave way to that dread of the awe-inspiring personality of his rival which had been secretly haunting his inner consciousness for years. Utterly confounded and despairing, he fled from the battlefield and, without seeing his distressed father, continued his flight towards Delhi, *en route* for the Panjâb, with the hope of making another rally in his northern provinces. But the fact was too plain to be concealed that on that fateful day at Samugadh—the 7th of Ramazan 1068 A.H. (May, 1658 A.D.)—he not only lost the battle but his fate was virtually sealed.

Shâh Jahân had given no reply to any of the letters sent by Aurangzaib from the time he left Aurangabad. After his complete victory at Samugadh, when he had no immediate fear of any foe, and not only the officers of Dara Shukoh's army but also many influential nobles of the Court of Shâh Jahân paid homage to him, he again wrote a petition to his father, briefly recounting the injustices of Dara and the circumstances which had left no course open to him but to march on Agra ; and humbly besought the pardon of his father for his action against the will of the Emperor. Shâh Jahân in reply congratulated him on his brilliant victory and, as a present, sent a sword on which the title 'Alamgîr' was engraved. He also asked Aurangzaib to see him after three or four days ; and the prince was not only ready to pay his filial respects to his father, but, on the condition that Dara Shukoh should henceforth have no hand in State affairs and remain in his Northern provinces, was also willing to

make peace with his brother and return with necessary safeguards to the Deccan. Indeed he refused to listen to the doubts of his suspicious councillors and must have certainly felt mortified when, just on the eve of starting for his visit to the Agra fort, a special courier of the Emperor betrayed a secret message to Dara in Shâh Jahân's own handwriting, which apprised Aurangzaib of the treacherous plan of the old Emperor to do away with him during his visit to the palace. The letter enjoined upon Dara to compose his mind and stay at Shâhjahânâbâd (Delhi), proceeding no further, as "*we at this very place shall decide the issue*¹." To kill or blind the nearest relative for the sake of empire in those days was held as lawful as the strangling of weaker nations by stronger ones in our own times. Although there are numerous facts to prove that even after his accession Aurangzaib was never wanting in his filial affection and respect for his old and helpless father², still, having come to know the murderous intentions of Shâh Jahân, the instinct of self preservation prevailed on him to take the drastic measure of at once instructing his son to surround the royal palace and inform Shâh Jahân that he was interned, implying dethronement³.

”آں منشور ناطق بران بود کہ دارا شکو مخاطب خود را جمع کرد و در (۱)
شاہجہان آباد ثبات قدم و رزد و از ان جا بیشتر نگزر کرد کہ مادرین جا
مہم را فیصل می فرمائیم

Waq'at-i-Alamgiri, p. 39. Ma'sûm, 160. *Alamgir Namah*, p. 122. Only polite references occur of this bloody plot in Aurangzaib's "letters to Jehân-Ara." (*Adab-Alamgiri*).

(2) The letters written by Aurangzaib to his elder sister Jahanara Begum and Shâh Jahân during the confinement of the latter are preserved in various histories and letter-writers as well as in the selections of *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, (p. 472-451). Again, we find in *Ruqqaat-i-Alamgiri* many letters written to his sons after the demise of Shâh Jahân, where Aurangzaib frequently refers to the events of his father's life—and every line of these letters breathes such high respect and sincere devotion to his parent that a like instance from the history of royalty would be difficult to quote. It is, however, almost impossible for the average European historian—with his hazy imagination and deficient knowledge of the subtleties of the language as well as the traditions of the age—fully to appreciate the characteristics of a mind whose environments were so totally different from those of his own.

(8) A full account of Aurangzaib's readiness to reconcile his father, and Shâh Jahân's plotting against him, is given by those contemporary historians who were never suspected of partiality towards Aurangzaib. In our own times Moulvi Shibli has lucidly put forth the whole case in his Urdu treatise on *Alamgir*.

Aurangzaib now formally took over the reins of government as an independent ruler, but without staying more than three days at Agra at once continued the pursuit of Dara Shukoh, who, besides Prince Shujâ', was still the strongest enemy he had to reckon with. But suddenly a most critical and alarming new situation arose nearer at hand. Murâd, growing jealous of his brother's rapidly increasing power and influence and claiming his own independence, separated himself from Aurangzaib and set up a hostile camp. He began to skulk and his rowdy, indisciplined soldiers caused delays and disturbances during the march. Aurangzaib duly forwarded the stipulated share of the booty to Murâd and "daily sent him messages to remind him that their object (according to the treaty) was still unaccomplished," and any laxity in pursuing their already gained advantage might still bring ruin to their common cause¹. But, a dissolute, impulsive young man of unbalanced ambition, Murâd paid little heed to these remonstrances and it was soon evident that he had forgotten all about the treaty. Another bloody feud seemed imminent, and Aurangzaib had to cajole him with the help of his disloyal valet, to accept an invitation to Aurangzaib's camp where he is said to have drunk himself to stupor and was easily taken into custody. The trick itself, though unworthy of Aurangzaib, could have been justified on the plea of a peculiarly dangerous situation; but so far as Murâd is concerned, he amply deserved to have his criminal activities confined to merry-making within the four walls of the State prison at Gwalior².

(1) *Wakeat* 42. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* p. 8.

(2) The Prince constantly intrigued to escape from his confinement and at least one serious conspiracy was discovered and he was caught just at the moment when a rope ladder and everything else was ready for his flight.

Some months later when, after the Civil War, the country returned to normal conditions the younger son of Divan Ali Naki, whom Murad had murdered at Ahmadabad, as has been above stated, brought an action against the Prince in the law-court to demand retribution. There was no doubt as to the perpetration of the crime. The blood-money offered by the Government of Aurangzaib was disdainfully refused by the plaintiff and consequently Murâd had to be executed according to the decree of the Qadi in the fort of Gwalior on 22nd Rabiussani 1072 H. (1661 A.D.).

The above account is mainly based on the writings of Khafi Khan (Vol. II, p. 155, etc.) who was personally attached to the Prince as his father was one of the favourite henchmen of Murâd and also a leader in the plot to have him escape from the prison. Feeling extreme

grief at the tragic end of his patron, he has at one place expressed the suspicion that Aurangzaib gave secret encouragement to the prosecution to get rid of a dangerous rival and this weak and unsubstantiated evidence of a partisan has been magnified into a regular charge-sheet against Aurangzaib by his present day accusers. But a little further on Khafi Khan, the only witness to the suspected crime, tells us that the young man who brought forth the charge against Murâd was ever afterwards treated coldly by the Emperor (*i.e.* Aurangzaib) who, on the other hand, showed special favours to the elder brother of the plaintiff who refused to demand the revenge of his murdered father from a prince of the royal blood.

”چون پسر کلان از دعوی خون پدر را با نمود شاه قدردان
ارفرمودند خدمات حضور و دیگر عنایات متوجه حال او شدند“

Khafi Khan, Vol II, p. 156.

That Aurangzaib had no inclination to follow the bloody monarchica precedent of killing all possible rivals to the throne, can be inferred from the fact that he fearlessly allowed his most formidable rival—the Emperor Shâh Jahân, to wit—to live in his palace at Agra for eight years till he peacefully breathed his last in 1077 A.H. (1616 A.D.).

SYED HASHIMI.

THE TWO OLDEST BOOKS ON ARABIC FOLKLORE. (*continued*).

IN the time of Shurahbīl and 'Amr Dhū'l-Adh'ār dissensions broke out among Himyār, which gave rise to the ascendancy of the Banū Marī' who were ruled over by Jālūt ibn Hirbāl, who was supported by the Banū Hām ibn Nūh and the Nubians. Fortunately there arose Tālūt, a missionary of the prophet Dā'ūd; Tālūt was the son of Rauhīl ibn Sham'un ibn Khasrūn. Dā'ūd commanded the Jihād to be waged against Jālūt and that the ark should be carried with them, which contained the Sakīnah. Dā'ūd told them that God had sent down into it the Sakīnah and had implanted it in their hearts, and they marched with it as the Arabs march with their flags, or the Persians with their elephants. Tālūt was versed in the arts of war and a man of great strength, and his army defeated Jālūt and the Banū Hām and Dā'ūd killed Jālūt. The Banū Isrā'īl used to carry the ark on their lance-shafts, but when the heat of battle grew fierce the Banū Isrā'īl dropped the lances on which they carried the ark and the angels lifted it up and bore it above the head of Dā'ūd till he had defeated the oppressors. This was the custom of the Banū Isrā'īl till the time of al-Hārith ibn Mudād; this was after the death of Ismā'il's son Nābit, when the Banū Isrā'īl changed the faith of Dā'ūd and brought forward in place of the Zabūr (Psalms) other books which they invented, and placed their reliance upon the Banū 'Imlāq and Jurhum. At that time there lived at Mecca Hamaisa' ibn Nābit ibn Ismā'il. The Israelites tried to fight 'Imlāq and Jurhum but were defeated and their enemies got possession of the ark which they took to one of the rubbish heaps at Mecca and buried it there. Hamaisa' tried to prevent them, saying that the ark contained the Zabūr and the Sakīnah, and when they would not listen to him they were smitten with cholera. At night al-Hārith ibn Mudād went to the rubbish-heap, took out the ark and entrusted it to Hamaisa' and his heirs, and it remained in their

possession till the time of 'Isā ibn Maryam, who took it from Ka'b ibn Lu'aiy ibn Ghālib. When the cholera annihilated the two tribes till only twenty men of Imlāq and eight of Jurhum remained with Hamaisa', because they only were believers, al-Hārith despaired of his people and left his son Amr in charge, while he went away into the wilderness, his fate remaining unknown. Al-Hārith was in hiding for three hundred years, till his disappearance became proverbial even to later times, and is referred to by the poet Abū Tammām.

Now follows a long account on the authority of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib concerning the disappearance of al-Hārith ibn Mudād, which is traced back to Iyād ibn Nizār, who related : Our father Nizār died and left four sons : myself, Mudar, Rabī'a and Anmār, I being the eldest. He left me to divide the property he left, and enjoined that, should they not be content with my division, the affair should be submitted to al-Qalammas Af'ā Najrān. We went to him and he allotted to me the camels and sheep, to Mudar the tent (Qubbah), to Rabī'a the horses and to Anmār the land. Then came upon us a dreadful time of dearth and all that remained of my possessions were ten camels, and I earned my livelihood by hiring them out and taking my earnings to my family. One day there came a carawan from Mecca and the Tihāma and I hired my camels out, while my brothers also came to them and bartered with the goods they possessed. I had nothing to sell and, as the people wanted to depart next morning for Mecca, which was ten days journey distant, I was in sore trouble. Suddenly, I heard a voice like thunder saying : Whoever takes me on his camels to Mecca shall receive as reward a camel's load of pearls and jewels. Nobody answered the call and I said to myself : "Why do I not offer him one of my camels ? If he speaks the truth I shall get rich and if he lies it can do little harm." I went to where I heard the voice and found an old blind man, tall like a palm-tree, his beard falling down to his knees, and I was aghast at the sight. I approached him and told him that I was willing to undertake the bargain. He put his hand on my shoulders and it felt like the load of a mountain. He said : "Iyād, the son of Nizār ?" I answered yes, and asked him whence he knew my name. He replied that he had been told by his grandfather that Iyād the son of Nizār would bring al-Hārith ibn Mudād back to Mecca. He asked how many camels I had and I replied that I possessed ten only. This he said would

suffice, for he would ride a camel a day, when it would be worn out. He stayed the night with me and in the morning we set out on our journey ; and each day he rode one camel which at night had become useless. In this manner did we reach the district of Mecca and ascended Mount Al-Matābikh, which is one of the mountains of Mecca. He said to me : ‘ Son ! I notice that the camel drags me, are we near Al-Matābikh ? Is there anyone who can overhear us ? ’ I replied that we were alone, some having gone ahead while others still lagged behind. He then asked me whether I knew who he was, and when I replied in the negative he told me that he was al-Hārith ibn Mudād and that he had been king of Mecca and the surrounding country. ‘ One day there came to us a man of the Banu Isrā’īl with pearls and jewels and my brother ‘Amr, who was king, took his crown and added to it gold, pearls and jewels which he bought of the man till it was as large as a shield. The Isrā’īlī however kept back some of the most valuable of his pearls and rubies and when the king heard of this he sent for the Isrā’īlī and asked him about his action. The Isrā’īlī answered that as the jewels were his he was at liberty to sell or keep back whatever he liked. In his anger the king had all that he possessed taken from the Isrā’īlī. The latter lay in wait for the man who had to guard the crown and one night he killed him and, taking a fleet camel, escaped, carrying the crown with him. After long search it was discovered that the crown was at Jerusalem. King ‘Amr sent to the king of Jerusalem, who was at that time Fārān ibn Ya‘qûb, demanding the return of the crown, and saying that the merchant would be compensated and pardoned for the murder he had committed as the king acknowledged his fault. The condition was that the crown was to be hung up in the Ancient House (the Ka’ba). But the King of Jerusalem sent reply that he had hung it up in the Holy House (Bait al-Maqdis). After several fruitless messages we marched against them with an army of 200,000 of Jurhum, 100,000 of Imlāq, and we were further assisted by al-Ahwas ibn ‘Amr al-‘Abd Wuddi with 50,000 soldiers. Fārān was aided by the Rûm whose king was named Shan‘iq ibn Hiraql who brought 100,000 soldiers. Fārān marched upon Mecca and pitched his camp at this mountain and king ‘Amr did the same and encamped here on mount al-Matābikh. Do you know why the mountain was called al-Matābikh ? ’ he asked; and I replied that I did not know. He said : ‘ Fārān and Shuna‘iq encamped on the Eastern side of the mountain and we encamped on the Western side and lighted our

camp-fires and cooked. For this reason the mountain was called the mountain of kitchens (al-Mātabikh). He then asked which was the place to which we were going and I replied that we were going to Qu'aiqi'ān. He asked me if I knew the reason why it had that name and I told him that I did not know. He said : ' Yea ! Next morning we retreated from the mountain and encamped on the level ground of Qu'aiqi'ān and when we were on level ground we clashed the shields (Qa'qa'a), and it is for that reason that the place was called Qu'aiqi'ān.' He asked me whether I could see a place called Fādiha. When I told him that I did see it he asked me whether I had ever heard of the day of Shuna'iq. I replied in the affirmative and he asked me if I knew why it was called the day of Shuna'iq. I did not know and he said : ' Yea ! When we were encamped opposite one another, my brother 'Amr challenged their kings to single combat and appointed me as his successor should he fall. Then he advanced and shouted : I am 'Amr son of Mudād ! Who is your king and leader ? He was answered that their commander was Shuna'iq son of Hiraql. When the latter had come forward 'Amr proposed that they should decide this dispute by single combat instead of many people being killed over their quarrel ; and that whoever vanquished his adversary, his people should be considered victors. After exchanging several lance-thrusts 'Amr killed Shuna'iq, dragged his body by the leg and in this way disgraced him (Fadahahu) and that is the reason why the place is called Fādiha. When he had killed Shuna'iq he sent to Fārān, asking him to fulfill the stipulations for the combat. He sent back the answer that he would give him his share out of the plunder when he had conquered Mecca. Disgusted with such faithlessness, al-Ahwas ibn 'Amr al-'Abd Wuddi addressed his people, urging them to avenge the wrong ; and a fierce fight ensued. The battle was called the Day of Shuna'iq and because 'Amr, the king, overtook Fārān on a hill and killed him that hill was named Tall Fārān. After this, king 'Amr pursued the Isra'ilis as far as Jerusalem, subdued the country and took back the stolen crown. Among the women captured was a woman named Barrah, daughter of Sham'un a descendent of Yūsuf the son of Ya'qūb, who surpassed all women of her time in beauty. She was sent to king 'Amr, who was so struck with her that he married her and, at her intercession, spared the Banū Isrā'il and departed from them to Mecca, taking her with him. He also took with him one hundred of the nobles as hostages.' He asked me then. ' Do you

know why this place is called Ajyād ?' When I replied that I did not know, he told me that Barrah, when they had reached the place now called Ajyād, prepared some poisoned thistles which she placed under his bed and at night made him lie down on them so that the points penetrated his body. She then had horses made ready which were to carry her and the hostages back to Jerusalem. King 'Amr died from the poison while she fled with her companions, but, as 'Imlāq and Jurhum set out in pursuit, they only got as far as Tall Fārān when they were overtaken and brought back to Mecca. When the first man of those brought back was led to be executed he said : Take care and place the sword on the necks (Ajyād) and it was from that saying that the place was called Ajyād' Al-Hārith continued his tale saying that he now became king and he made an expedition to Jerusalem and Syria to punish the Banu Isrā'il and the Rûm and other peoples who spoke foreign tongues. When he returned he wanted to kill Barrah but she asserted that she was with child by king 'Amr. After consultation with wise women her tale was found to be true and as 'Amr had left no children except two daughters he spared her life for the time. Being closely guarded in the castle, she gave birth to a boy whom al-Hārith named Mudād after his grandfather. The boy grew up and al-Hārith was troubled about killing Barrah as he feared the vengeance of her son if he did so. Iyād continued his tale that, when they had gone a little further, al-Hārith asked him where they were, and when he said that they were at Riyād al-Gharqad, bade him not make straight for Mecca but turn to the left to the ravine where tamarisks and acacias grew. "When we reached that place he asked me to turn to a place where mimosas grew and directed me first right and then left till we came to a place where I had never been before, though Mecca was my home and I used to rove in all its outlying districts. Then he said : 'Lad ! We have gone far from the road, we are alone and have no other witness but God ! Thou hast done me a great favour which deserves a suitable reward. But though I shall give thee riches I shall also give thee advice which is far more valuable than all riches. My son ! Has there been born among the offspring of Mudar a boy named Muhammad ?' When I replied in the negative he said that if he had not been born he would certainly be born and if I were to meet him I should know him by the mark between his shoulderblades. Then we journeyed a little further

till we reached two olive-trees and he asked me whether I knew the name of the place, and when I could not name it he asked me to let him alight. Now between the two olive-trees was a large rock of square shape as if hewn into that shape. He walked round it and touched it with his hands top and bottom and then said to me 'My son ! This place is called the Abode of Death (Mautin al-maut)'. Then he wept till his tears ran down his face and beard and after reciting some verses he asked me if I knew why this place was called Mautin al-Maut and why the mountain of Mecca was called Abû Qubais ? Also if I knew a place called ad-Dâr (the House) ? I replied that I did not and he asked me whether I knew a place called al-Jâr (the Neighbour). I could not give an explanation and he continued : " Yea, my son ! When Mudād, the son of my brother, grew up, there was no handsomer young man in all Mecca and there was among the maidens of his relations a girl named Mayya daughter of Mahalîl ibn 'Amir, the owner of the ravine. She too was as handsome as he, and they grew up in the same camp (Hay) and became attached to one another and when they were afraid that this love affair would mean either disgrace or death they sent to me and told me their trouble. I sent to Mahalîl and informed him of the attachment between the two lovers, and he consented that I might marry them to one another if I considered it wise. Unfortunately the holy month of Rajab had commenced, in which we did not undertake any important matter except the 'Umrah and the Tawāf till the month had gone. I therefore told Mahalîl that we should wait till the end of the month. Now it happened that Mudād performed the 'Umrah and the Tawāf and Mayya did the same, but disguised, for fear anyone should speak to her. A man of Jurhum named Qubais ibn Sirāh (Siraj ?) saw Mayya and fell in love with her without her being aware of it, though he followed her all the time. It happened also that Ruqayya daughter of al-Buhlûl performed the Tawāf on the same day, which was exceedingly hot, and she became very thirsty but feared out of shyness to ask the people appointed for giving drink to the pilgrims and the Jurhumi keeper of the sanctuary to give her some water. When she saw Mudād she called to him to give her a drink of water as she was afraid of dying from thirst. He fetched her the water and when Mayya who had been watching Mudād all the time, saw this she was overcome by jealousy and fainted and trembled. She was unable to complete the Tawāf and hurried

back to the house of her father Mahalil which was on the slope of the mountain of Mecca. He was astonished that the Tawāf had been finished so soon, but she confided to him the reason of her sudden return: that she had seen Mudād make love to Ruqayya. She told her father that she could live no longer in the same place with Mudād and that she had decided to go to their relations of Himyar and Baliy. Qubais who wanted to get possession of Mayyah composed some verses which he pretended were made by both Mudād and Ruqayya. She asked her father that she might go to Amaj Dhāt ad-Dāl to live among the clan of Jasr ibn Qain. When Mudād heard of the treachery of Qubais he mounted his horse and took his sword with the intention of killing Qubais, but the latter got wind of his design and fled into the wilderness, and no one to this day knows what became of him. Mudād overtook the carawan conveying Mayya but, after the exchange of some verses they separated on the slope of Mount Abū Qubais where Qubais was seen for the last time. Mudād followed them, guided by two men of the tribes of 'Amr and 'Amir and they kept wandering round Amaj. One day he was informed that the people of Amaj intended to go to the autumn pastures of Najd while Mahalil intended to go to Mecca; whereat Mudād was highly delighted and they travelled till they all met at Al-Jār; that is why the place is called Al-Jār (the neighbour). Then they came to Mecca and pitched their camp at a place which was called Ad-Dār (the house or home). However, all the efforts to reconcile Mayya, expressed in many verses quoted, had no effect and in the end Mudād died of grief.' Al-Hārith went on to say that at that time he returned from his expedition to Jerusalem and was encamped at Al-Matābikh when he received the news of the death of Mudād, and that he had expressed the wish to be buried at the place called Mautin al-Maut, and it was here that he had buried him in a cave, placing the large square rock over it. Iyād asked what had become of Mayya, and he told him that when Mahalil came back with Mayya they settled near Al-Matābikh and there Ruqayya visited them. From her Mayya learned that all the poems supposed to be made by her and Mudād were forgeries of Qubais. Mayya was seized with a kind of madness and, refusing to take drink or food, died after three days. She was buried under the two trees near the grave of Mudād. [Here follow more poems about Mudād]. Next morning al-Hārith took

Iyād to the place and with his enormous strength removed the stone, when a passage into the mountain became visible. They both entered, serpents hissing right and left and an evil-smelling wind facing them. They penetrated some distance when they came upon a second large stone slab which al-Hārith removed with the help of Iyād. There was a passage lower than the first one and al-Hārith grasped Iyād by the shoulder that he might not run away in fear, and they moved onward till they came to a hall lighted by a strong light, but whence it originated Iyād could not ascertain. The hall was facing Mecca and al-Hārith told Iyād to have no fear of what he was about to see, as he would come out of the cave safely. Then there issued from the hall a black dragon with red eyes and long mane which appeared in size like a large mountain as it moved about in the cave. In the cave, as they proceeded, were four thrones; on three of which were seated men, the fourth was empty. In the middle of the hall was a couch filled with pearls and jewels, and al-Hārith told Iyād to take as much as his camel could carry. He warned him to take no more as otherwise he would be cast in fetters. Iyād was a pious man, following the Hanīf faith like his ancestors Ibrāhīm, Ismā'il and Ishāq. He therefore only took what he was told to take and came out of the cave with enough to load a camel. When they were outside again al-Hārith asked him if he knew who those dead persons were and, when he replied that he did not, al-Hārith said: The man to the left of my empty throne is my father Mudād, the one to his left is his father Abd al-Masīh and the other Nufaila son of 'Abd al-Madān. Over the head of each one was a tablet of marble with an inscription in Musnad. Iyād had read the tablets and on the one to the right was written: "I am Nufaila son of 'Abd al-Madān, etc. I lived five hundred years and traversed the Earth top and bottom in search of wealth and dominion, but all that did not make me escape death." This was followed by verses expressing the same idea. The next tablet stated that it belonged to Abd al-Masīh son of Nufaila and that he lived one hundred years, rode one hundred horses, etc. The third tablet was that of Mudād, a short-necked, broad-shouldered man, who had reigned three hundred years, had conquered Egypt and Jerusalem and defeated the Rûm at the passes (Durûb), but all this had not helped him to escape death. The fourth tablet said: I am Al-Hārith son of Mudād; I lived 4 hundred years and reigned

one hundred and wandered about the Earth for three hundred years as an exile after my people had all perished. Then Al-Hārith asked Iyād to give him a jar out of a niche, and he drank half of it and anointed himself with the other half. Then he said to Iyād : ' When you return to your brothers and they ask you about the wealth you bring tell them that the old man whom you carried was al-Hārith son of Mudād, but they will call you a liar. Then this shall be the sign, take them to the buried stone near the well Zamzam and say to them : the Maqām Ibrāhīm is this *red* stone, for it was not then between al-Hajūn and as-Safā. Then he asked Iyād to hand him another jar, which he drank, emptying it. After that he uttered so terrible a cry that Iyād thought the whole world would hear it, and died on the spot. He had sat down on his throne, and the dragon came to attack Iyād, running about in the hall to protect the remainder of the jewels. But Iyād was allowed to leave the cave and returned to Mecca. When he came to his people they would not believe his tale, but he took them to the two stones and they found the Maqām Ibrāhīm and read the verses which the latter had written upon it and which are quoted by the author. Iyād never went again to the place, in accordance with the prohibition of al-Hārith ibn Mudād, and he kept to the Hanīf faith which was adhered to by all Arabs at that time. It was only when 'Amr ibn Qam'ah arose that he changed the true religion and was the first who worshipped al-Lat.

[Here follows another account of hidden treasures on the authority of a man of Hawāzin who said : " My grandfather who resided at 'Adan had buried a treasure in the desert and when he died my father took me with him to find the place. We came to three red sand-hills. We were perplexed which hill contained the treasure and began to dig and came upon a stone slab which we were unable to move. We abandoned that place and dug in the next hill and came upon a similar slab which we were unable to remove ; and the same happened with the third hill. As we lacked strength I told my father that I would remain there while he went home and fetched camels and a servant to enable us to accomplish our task. He warned me that the place was bewitched and that he feared that I might become terrified. I reassured him and asked him to leave me some food and drink, and he went home. I stayed there three days and on the third night as I was reciting the

holy Quran, as I was accustomed to do regularly, I saw unexpectedly before me a handsome young man, who recited some verses in which he said that if I had not read the Holy Book I should have been swallowed up by the ground. Then, when the man had disappeared, my father arrived with a servant and a camel to carry the treasure. Beneath the first slab we discovered a man whose hand was chained to his neck, while into his head was driven an iron nail which protruded at the back. Above his head was a leaf of gold with an inscription which we could not read, but we took the leaf and closed the grave again with the slab, and also covered it again with sand as before. In the second hill we discovered an old woman with black hair who had one of her hands placed upon her head and the other over her pudenda. By her side was a slate on which was writing which we could not read, but we took the slate and replaced the stone over the grave and heaped up sand as before. Then we removed the third slab and came upon a narrow passage and when we entered we came upon two open vats and in them two men of about equal age clad in precious garments and with them an immense treasure, while on the vats were inscriptions which we could not read. We took as much as we could carry away and my father said that we were secure against all the vicissitudes of life. I told him that we must also think, and more so, of another life ; for, however great the treasure may be which one possess, this life is only very short. We had loaded our camel and began to take rubies and pearls to carry ourselves but when we wanted to rise we could not do so, because the additional jewels appeared to have an excessive and incredible weight. We were compelled to throw these away and as my father feared that anyone returning to lift more treasure would certainly perish in the attempt he gave the servant his freedom and a considerable sum to start in business as a merchant. The servant, however, was not content with what he possessed and went with two assistants to the spot, having learnt the place where the treasure was hidden. He went alone and left the two assistants at some distance where they were frightened to death by the wildness of the place. During the night they heard rumbling and considerable movement in the direction in which the servant had gone so that they were afraid to move from where they were. In the morning they

found the servant dead with wounds on his neck, and his garments torn. They buried him and fled in a hurry so as not to be compelled to spend another night in that neighbourhood. The golden leaf and the slate remained in our possession for years as we could not find anyone who could read the script, till one day we met a man from Najrān, of the tribe of al-Hārith ibn Ka'b. We asked him if he could help us and he told us that he had once been a rich man (the manuscripts have here apparently a considerable gap which the copyists have not noticed). It appears from the account that this man murdered two other men. He said that riches and poverty are sent as decreed by God and that another man sat for forty days on the throne of Sulaiman. I asked him if he could read and he told me that he could read three different languages. So I showed him the golden leaf and the slate and when he read the first it was stated on it that the man whose hand was chained to his head was 'Amr ibn Luhay who was the first who altered the religion of Ismā'il and worshipped Al-Lāt. The slate read : I am Sa'dah daughter of Jurhum, I introduced sorcery from Dumbawand and taught it. I transformed four of the chief men of Jurhum and made them into wild beasts and they grazed like beasts. Their mother came to Nābit ibn Qaidār ibn Ismā'il in the month of Rajab(ash-Shahr al-Asamm)and implored his help against the witch. At the prayer of Nābit she forgot all her witchcraft and became mad and never wore any garments, roving about naked till she died. The bewitched men were also restored to their reason by Nābit. As the man showed good qualities and was a true believer we asked him to stay with us and join in our business and found him a wife. One day he asked us where we had found the two tablets and we told him that we had found them in a cave. He replied that his becoming a Muslim happened also in a cave. He said that he, like most of his people, used to worship idols and that it was their custom to bury their dead in caves. He fell deeply in love with a cousin of his and asked her father to give her in marriage to him, but he refused and, some time after, another rich man came and married her. After the marriage he said that he must leave for his country and soon after the woman died and was buried in a cave. The man continued : "I was so much in love with her that her picture was ever before me and I changed my garments

and took to ragged clothes such as are worn by the priests of idols (Sadaha) and I associated with them till I learned where she was buried. There were in that place a number of sarcophagi (Athriyāt) of marble, in which were corpses whose faces were left uncovered. One day I found an opportunity when they were off their guard and, taking a torch with me, went into the cave and inspected every coffin till I found her. When I had found her I could not control myself but began to kiss her face fervently. As I was doing this I heard a murmuring but I persisted in kissing her. Then I saw three persons in fine garments which exhaled the scent of musk and I was awed by their appearance. Then one of them came close to me and spat in my face, saying: "Shame upon thee." The second then approached me and snatched my heart out of my breast, and my sight went as in a swoon. The third approached and touched my face with his hand and also my breast, saying: The idols have led their worshippers astray! Happy is he who knows that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is His Prophet! Then I received my sight back and my heart became at ease, and I fled from that place. When I came to Najrān I met the missionaries of the Prophet, whom God bless. I travelled at once to Al-Medīna and I went to see the Prophet. His face became red as I told him my tale until I came to the end, how my sight was restored and my heart became enlightened.

Here follows an account on the authority of Ibn Lahīa stating that the last part of the wealth of al-Hārith ibn Mudād came to 'Abd-Allāh ibn Jud'ān at-Tamīmī of Quraish. Followed by an account of Makhūl concerning 'Ubaid ibn Sharyah¹ who was one of the long-lived ones, who not only saw the race of ad-Dāhis but lived to the time of Mu'āwiya and was one of those who conversed with him in the evenings. He said that they asked 'Abd-Allāh Ibn Jud'ān one day how he had acquired all his wealth, and he told them that he used to be very poor. One day 'Amir al-Barrād a man of Kināna came to him asking him if he was willing to make a raid which would enrich them both, for Kilāb ibn Rabī'a had come to 'Aza'iz with his flocks and was quite heedless of any danger. They succeeded in driving off one hundred camels, but Kilāb sent a mes-

(1) This tale is not preserved in the defective MSS. of Ubaid's relation.

sage to Quraish that if they did not punish their evil doers and restore the cattle they would not be permitted to come to the fair of 'Ukāz which lay in the very centre of the lands of Qais 'Ailān. Ibn Jud'ān said that when he reached his home at Tā'if he was told that his life was declared forfeited for his crime and so took to flight. He went provided with food and drink and came to the olive-grove. There he looked out for a hiding place and, espying a cavern, entered it ; and though the place was very narrow he preferred to die there than to fall into the hands of his executioners. He went deeper into the cavern and came upon four thrones on which were seated four men, over the head of each being suspended a tablet of marble with Musnad writing on it. He read the tablets and found out that the men were Al-Hārith ibn Mudād, 'Abd al-Masīh, Nufaila and Mudād. After spending five days in the cavern he came out, taking with him a quantity of jewels as also the tablets, to serve as a proof of his having acquired the wealth honourably. He then joined some merchants going to Madyan (Midian) from whence he went to Egypt where he sold the jewels for a high price. On his return he went to Yanbu' where he visited Mālik al-Barrād who, when he told him of his trouble with Quraish, offered him fifty camels that he might restore them, with fifty others which he had to find himself, to Kilāb from whom he had robbed the cattle. He refused to accept the present as he had become rich and had the camels driven to Kilāb who handed them over to his son Ja'far ibn Kilāb. After that he went to 'Ukāz and Kilāb informed Quraish that they would be permitted to attend the fair as in previous years.

Afterwards he went to Mecca and showed Quraish the tablets which he had brought from the caves and they sent with him among others Khuwailid ibn Asad, father of Khadija the wife of the Prophet, and they entered the cave with him and replaced the tablets in the places from which he had taken them. Then they placed the stone in front of the cave and securely closed it so that no evil minded people could ever enter the cave again.]

When Al-Hārith ibn Mudād fled from Mecca his son 'Amr became king but he ruled only for a time and died. He was succeeded by his son Al-Bishr. He ruled for a long time and his reign coincided with the reign of Bilqīs

and he ruled as her governor till the time when Sulaimān arrived in Mecca ; who commanded him to relinquish the government of the city in favour of the sons of Nābit ibn Ismā'il. So the last king of Jurhum who reigned in Mecca was Al-Bishr ; all that was left to them was the guardianship (Sadānah) of the temple. 'Adnān ruled over Mecca for a long time when Nizār ibn Ma'add and Qais ibn Ma'add disputed the government. At last Nizār was successful and Qais emigrated to the 'Irāq. Some persons assert that An-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundir, king of Hirah was a descendant of Qais ibn Ma'add. Ibn Ishāq records that when the Muslims conquered al-Hirah in the time of 'Omar ibn al-Khattāb they entered a cave and found there the sword of an-Nu'mān called "al-Murhaf" and brought it to 'Omar. He consulted Jubair ibn Mut'im who was learned in genealogies, having acquired that knowledge from Abū Bakr, and he stated that an-Nu'mān was a descendant of Qais ibn Ma'add, and 'Omar had the sword sealed accordingly.

On the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī it is stated that Nizār had four sons and when he died he divided his property among them. Iyād the eldest received the sceptre and the mantle and was appointed successor (Wasiy) ; Mudar received the red leather tent ; Rabī'a received the horse and the lance. That is why they are called Mudar the Red and Rabī'a of the Horse. Anmār received the date palms, a black slave girl and an ass. That is the reason why the best camels, horses, etc. are found among the respective descendants of the sons of Nizār. The author then gives a parallel report of the division made by Nizār, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās. They go to the Af'ā Najrān for judgment and on the road see several objects from which they make correct guesses. They took with them the bitch of their father with her pup and the strange thing was that the pup barked and the bitch remained silent. Then they saw a dung-heap and it shone like fire. After that they saw on the wayside three bent trees, one in the centre and one on each side, and noticed that the birds flew from the tree on the right to the tree on the left and *vice versa* but did not settle once on the tree in the centre. Travelling a little further, they encountered two old men who were fighting with one another and Anmār went to separate them, but when he tried to do so he seemed to receive all the blows which they exchanged and was compelled to retire. Rabī'a tried to do the same but had the same

bad luck in his efforts to stop the quarrel. When Mudar went to them they separated, one going in one direction and the other in another. As they journeyed on, they came upon the track of a camel and Iyād said that it had only one eye, Rabi'a that it was tailless, Mudar that it was squint-eyed and Anmār that it was a runaway. A little later the man who owned the camel caught them up and they gave him this description of the camel from which the owner concluded that they had actually seen the camel, which was not the case. He took them to Af'ā Najrān as he believed they had stolen the camel, but they were able to give the reasons why they concluded that the camel had the defects named and Af'ā recognised that they were exceptionally shrewd young men. He gave them a meal and sat close to them to listen to their conversation, and when they were given mutton of a black sheep he heard Iyād say that the sheep had been reared by a bitch and Mudar said that the wine they were given to drink had been made from grapes that grew over a grave. Rabi'a said: This man is not the son of his father and Anmār asserted that the youth who was serving them was of noble birth and good family. Af'ā who had listened to their conversation went to the shepherd and enquired about the sheep and then learned that when it was born its mother died and no other milch-sheep being at hand it was reared with pups by a bitch. He then went to the gardener and they dug under the vine and found that a murdered child had been buried under it. When he saw that they had been correct in their assertions he went to his mother and said to her: 'Some devils have come to me and assert that I am not the son of my father. Let me know the truth, for it is better for you to reveal it to-day than for others to reveal it to-morrow.' She replied that only that day the truth had become clear to her. His father and uncle were tyrannous kings and made war against one another, and in the misfortune of war she was one of those who at the conquest of Al-Bahrain fell into the hands of his uncle. One night when he had been drinking heavily and was roaming about the castle he came to her room and outraged her, but she was not aware that she had conceived by him and had always believed him to be the true son of her husband. For the next morning, when his uncle realized what he had done, he released her and sent her to her husband. He was Harim ibn 'Amr and the first person who made a vow never to drink any wine, though it was

not on religious grounds. Af'ā next called the four young men to him and asked them if they had any requests to make. They told him that they had come to him concerning some matters because he was one of the foremost judges of his time in the science of Sulaimān ; in fact he was really a missionary of Sulaimān, and knew the science of the stars after the teaching of Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il. They told him about the three trees and the birds settling only on the one to the right and to the left but never on the middle one. He thus explained it : that the time was coming when the rich would help the rich but no one would care for the poor and weak. Then they told him about the luminous dung-heap and he replied that this alluded to the time when the vile would rule while noble souls would live in abasement. Then they told him about the blind young pup barking while its mother kept silent. That, he said, refers to the time to come when fools will talk and wise men will hold their tongues. They told him about the two old men fighting and how when the two younger brothers tried to separate them they received all the blows, while the old men ran away when Mudar the second brother intervened. He looked at Mudar for a long while and then said "Thou art the fruitful tree ; those two old men were devils who were testing you to find out, who of you was perpetuating the stock (Sibt). For thou, O Mudar, bearest with thee the line of Muḥammad (whom God bless), the best of creatures." They told al-Af'ā that they had come to him to settle their inheritance and he divided the heritage as before mentioned. Then they gave him the boxes which had been left to them and when he opened them he found in the box of Iyād some clippings of finger nails and he received the slaves. The box of Mudar contained filings of gold and silver, that of Rabī'a contained bits of a horse's hoof, while that of Anmār had a piece of a camel's hoof in it. The one of them who lived longest was Rabī'a and he was called Rabī'a al-Qash'am.

Nāshir al-Ni'am was so called because he revived the kingdom of Himyār after a lapse of forty years in the days of Sulaimān son of Dā'ūd, and he commenced his reign by making expeditions into the countries conquered by his ancestors till he reached the Ocean when he made his son Shammar Yar'ash general. He was called Yar'ash because he used to tremble through the drinking of wine or, as others state, because he travelled across the quaking sea with 10,000 men. He was ordered by his

father to cross the river of sand near the idol set up by Dhû'l Qarnain. He penetrated into the lands and subdued the Afranj and Saks and his armies got as far as the lands of the Saqâlîba. When he returned he brought back prisoners from all these countries as well as from the islands of the sea. Nāshir an-Ni'am crossed the sea to Abyssinia and conquered it, then he marched along the sea coast till he reached the town of Shaddād ibn 'Ad. After that he turned to the West and sent an army against the Rûm, who are the Banu'l-Asfar and their king at that time was Bāhān ibn Sājūr ibn Rûm, a descendant of the prophet Ya'qūb. He fled and took refuge on a high mountain and Nāshir al-Ni'am went to the land of Bābilyūn and Syria on his way to the rising of the sun. Here he was met by his son Shammar Yar'ash who had come back from the West. He marched with him and conquered the land of the Turks and went from there to Tabaristān and the Bāb al-Abwāb and penetrated through the mountains of Sughd to the lands of the Kurds, Khazars and Farghan and subdued those countries. Then he intended to go through Tibet to China and the land of the Indians, but marching through Nuhāwand he reached Dīnawar where he died and was buried by his son Shammar who reigned after him. Shammar returned towards the West and, passing through Bābil, reached Ghumdān. Shammar Yar'ash was the elder Tubba' who is mentioned in the Koran and there was no king among the Arabs who was so revered by both Qahtānīs and 'Adnānīs, to whom he was the Tubba' *par excellence* though there were before him Tubba's who were greater and more powerful. The Sughd, Zutt, Khazar and Qūt are all descendants of Yāfith and they lived in the land from Armenia to Balkhā and Jājā; they were aided by the Turks, Dailam and the Banū Fāris because they all disliked the rule of the Himyarites. They and the people of Nuhāwand and Dīnawar came to the grave of Nāshir an-Ni'am and demolished it and scattered the marble and plundered the treasures buried in it. When Shammar learned this he vowed that he would avenge the outrage and build over the grave of his father a mound made of their skulls. He called his army together, and warriors flocked to him from the whole extent of Arabia. When the Banū Fāris heard of his approach they called for help upon all the surrounding nations to assist Qubādīh son of Shahrayār, and they assembled in the mountain of Ray. Shammar marched first to Al-Mushallal where he left his son 'Amr al-Aqran and

he also left his son Saifi Nu'mān with 100,000 men. Then he avoided the 'Irāq, where the army of Fāris was stationed and, going to al-Jazīra, crossed the Euphrates to go to Armenia. When he had reached that country Qubādh received the news and commanded the Turks to march thither. The Turks went and were utterly routed and only a few escaped to the high mountains. Now Qubādh also moved with all his auxiliaries to Armenia trying to go to the West, but as Shammar was in Armenia he turned till he reached Hinw Qurāqir in the 'Irāq, but 'Amr al-Aqran heard of this and met him at Al-Mushallal, and they fought for several days. As the struggle lasted long al-Aqran sent to his brother Saifi who was in 'Omān and he came to his assistance with 100,000 warriors and the same number of light troops came from the Yaman. When they had joined forces they drove Qubādh back to al-Qādisiyya and he fled farther to the White Castle in Khurāsān where he entrenched himself on a lofty mountain. The two brothers informed their father Shammar and he also marched against Qubādh. When the latter knew that his resistance was hopeless he asked his son Balās to kill him and as an act of submission to take his head to Shammar. Balās refused to kill his father, and the latter opened his arteries and bled to death. Then Balās cut off the head of his father and came with it to Shammar and told him that his father had died in order to appease the wrath of Shammar. Balās was taken into the service of Shammar and was instructed to wreak vengeance upon the people of Nuhāwand and Dīnawar, and he killed scores of the Sughd, Khazar and Zutt who on this account became the least numerous among the sons of Yâfith. When Shammar came to Sinjār he slaughtered so many of these three nations that he made a large mound of their skulls. The Persians were compelled to build the tomb with all kinds of valuable stones but when Shammar inspected the tomb inside and outside he was not satisfied, but had it all pulled down and ordered all the sorcerers to be brought who remained on earth of those who worked for Sulaimān and Bilqīs, and they built the tomb with blue cement as high as a mountain and shining like glass, and when he rode round it he could see himself and his horse reflected in the walls. The mirror-like smoothness was so great that birds which tried to settle on it saw themselves and, thinking the reflections to be other birds flew away. Then the Jinn made a spell round it and nobody could approach it with-

out being hit by invisible hands. This building is to this day at Sinjār between Nuhāwand and Dīnawar. Then Shammar had the town destroyed and the Banū Fāris called it Shammarkand, but the Arabs made out of the word Samarqand and so it is called to this day. Then he went to Qatrabil intending to go to China and the king of India named Nufair was at the time in China and when he heard that Yar'ash had left his own land and had reached Qatrabil, having left the wounded and sick at Nuhāwand, Dīnawar and Sinjār, he went to oppose him with all the Indians from India and China. After a fierce battle Nufair was defeated and many of the people of India and China slain, so that Nufair had to take refuge on a high mountain. Nufair assembled all his wise and cunning men and asked them how they could overpower the Tubba'. They could not devise any means and Nufair on his own decision cut off his own ears and his nose and commanded his people to beat him with whips. Then he went to the Tubba' and pretended that his subjects had dealt with him in this manner because he had failed in their defence. He asked the Tubba' to deal with them as he liked and the latter said that he had no wish to go himself any further, but sent with him an army to conquer the land. On the advice of Nufair they took water for three days and then penetrated into desert land and when they had travelled a long distance they found no water. They now asked Nufair when they would come to the end of the desert and he told them that he hoped that none would escape, adding that the Arabs might be strong in endurance but that they were weak in the deceptions of war. Did they believe that he, the king of the Indians, would help them to ruin his people? The Tubba', after his army had gone with Nufair, became suspicious and sent Dhû Jadan son of al-Miskīn al-Hīmyārī after them with camels carrying water and the Tubba' himself followed later. They reached the army just in time to save it from perishing through thirst, except a few who had followed the army. When the Tubba' confronted Nufair, he confessed that he had only done what he, the Tubba', and his own people could have expected from him and that by his deceit he had hoped to save his nation. The Tubba', recognizing that Nufair had acted wisely towards his own people, forgave him and took him as his councillor for the future. Nufair told him that India was an unhealthy land, that only those who took their lives in their hands

ever went there, and at the request of Nufair all the Indians were pardoned and the Tubba' went even so far as to appoint the son of Nufair as king of China. His name was Jalham ibn Nufair and he was the first crowned king of China. Nufair decided to stay with the Tubba' and dismissed his sons to India, giving them wise rules for their conduct in order to maintain the glory of their country and people. On the advice of Nufair all foreigners were dismissed from the army of the Tubba' and, taking Nufair with him, the Tubba' set out on his march homeward. He was informed that the people of Nuhāwand and the country round had acted treacherously towards the soldiers he had left behind and he went to avenge them, killed large quantities of the Zutt, Kurds, Sughd and Khazar and captured many of the women. The Tubba' permitted his people to keep the women of the Sughd and Zutt, but he would not allow them to keep any of the Kurd and Khûz as these would give birth to children who would degenerate the Arabs in several ways. From thence he went towards Bābilyûn in Egypt by the way of Syria and when the Abyssinians learnt of his approach they sent him large presents with a view to appease him, but at a council it was decided that they ought to have sent the presents long before he was marching against them. When he reached Egypt they fled away from the Nile into the desert and some lived, but many perished. The Tubba' pursued them for some days till his army nearly perished from thirst, when they reached a spring where they planted palms, built castles and reservoirs. He pursued them also into Abyssinia and killed them with arrows shot from bows and it was only from this time that the Abyssinians learned the use of bow and arrow. After that he followed them as far as the Ocean, but was driven back by a black wind which caused great loss among his troops and he went back to the East to the city of Shaddād ibn'Ad on the sea coast, where he stayed five years and went up to Qamūniya. Then he went to Bābilyûn and Syria and crossed the Euphrates and Tigris with the intention of visiting the grave of his father Nāshir an-Ni'am at Sinjār, which is one of the largest cities of Samarqand, and he had there carved in a rock the deeds of his father. (Here follows an interpolation of Ibn Hishām on the authority of a man of Khaiwān who was with Qutaiba ibn Muslim when he conquered Samarqand where they discovered the inscription and Qutaiba who suspected that it was in Himyari-

tic writing called for any man who had recently come from Yaman who could read the writing. The man told him that this was the limit of conquests and advised him to return). The Tubba' also decided to go back to Ghumdān as he was master of the whole Earth. After this the Tubba' died at the age of one thousand and sixty years and his first children were born to him when he was eight hundred years old. He was mourned by all his people and several elegies are quoted. Tubba' Shammar Yar'ash was the king who first introduced coats of mail and he made the Persians to deliver each year one thousand coats, and his governor over Persia was Balās son of Qubādh. The same quantity was delivered by the Rûm, where his governor was a man named Māhān son of Hiraql. Balās was the first crowned king of the Persians, as Hiraql was the first king of the Rûm. In like manner the people of 'Omān and Yaman had to supply the same quantity, and the best swords were those of the Yaman, the best coats of mail those of the Persians, while the worst were those of the Rûm, and so it is to this day. (Here Ibn Hishām cites a verse by Abû Dhû'aib in which he mentions the coats of mail of the Tubba' and states that the verse is from a poem composed about the battle of Dhāt al-Hijāl, and then enlarges upon that battle day, which has no connection whatever with the book. He appears to forget his book entirely and gives accounts of the poets Ta'abaata Shar-ran and Shanfarā and their raids upon Hudhail in which he connects them with 'Amir ibn Juwain, etc.)

When Shammar had died he was succeeded by his son Saifī who was a generous and mild ruler. He stayed at Ghumdān for twenty years and then went with an army to Mecca as had been the custom of his ancestors. He stayed there for ten years and sent armies to the East and West. A man came to him there and told him that he had dreamed about the king, and Saifī began to be ill with a boil on his face from which he died in three days. This kind of boil has ever since been called the "boil of kings" His reign lasted only thirty years.

The next king was 'Amr ibn 'Amir Muzaiqiyā; he was given this name because he wore each year 360 mantles (Hullah) and when the end of the year came the people were allowed to come into his presence and the garments were torn to pieces (muziqa). This was done to the end that nobody should wear the royal garments after the king. His father was called Mā' al-Muzn (Rain water), because whenever famine came over the land he used

to open the treasury for the people and in that way he replaced the lacking rain. (Here follows a long description of the Dam at Ma'rib and its builders and the enumeration of the ten sons of 'Amr whose mother was Māriyah Dhāt al-Qurtain. He also had a brother named 'Imrān ibn 'Amir who was a Kāhin (priest) and was acquainted with the wisdom of Sulaimān. He was king before 'Amr and predicted that a great calamity would befall the people through the bursting of the Dam and that they would be scattered East and West. When he was 400 years old, his brother 'Amr having reached the age of 300 years, he died, but before his death he told him about the calamity before them, and that God would send a prophet, Shu'aib son of Sālih. They would not hear him and their destruction would surely come. There was however one blessing in store for them : that at the end of time God would raise the Prophet Muhammad ; and he told him to exhort his children to follow him. The country round Ma'rib was at that time so fruitful that a woman might walk with an empty basket on her head to visit a friend of hers and before she reached her house the basket would be filled with the fruit which had fallen into it from the overhanging trees.) 'Amr on the advice of his brother, married a woman named Tarīfah (or Zarīfah) who possessed the same knowledge and was the wisest woman of her time. She had a dream that a cloud came over Yaman and destroyed all the land. She told 'Amr that this was the sign of a great calamity to come. One day 'Amr went with two maidens to one of his gardens and Tarīfah followed him with her maidens, but on the road she saw three blind rats (Manājidh) who covered their eyes with their paws when they saw her and Tarīfah did the same. A little further on she saw a tortoise which had fallen on its back and tried to right itself but could not do so for a long time, but after struggling the tortoise managed to get back to the water. Tarīfah, who had covered her eyes all the time till the tortoise had gone, went then to the garden where she arrived at mid-day and came to the pavilion of 'Amr. When he saw that he had been found out he was ashamed and sent the two maidens away. He asked her to sit down beside him but she refused and uttered mysterious words about coming calamities. She told him that the blind rats predicted seven years of famine. She would not tell him more before all the maidens were dismissed and continued her mysterious utterances. Then she predicted to him the bursting of

the Dam and that most of his friends would be drowned by the torrent; she advised him to set guards near the Dam and watch if a large rat should come and try to move the big rocks of which it was built. When one day they found that rat, she advised him to emigrate from the place. As he was king he could not easily leave the country without a proper reason and it was arranged that his son Tha'labah al-'Anqā' should insult him in public. After long refusal on the part of Tha'labah he agreed and insulted his father, the king, in public and the latter in pretence stated that he could no longer live, even as ruler, in a land where his dignity was curtailed by open insults and that he would go to other lands. So he and his family sold all the property they possessed below the Dam and emigrated North. The number of the emigrants was twenty-three clans. Here follows a long account of the ten sons of 'Amr and the lands in which they settled, together with the names of the most prominent men in each clan. This is followed by a long account of the quarrel between Ghassān and 'Akk. Ghassān in consequence left the land of 'Akk and settled among the clans of 'Ans and Baulān of the tribe of Hamdān. After some fighting they were permitted to remain, but decided to seek other lands and went to the land of Madhhij, who first resisted their arrival but finally made peace with them. (The following pages are occupied with the account of their wanderings till they settled in Syria, where 'Amr ibn Jafnah was their first king. He resided at a place called Bāligha, and this was in the time of the Roman emperor Decius. If this date is correct we have a date which is exceptionally precise, as Decius reigned only from 249-251 A.C. The Emperor commanded the people of Syria to oppose them, among them the tribe of Salih, who, after long consultation, decided to hold ostensibly with the emperor, but secretly to support their Arab relations of Ghassān. However the contest went against Ghassān as other tribes like Kinānah and Judham supported the Romans at the second battle which was fought in the Marj az-Ziba', the battle being known as the day of Halimah. They offered submission and agreed to pay a poll-tax of one Dinār for each grown-up man. This went on for a time till a tax-collector of Salih, named Wasīt ibn 'Auf came to collect it from one Jidh' ibn, Sinān, who had been the councillor of Ghassān for many years. He asked the tax-collector to have patience as they had had a time of famine. When he refused he was

killed by Jidh' and this led to Ghassān gaining the supremacy in the land. Some of them, however, did not care to remain under the partial government of the Romans and emigrated to Yathrib (al-Medina) under the leadership of their king Hārithah ibn Tha'labah. They encamped at Sau'ar and asked the king of the Jews who inhabited the town to give them settlements. The king named Sharif ibn Ka'b stipulated that the Jews should remain masters of the town while Ghassān settled in the outskirts. Now follows the account of the bursting of the Dam at Ma'rib and the two Kāhins, Satih and Shiqq, are brought into connection with prophecies concerning this disaster. The king at the time was Rabī'ah ibn Nasr and when he died Tibān As'ad Ma'dī Karib became king. He was the king who came to al-Medīna and took with him the two Jewish Rabbis of the tribe of Quraizah. They had interceded for their people and Tibān As'ad returned towards Yaman, but when he was near 'Uṣfān some people of the tribe of Hudhail came to him and told him that he could gain much treasure if he went to Mecca. The two Rabbis however kept him from carrying out his project by telling him that it was a sacred place and that their ancestor had built there a house which was the centre of pious pilgrimage but had been defiled by the introduction of idols. The king believed the truth of their tale and killed the Hudhailis by cutting off their hands and feet. He then went himself to Mecca and performed the rites of the pilgrimage. He was also told in a dream to put a covering over the temple and he had a roof constructed of palm-branches, but not considering it precious enough he had it covered with embroidered cloth. He also re-appointed Jurhum as custodians of the temple and had it cleansed from all impurity. Then he went back to Yaman. In Yaman they had a peculiar form of judgment by fire. They believed that in a quarrel this fire would not injure him whose cause was just while it would devour those who were in the wrong. The Jews who were accused of crime were put to the test. They went to the fire with their sacred books round their necks and came out unharmed and this was the cause why the Jewish religion spread in Yaman. When Tibān As'ad died he was succeeded by his son Hassān. It was he who sent an army against Jadīs in the Yamāma and annihilated them. The cause was the tyranny of a king of Tasm who insisted upon the *Jus primae noctis*. When the people became rebellious against this practice they sent to Hassān, who marched against them.

(Here follows the tale of Zarqa' who could see the distance of three days' journey, but was not believed when she told her people of the approach of the army). When he returned to Yaman he was murdered by his brother 'Amr on the advice of the nobles. When he repented, 'Amr had these nobles invited one after another and killed as they entered the audience hall. In his reign did Hujr the grandfather of the poet Imru'l-Qais marry the daughter of his brother Hassān. 'Amr ruled 63 years and was succeeded by 'Abd Kalil ibn Yanû. He was a believer and followed the religion of 'Isā (Jesus); he ruled 64 years and made very few wars. He was succeeded by Tubba' ibn Hassān who was the last Tubba'. He it was who sent his brother-in-law al-Hārith ibn 'Amr to be king over the Arab tribes. They also made complaints to him about the Jews of Yathrib and he had 300 of them killed on mount Uhud, which made them submissive.

The next kings are treated summarily. They are Rabī'ah, ibn Marthad, Hassān ibn 'Amr, Abrahah ibn as-Sabbāh, who reigned 73 years, and a man who was not of royal blood named Lukhainiah ibn Yatūq. He was a bad ruler and might have been a descendant of the people of Lūt. He was murdered by Dhū Nuwās As'ad after having been king for 23 years. When the people of Himyār learned that Dhū Nuwās had relieved them of their tyrant they elected Dhū Nuwās king and it was he who is mentioned in the Holy Koran as the author of the Ukhdūd (the ditch). He learned that a man of the family of Jafnah had come to Najrān and had converted the people to Christianity. He went personally to Najrān and had a large ditch dug in which a fierce fire was kindled. All who followed him in his Jewish belief were spared but all who adhered to Christianity were burnt. It is told that a woman was brought with a little boy of seven years and when she shrank back the child told his mother to go with him into the fire as it was the last fire and there would be no (hell) fire after it. One man named Daud escaped and went to the king of Abyssinia and informed him of the massacre, and he wrote to the Roman emperor. The latter commanded him to invade the country and punish Dhū Nuwās. When the king of Abyssinia invaded the country Dhū Nuwās was compelled to flee with his followers and they plunged into the sea where they were all drowned. Dhū Nuwās had reigned 38 years. Abrahah al-Ashram was the first Abyssinian who reigned over Yaman and it was he who attempted to destroy the Ka'bah

but was driven back by swarms of birds and it was in his time that the Prophet, whom God bless, was born. His army was compelled to retreat and his people perished everywhere on the roadside, for this was the first time that the disease of small-pox made its appearance in Arabia. He died of the same disease and was succeeded by his son Yaksûm in whose time Saif ibn Dhû Yazan raised the standard of rebellion. He travelled first to the emperor to make complaint of the oppressions of the Abyssinians, and as he got no redress he went to Al-Hirah to an-Nu'man ibn al-Mundhir who sent him to the king of Persia. The king of Persia used to receive people in his audience-hall where an enormous crown was suspended from the ceiling. He made his complaint that the Blacks had made themselves masters of his country. The king said that he had no inclination to send an army on such a distant expedition, but gave him 10,000 dirhems which Saif scattered among the people when he got outside. When the king was informed of this act he saw that there was some reason for Saif doing this and had him called back to question him about his extraordinary behaviour. He replied that he had no use for gold and silver as the mountains in his country were made of those metals. The king, having called a council, asked his nobles for advice and their counsel was that he should release from the prisons 800 men who were there and send them with Saif. If they conquered the land it would be a gain and if they perished it would be no loss. They were sent in eight ships of which two foundered while six reached the coast at 'Adan. In command of the Persians was Wahraz and he and Saif agreed that they would either succeed or perish in the attempt to free the land from the Blacks. Yaksûm came to repel them and a son of Wahraz was killed which made him anxious to avenge his death. Wahraz had a bow which no one but himself could string and its arrows carried farther than those shot from any other bow. He espied Yaksûm at a distance, being recognisable by a large ruby which he wore on his forehead. Taking aim he hit the ruby with his arrow which protruded at the back of the head of Yaksûm. This made the defeat of the Abyssinians complete. After that, Saif ibn Dhû Yazan was appointed by the king of Persia as ruler over Yaman, but his end came through Abyssinian slaves whom he had taken prisoner in their defeat. They fell upon Saif during the night and stabbed him to death. After him no one was ruler over the whole of Yaman, but each district was ruled over by its chief.

Here end the manuscripts, but from extracts it is certain that the work contained more. The defect is made up by the account of an embassy of Quraish to Saif, in which he predicts to 'Abd al Muttalib that his grandson Muhammad is the promised prophet who will revive the true religion and gives him the promise that if he should live to see his time he would come to his succour.

I have given the contents of the work, though in abstract, rather detailed so that the nature of the book can be appreciated before it is in the hands of readers in print.

The first question must be whether the work is genuine, and who is the real author. The Isnād (or chain of authorities) at the beginning of the book, repeated more than once in the text, tells us plainly that the Egyptian scholar Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām received the text from Asad ibn Mūsā who had it from Abū Idris ibn Sinān, who handed down the text of the work of his maternal uncle Wahb ibn Munabbih.

Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām is well-known as the editor of the *Sīrah* of Muhammad ibn Ishāq. The biographies found in historical works are far from satisfactory. Ibn Khallikān¹ quotes the Raud al Unuf of Suhailī and states that he was a Himyārī of the tribe of al-Ma'āfir, that he came from al-Basrah and lived in Egypt. He wrote a book on the genealogies of Himyār² and a commentary about the uncommon expressions in the *Sīrah*. Ibn Khallikān adds that he is the author of the well-known biography of the Prophet. This and the commentary mentioned by Suhailī are the same book. According to the Egyptian historian Ibn Yūnus, he died on the 13th of Rabī' II 218 A.H. Suhailī gives the date 213 A.H. As far as I have been able to trace, he is not mentioned in the biographical works on traditionists, not even those who are considered weak or untrustworthy, which is remarkable, considering the reputation of his edition of the *Sīrah*. That he worked very arbitrarily in editing the *Sīrah* had long been suspected among Western scholars and, from extracts from the genuine *Sīrah* of Ibn Ishāq which I have collected and about which I hope shortly to give further information, this suspicion is only too well testified. If he has edited the *Tijān* and we have no later interpolations it is fairly certain that the date of

(1) Cairo ed. I. 290.

(2) Probably the book under consideration.

his death as stated by Ibn Khallikān and his informants is also not correct. In the *Kitāb at-Tijān* he cites as evidence of the mysterious disappearance of al-Hārith ibn Mudād al-Jurhumī some verses of the poet Abū Tammām. Abū Tammām was born in 190 or 188 A.H. (some accounts say 172 and 192) and died in the year 231 or 232. The verses in question are found in his printed *Diwān*¹ in a poem in praise of Ahmad ibn Abī Duwād who died in the year 240 A.H. at the age of eighty. But he was not a person of such renown before the assumed death of Ibn Hishām as to have a poem dedicated to him by Abu Tammām, whose earliest poems date approximately from 204. Ahmad ibn Abu Duwād was first introduced at the court of al-Ma'mūn in 204 but rose to eminence on the accession of al-Mu'tasim who made him chief *Qādī* after 218, the date when Ibn Hishām is supposed to have died. That the work is that of Ibn Hishām we cannot doubt, as there is other evidence in the work, but he must have lived to a later date than that generally assigned to his death. He received the book from a certain Asad ibn Mūsā who is well-known as a traditionist². He was born in 132 and died in Egypt in Muharram 212. The opinions about his trustworthiness differ and an-Nasā'ī said that he would have done better if he had never written any books, while other critics accuse him of having transmitted forged traditions (*Munkar al-Hadīth*). He had the book from Abū Idrīs ibn Sinān who received it from his grandfather on the mother's side, Wahb ibn Munabbih, the original author of the work. Abū Idrīs is the name given to him not only in the beginning of the work, but also on many occasions in the accounts throughout the book and in all three manuscripts. He is not known by this *Kunyah* by the biographers of traditionists, but is called Abu al-Yās Idrīs ibn Sinān³, is said to be the son of a sister of Wahb and to be the father of the traditionist 'Abd al-Mun'im. The opinion about him is not favourable, because he is accused of writing down his traditions. The date of his death appears not to be known. His son 'Abd al-Mun'im was in very bad repute and Ahmad ibn Hanbal accused him of forging traditions in the name of his ancestor Wahb ibn Munabbih. He died in Baghdad in 228 at an age of over a hundred years⁴. Wahb ibn Munabbih, the original author of the

(1) Bairūt ed. 1889 p. 166.

(2) I. Hajar Tahdhib I. 260.

(3) I. Hajar Tahdhib I. 194

(4) I. Hajar Lisan IV. 73.

book, is one of the most remarkable persons in the earliest history of Arabic literature. We have a number of biographies of him (Yāqūt, *Irshad* VII. 232 Ibn Khallikān ed. Cairo 1310 II. 180 ; Ibn al-Qaisarānī ed. Hyderabad 541 ; Yāfi'i. *Mir'at* I. 248 ; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah* I. 88 ; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib* XI. 166-168) and the following is a synopsis of their statements. He was born in 34 A.H. in Yaman, heard traditions from many of the most renowned Companions. He was probably of Jewish descent, and he himself asserted that his family came originally from Herāt in Eastern Persia and that he used to go there from time to time to look after the interests of his family. He tells us himself, at the beginning of the Kitāb at Tijān, that he made the study of religious Books a speciality and to him are due the explanations of the ancient names which form a peculiarity of the earlier portions of the work. He became Qādī of his native town San'a and died there at a very advanced age in 114 A.H. He is in the biographies designated as Akhbārī (historian) and Ibn Khallikān relates that he had seen a book by him containing the history of the kings of Yaman in one volume, which was a very useful book. He had also written a book on Qadar. 'Amr ibn Dīnār went to Yaman to visit him and at night he brought up the subject and said to Wahb that he wished he had not written that work, to which Wahb answered that he had always regretted it. I wonder whether we have part of this work preserved in the Kitāb at-Tijān as the earlier portions are full of discussions on Qadar, which I had to leave out in order not to make the article too long. The composition of a book like the Tijān makes us wonder what aim the Author had in view. The ostensible aim was to recount the glories of the South Arabians, but combined with it was another purpose. From a man like Wahb, who had the repute of having studied all accessible books on religion in various languages, it was expected to obtain trustworthy information about the prophets and kings who were mentioned or alluded to in the Holy Book, and also more knowledge concerning events and persons which were the common subject of entertainment, like the legend of Luqmān and his vultures, or the destruction of the ancient nation of 'Ad. These were things which did not belong to the Holy Book alone. With remarkable ingenuity Wahb has succeeded in writing one long epos of the Arabs from the creation of the world till the time of Islām. Seldom is the thread broken, and where the story

strays from the main path, it is as a rule due to the clumsy handling of Ibn Hishām, to whom belong the often very long digressions on tribal history which emanated from the school of al-Basrah, where Ibn Hishām had studied. What strikes one is the aim at displaying a knowledge of the geography of the whole extent of the world. Hardly any known localities in Yaman or Arabia are mentioned, and in the West the author knows hardly any places except Andalus and the town of Qamūniyyah, but in the East he has more names, of which Armenia is very prominent because almost every king makes war against that country. But there comes a string of names, all of which are fearfully distorted in the manuscripts, but by their peculiar form with a final Alif it is evident that they have come from an Aramaic original; and I have been able to identify a number, like Balkhā, Jājā (the Arabic Shāsh in Transoxiana) Jabalqā, etc. Interesting and instructive is also the inclusion of the Alexander legend. As the most likely source for this we may assume the Talmud where the tale of the stone that outweighs all treasures but sinks in the balance against a handful of dust is found exactly the same¹. The difference is that here Dhū'l Qarnain is a Yamanite king. Another ever recurring peculiarity is the burying of kings in caves with their treasures, which are guarded by dragons (Tinnīn). This is so un-Semitic that I cannot for the moment suggest whence the author derived his information. Were these really South-Arabian legends? The student of folk-lore will find in the book an ample store for comparison with the lore of other nations. History we have unfortunately none, but we must admire the exuberant imagination of the author which has never been equalled again in Arabic literature. We have here the only epic the Arabs have produced, and the book is in addition the oldest book in profane Arabic literature which has been preserved. Literary history will, as a rule, admit of no works at so early a date, the first century of the Hijrah, but we cannot deny the fact that the book is the genuine work of Wahb. He himself, I believe, has not quoted any authorities² but Ibn Hishām has amplified the text on many occasions and gives a number of authorities, several of which go back through Ziyād ibn 'Abd Allah al-Bakā'i to Ibn Ishāq, whom he always designates as al-Muttalibī. This authority is well-known to us from Ibn Hishām's

(1) This fixes the legend before 400 A.D.

(2) Except perhaps Ibn 'Abbās,

edition of the *Sīrah*.

The manuscripts are only of inferior correctness, two are copies of the same original, while the Berlin copy, though probably a little older and derived from another original, has many omissions. The scribe has made his work easier by quoting only some of the verses of the longer poems and frequently does not shorten his text by omitting part, but condenses the tale by using other expressions which contain the same sense. The names of places and legendary persons are as a rule distorted and only the comparison of the same name in different places aided by the metre of the poems has made it possible to arrive at some probably correct form.

The Relation of 'Ubaid ibn Sharyah.

While it is comparatively easy to establish the authorship of the *Kitāb at-Tijān* the case is different with this work. The book is once quoted by this name in the *Tijān* where Ibn 'Abbās relates a tale on the authority of 'Obaid. It is preserved in two manuscripts only, the Berlin copy containing only the *Tijān*. It is of the same ingenious character. The Caliph Mu'āwiyah when he gets old cannot sleep and loves to hear tales of the antiquity of the Arabs. He is told that a man of Jurhum still survives, who knows them all. This man is invited to Damascus and tells his stories. It begins also with the earliest times, but with the difference that the poetical citations play a very prominent part in the relation. A charming invention of the author is also that the Caliph is at times introduced as doubting the statements of 'Obaid and telling him that he has heard quite a different tale. 'Obaid objects in these cases that ignorant people believe those tales but that his is the correct version. The tale of the destruction of 'Ad and the vultures of Luqmān is told at much greater length. We also have a very long and detailed account of the ruin of Jadīs and Tasm and there is also a very long account of Thamūd. The tale of Bilqīs and Sulaimān is also much fuller than in the *Tijān*. Remarkable is the fact that Dhū'l-Qarnain in this book is not As-Sa'b as in the *Tijān*, but another Yamanite king Tubba' al-Aqran, and this account has not the same legends taken from the Alexander book. An unexpected find is that to one of the Tubba's is ascribed a poem of 56 verses in which the king enumerates all the constellations, first going through the so-called moon.

stations, which are followed by the other stars in the sky. The purport is that the king is not superstitious and no evil or good star either prevents him or urges him to make warlike expeditions. The book comes in both manuscripts to a sudden conclusion in the Tale of Tasm. How much is lost cannot be ascertained, but Ibn al-Athīr in the *Kamil* has made use of the account of Tasm from this work in an abridged form. The book circulated early in many copies which differed considerably. Yāqūt in the *Irshad* (V. 10-13) has a long account of 'Uba'id, which contains no real information except that he lived to a fabulous age and died in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. In the *Fihrist*, the source of Yāqūt, he is said to have composed a book on proverbs and one on the kings of the past. Both must be identified with the present work as many proverbs are explained by relevant and irrelevant tales concerning their originators. 'Uba'id has also found a place in the *Kitāb al-Mu'ammarīn* of Abū Hātim as-Sijistānī (ed. Goldziher p. 40-43) which account is repeated by Yāqūt. He does not appear to have found a place in the biographies of traditionists. The reason is simple because there cannot be any doubt that he is an entirely fictitious person, and the most we can do is to ascertain who is the real author of the book. I have pointed out that Dhū'l-Qarnain is in this book an entirely different person from him of the *Tijān*, which is the work of Wahb ibn Munabbih. The work contains practically no references to traditionists, but the introduction, as it stands to-day, and which certainly is not quite in order, gives us an indication of the authorship. The words are: "We were told by 'Uba'id ibn Sharyah on the authority of Al-Barqī who indicated his authorities (yarfa'ul-Hadīth) that Mu'awiyah ibn Abī Sufyān was an Amīr of 'Omar ibn al-Khattāb', etc." This Al-Barqī can not possibly have been a Shaikh of 'Uba'id ibn Sharyah, for the latter is the last authority for all his statements. We know, on the contrary, that Abū Sa'd 'Abd ar-Rahīm ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Barqī was a pupil of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām and the principal authority for the transmission of the *Sīrah* as revised by Ibn Hishām. It is also possible that it may be his brother 'Abd Allāh who is also mentioned as handing down the *Sīrah*¹. They were called Al-Barqī because both brothers did trade with Barqah; Muhammad died in Jumada II. 249. From this it appears very probable that this book also

(1) I. Hajar, *Tahdhib IX*. 263.

was edited by Ibn Hishām. Among Muhammad's Shaikhs is also mentioned Asad ibn Mūsā who is the authority who handed down to Ibn Hishām the *Kitāb at-Tijān* and one might be tempted to attribute to him the book of 'Ubaid ibn Sharyah, which he may have composed after the example of the *Tijān*, adding those particulars which were lacking in the latter. He is called an *Akhbārī* and was a Yamanite, like Ibn Hishām, and would be interested in showing up the glories of the South-Arabians. On folio 142v. of the Hyderabad manuscript, however, we get another hint at the probable authorship. In the tale about the prophet Sālih is an interpolation as follows : Muhammad ibn Ishāq relates on another authority than 'Ubaid ibn Sharyah, etc. From this it appears that Muhammad ibn Ishāq is the original author of the work, as a little later the author states : " We now return to the account of 'Ubaid ibn Sharyah." That the author was not very firm in history is proved by the fact that 'Ubaid tells Mu'āwiyah, who died in the year 60, as a proof of his veracity, that when Qutaibah ibn Muslim conquered the city of Samarqand they discovered there an inscription. Now Qutaibah was governor of Khorāsān at a much later date, in the reign of Abd al-Malik, and the first expedition of Qutaibah is dated in the year 87, twenty-seven years after the death of Mū'āwiyah. If Muhammad ibn Ishāq is the author we can account for the great quantity of mediocre verse found in this book. He was accused of having poems made for him which he inserted in his books and so became the scandal of historians as well as traditionists. Anyone who has occupied himself with ancient poetry can discern at a glance that these poems cannot have been composed by the poets to whom they are attributed. It is the prose text which is the valuable portion of this book and it deserves to be published together with the *Kitāb al-Tijān*, but we must guard against treating them as anything else than two books on Arabic folklore.

F. KRENKOW.

MODERN ASTRONOMY AND ISLAM

THE six points which I intend discussing very briefly here are :—

1. the nature of the '*falak*' or sky; and of the '*samawat*' or heavens ;
2. the nature of the '*arsh*' and '*kursi*';
3. the nature of the Sun,
4. the Moon,
5. the planets and comets ;
6. and the number of the fixed stars and of the universes.

According to the ancient Greek conception, as well as the Chaldean and Babylonian systems, the '*aflak*'¹ were hard, transparent, crystalline domes, without weight and free from increase or decrease. In fact, no change of any kind was possible in them, and they were therefore eternal. This was the ancient conception regarding the '*aflāk*' which were virtually considered to be perfect types of animals, perfect because they possessed neither heads nor tails and were capable of neither appetite nor anger.

In modern astronomy, no one believes in the existence of such spheres or '*aflāk*', and these are taken as the supposed or imaginary paths or orbits of the stars or planets. Every heavenly orb is moving in space, and the imagination supposes for its motion an imaginary line which is called its orbit. Later astronomers name the same thing '*falak*' or '*sky*' or '*path*'. But before I proceed to quote from Muslim writers in support of this contention let me remind the reader that one ancient writer, Democritus—a famous philosopher—was also of opinion that the sky is *not* a material thing, and that the stars and planets are suspended in 'empty' space, and are in motion.

(1) '*Aflāk*' is the plural of '*falak*' (the sky).

Now I come to Islamic traditionists. First and foremost I must refer to the tradition of Zahhâk as given in the *Biharu'l-Anwar*, that the 'falak' or 'sky' is not a material body, but only the orbits of stars or planets. This is one of the clearest statements indicating the Islamic belief on the matter. Next, Ibn Athîr states that those orbits in which the heavenly orbs move, are called 'aflâk' or skies. This is from the famous Arabic dictionary, the *Qâmûs*. According to Râghib Isfahâni, 'aflâk' or skies are the names of the paths which the stars traverse while moving. (*vide* 'Mufrâdât'). And Ibn Qutaiba says that 'falak' or sky is the name of the paths of the stars.

From these quotations it is clear that Muslim lexicographers, traditionists and philosophers formerly used to call the orbits of stars 'skies.' A question that suggests itself to me in this connection is this : How did the Arab lexicographers and Muslim traditionists get at the true meaning of the word 'falak' or sky ? It was because they were aware of the utterances of the Prophet of Islam and of Muslim saints who taught the true meaning of the word 'sky' or 'falak' openly ; and because of which the word 'falak' and its derivatives have always been used in the Arabic language for an orbit.

According to my researches, the path of any star or planet, or comet, or of the earth or a cloud, or the space traversed by it, in its orbital motion is called its sky or 'falak.' And this was the opinion of the early Muslims. Hence those who consider the skies as solid overspreading bodies, do so in accordance with the opinions of some famous Greek thinkers, and more especially with the received and popular opinion of the great Ptolemy, and not in accordance with the clear teachings of Islam on the subject.

Take the famous verse of the Koran : *وكل في فلك يسبحون* occurring in the *Sûrah-i-Yâsîn*. It means : "And all (*i.e.* sun, moon and stars, or atoms or electrons) swim in an orbit." This assertion is completely repugnant to the researches of ancient philosophy, but is in accord with the teachings and discoveries of modern astronomy. The ancient philosophers used to regard the stars as embedded in the spheres, and therefore the motion of the former as caused by the motion of the latter, whereas from the apparent meaning of the verse, the stars move on by themselves, and *not* through the instrumentality of anything else. Because of this, Imâm Fakhruddin Râzi'

could not help believing that the 'aflâk' or skies are inert or motionless bodies in which the stars swim about freely, exactly as fishes do in water. (*vide* Tafsîr-ul-Kabîr).

With this may be compared what Imâm Ja'afar-as Sâdiq said to a heretic : " God has so arranged about the stars, that they swim in their orbits (the Arabic word used is 'falak'). This tradition may be seen in Ihtijâj-Tibri, as given in the Bihârul Anwâr. This is in direct opposition to the ancient system of thought, whether Greek or Ptolemaic.

I could go on piling text on text and tradition on tradition in support of my contention that Islâm taught the truth about the motion of stars in the void of space and *not*, as generally supposed, that the stars and planets were like gems fixed in the crystalline domes of the skies. In fact Islamic philosophy or rather astronomy, has been attempting to refute Greek and Egyptian stupidity for the last thirteen hundred years, which attempt has only recently received outside support and verification.

I now proceed to a briefer discussion of the nature of the *Samawat* or heavens. The Ptolemaic system of Astronomy taught that there were seven heavens or 'Samâwât.' This system became highly popular and current in the middle of the Hijri era. Each of these heavens was assigned to a star or planet, so that the *kursi* was the heaven of the fixed stars, and the *arsh* was the heaven of heavens, or the primum mobile. It was therefore called the *falak atlas* or the 'satin heaven,' which contained no star or planet. The thickness of this heaven was unlimited and inconceivable. The whole of space was unlimited and inconceivable. The whole of space was filled with it. And no one except God knew of what was contained beyond this spherical dome. That was the theory that was universally popular during the initial period of Islâm. But Islâm possessed utterances diametrically opposed to it. For it openly talked of the rupture or bursting forth of the Moon and the Sun; also of the creation of the heavens or 'aflâk' out of vapour and smoke and of their being phenomenal (perishable); of the existence of Heaven *i. e.* Paradise and Hell; and of angels. All these things were antagonistic to the order of things in the Ptolemaic system. But the philosophers of old, firmly believing in the Ptolemaic system of thought, used to object to and doubt the teachings of Islâm. To remove the conflict between Islam and Astronomy (*i. e.*

Ptolemaic Astronomy), many Muslims of note and learning began to change the puzzling wording of the Islâmic traditions, which to their mind seemed untrue and incorrect. so that Islâm and its teachings might be brought into harmony and agreement with the Ptolemaic teachings. What the Muslim theologians actually did was to invent interpretations and manufacture glosses in order so to alter the clear meaning of the Korânic texts and wording of the traditions as to bring them into line with the Ptolemaic theory in spite of the fact that the great Arabian Prophet and his descendants and excellent Companions spared no pains to stop the Muslims from gravitating towards the false opinion of the philosophers. And for this reason is it that all the Korânic texts and traditions, to be found in the books of exegesis, and Korânic interpretations, are mixed with a large amount of Ptolemaic astronomy forced into them by the ingenuity of Muslim theologians who were firm believers in the said system of astronomy. Now I shall examine one or two Arabic words of an astronomical kind and try to find out their real significance. First of all let it be the word 'Samâ' سما. In the Arabic dictionaries, as well as in common parlance, that thing is called 'Samâ' which happens to be high. The word 'Samâ,' is derivable from the root 'Samu' سم- which means 'Ulu' علو. Kazwîni says, "That thing which happens to be above the earth and throws a shadow will be called 'Samâ,' and that thing on which thou canst stand is earth." And on this basis the word 'Samâ' is applied to rainfall, clouds, sky, space and even to the orbs of the planets. It should be clearly kept in view that the Arabian Prophet has followed common parlance in using the word 'Samâ,' and not invented any special idiom of his own, or used the word in any special sense. Rather, every such thing as happens to be situate at some height he calls asmâ.

Hence from Muhammad ibn Alî ibn Ibrâhîm it is reported ' Samâ ' means that which is high or elevated or situated at an elevation. ' Arz ' or earth means that which is low. The things to which the term ' Samâ .' has been applied are mentioned below :—

1. The cloud has been called ' Samâ,' سما or sky as God says in the Korân, فَاَنزَلْنَا مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مَاءً This occurs in *Suratu'l Hajar* and means, "So we caused rain to fall from the sky."

2. The void of space has also been called 'Samâ' as it occurs in *Sûratu'l Hajar*, thus :— *ولقد جعلنا في السماء بروجا*
I am aware that the word 'Burj' is capable of more than one interpretation but, whatever that may mean, the word 'Samâ' surely means the void.

3. Every heavenly orb has also been called a sky. For there is a tradition : "There are Adams in the skies like your Adam, and Noahs like your Noah." (*vide Bihâr*).

4. That all-extending substance which surrounds all the orbs has been called 'Samâ,' and frequently this substance is the thing meant by the word 'samâ,' in religious literature. Learned theologians of Islâm have undoubtedly made a mistake in expounding the nature of this substance. For before their eyes were the books of ancient Greek philosophy, of the truth of which they were convinced, and they considered them to be as good as divine revelations. Hence their desire to remain true to the ancient Greek teachings led them to twist and turn the wording and significance of the traditions from the Prophet and his descendants and because of this performance of theirs the truth remained concealed for ages.

I now pass on to the second point, the nature of the *arsh* and *kursi*. In the Koran and traditions, the 'arsh' and 'kursi' are specifically so named very often. So it naturally behoves us to find out in what sense these two words have been there used. Let us take the word *arsh* first. What does it mean? Does it mean, as in the Ptolemaic system, the 'satin heaven' or 'primum mobile,' or something else? From the wording of the traditions it seems superabundantly clear that the unlettered Arabian Prophet and his descendants were *not* the followers of the ancient philosophers, nor their interpreters or expositors. Rather, they used to speak contemptuously and condemningly of the beliefs and principles of the ancient Greeks. But some Muslim theologians, caring not at all for the consequences, tried their best, by means of interpolations and forced interpretations, to harmonise Islamic teachings with the dicta of the Greek philosophers. We cannot interfere with the sense of the texts of the Korân and authentic traditions. Nor can it be affirmed by a sane man that the Prophet and his descendants were really the expositors of the doctrines of modern astronomy, since they flourished eight or nine

centuries before the first beginnings of modern astronomy with the publication of the famous work of Nicolas Copernik called 'De Revolutionibus Orbium Caelestium.'

The earlier Muslim savants, aware of the Ptolemaic conception of the 'satin-heaven,' or 'primum mobile,' were at once led to identify this heaven with the 'arsh¹ of God, for it was the largest sphere or heaven of all, though this was directly antagonistic to the teaching of Islam on the point, which I shall now proceed to expound, giving full references. The following tradition may be seen recorded in the Bihâr-ul-Anwâr, as well as the Ma'âni-ul-Akhabâr, and seems to me to be a true tradition. It is reported from Mufazzal ibni 'Umar that somebody asked Imâm Jaafar us-Sâdiq. "What things are the 'arsh' and 'kursi'?" The Imâm replied: "From one point of view the 'arsh' stands for all the creation of God, and the 'kursi' is the container of it all. From another point of view, 'arsh' is that knowledge to which the prophets and apostles and embodiments of God's proof have and had access, and 'kursi' is that knowledge which no prophet or apostle, or embodiment of God's proof knows or can ever know."

So 'arsh' is *not* the name of any body or substance encircling all other bodies in the universe of God, nor is the 'kursi' such a substance. Strictly speaking, it is no such thing, but the place or abode of the whole living creation of God.

Sâdiq, a famous Shîa theologian says: "Kursi is the knowledge of God, as Imam Ja'far-us-Sadiq states in his exegesis of the following words of the Koran *وسبحك يا ارحم الراحمين* 'God's knowledge is far more extensive than the heavens and the earth put together.'" (*vide* 'Itiqâdiah of Shaikh Sâdiq). And concerning the 'arsh' the said theologian remarks: "My belief as regards the 'arsh' is this: that the 'arsh' is the name of all the creation of God, and from another point of view, 'arsh' means the knowledge of God, *i.e.* the totality of knowledge possessed by God." (*Itiqâdiah* of Shaikh Sâdiq). From this, it would appear that the words 'arsh' and 'kursi,' have two meanings each, one being the material significance and the other the metaphorical or non-material one. In some places the words have one meaning, and in others the other. In the Korân, in *Suratu'l Baqar*, the words already quoted occur, *viz.* *وسبحك يا ارحم الراحمين*

¹ Arsh' literally means 'dominance' (غلبة).

which strictly speaking simply means "His Kursi (the kursi of God) has enveloped the heavens and the earth." In the book called 'Majm'aū'l Bayân,' it is reported that Imâm Jaafar us-Sâdiq stated that 'kursi' meant the knowledge possessed by God, and which is undoubtedly much greater than the heavens and the earth. And so among the Arabs there is the idiom of calling the learned men or savants 'Karâsi.'

I hope I have made it quite clear that the 'arsh' and 'kursi' are not two material entities something like a platform and the presidential chair upon it, as perhaps is the confused idea present in the minds of many. Islam is the most deadly enemy of anthropomorphism as will appear from an examination of the teachings of the Prophet and his descendants.

The 'arsh' is described as the boundary of the phenomenal universe, and the 'kursi,' as the boundary of the solar system; as the first Imam has remarked, God has created the skies as props for His 'kursi.' This is to be found in the *Biharu'l-Anwar*, from which I have drawn so much of my materials. In the same book is to be found another tradition, which states that the seven heavens are like a hook in the 'kursi' and the 'kursi' is like a loop in the 'arsh'. Now let us try to understand the real significance of these two genuine traditions and picture to ourselves the system of astronomy. First and foremost we have got our own earth, with its aerial and vapour envelopes, and these two latter form one sky or heaven. This vapour envelope is the boundary and limit of the Earth's system. In this way, another orb or planet with its aerial and vapour envelopes is another earthly system, whose vapour envelope forms the boundary or limit of its earthly system. And all these planets or orbs, along with their systems, revolve round our Sun, which is of course the centre of the solar system which is *our* universe. And that which surrounds and pervades the whole solar system is that mysterious fluid—the ether—which is the 'kursi,' for that seems to be the boundary or limit of the solar system. In the same way God must have created many other solar systems, which point I have discussed at some length in my larger work. The expanse and limits of the 'arsh' and 'kursi' can now be well understood, as also how the skies may be called a prop of this 'kursi' and how the seven skies or heavens are like a mere loop in the 'kursi,' just as this 'kursi' is a mere loop in the 'arsh' of God.

Now as to the nature of the sun.

Modern astronomy considers the Sun as a fixed star which forms the centre of the motion of the heavenly orbs. Round about it, the planets are revolving suspended in their elliptical orbits, whereas the Sun itself is fixed and stationary. This was the view of Nicolas Copernik which is still held by all the modern men of science and culture.

Later scientists have however improved upon this view. They hold that the Sun only 'seems' to be stationary and fixed. Really the Sun, along with all its planets, is moving on slowly in an infinite space, and this has been discerned by the astronomers, seeing that almost daily new fixed stars are coming into view, and some of those which were formerly visible have slowly disappeared from our sight.

Dr. Campbell, an American astronomer, asserts that the earth is truly revolving round the Sun, as Copernik had stated, but that the Sun is moving from the south to the north, along with its planets. This motion of the Sun describes a spiral. Dr. Campbell further warns us that we should *not* suppose the Sun to be moving in a closed curve, from which it would follow that the Sun would some time in the near or remote futurity, return to its original place. Rather, the Sun is careering on, in a straight line and will *never* return to the place from whence it first started.

Some astronomers assert that the Sun, along with all its planets, is moving towards the star Vega, at the rate of 13 miles a second. From this, it would appear, that the Sun, in spite of its being the centre of the solar system, possesses two motions, one of a curvilinear nature and the other of a translatory nature. There is of course divergence of opinion on some minor points.

The same thing has been taught in Islâmic astronomy, and the utterances of the founder of Islam and his descendants will be briefly quoted here in support of this view. I shall cite only one passage from the Korân and finish by appending one or two relevant traditions respecting the Sun. The Koranic passage runs as follows:

والشمس تجري لمسقر لها ذاك تقديرا عزيزا لعالم

"And the Sun, runneth to its place of rest : this is the decree of the Mighty, the Wise" (*i.e.* God). The earlier Islamic theologians and exegists interpret this passage as referring to the apparent rising and setting of the Sun, as seen by every man every day. They

especially interpret the word مستقر in two ways, viz. by differently interpreting the significance of the particle “ل” prefixed to this word. One group of interpreters take the ل to mean الى, and the word مستقر would then mean the starting point. Another group take the ل to mean فى. According to this interpretation مستقر would mean the نك “*falak*” or sky or sphere. But both these interpretations are obviously strained. ل no doubt means الى, and الى signifies the end or limit of any thing or action, and مستقر literally indicates a resting point.

And the time of its rest is said to be the Day of Judgment. Some interpreters of the Korán relate from Hazrat ‘Ali, Imâm Zeynul-‘Abidin, Imâm Muhammad Bâqir, and Imâm Jaafar us-Sâdiq, as well as from Ibn Mas‘ûd and ‘Akramah, that for the ل should be substituted ى. In that case the passage would mean: “And the Sun moves on, there is *no* place of rest for it.” This view absolutely coincides with the very latest researches of modern astronomy on the point.

There is an authentic tradition on the point, authentic because unanimously repeated in the following Shî‘a books, viz., *Khisâl*, ‘*Ilal-ush Sharâi*,’ *Bihâr*, *Rauzah-i Kâfi*, *Tafsir Qummi*, *Majm‘au’l Bahreyn*. Salâm ibn i-Mustanir asked of Imâm Jaafar us-Sâdiq. “O Lord, why is the Sun so much hotter than the Moon?” The Imâm replied, “God created the Sun out of the light of fire and pure water. Thus there are seven layers; then God clothed the Sun with a dress of fire, hence it is far hotter than the Moon.”

According to another tradition Imâm Riza is reported to have said that the Sun and the Moon are two ‘*signs*’ (of God), and that the light in them is from the light of the ‘Arsh’ and the fire or heat in them is from the heat or fire of Hell. On the Day of Judgment the light of both of these will go back to the ‘Arsh,’ and then neither the Sun will remain intact nor the Moon. This reminds us of the famous speculation called the Nebular Hypothesis developed by Laplace. According to this hypothesis, all the planets and satellites are ultimately traceable to the Sun, as in their origin they are separated portions of its flame. The above tradition goes one step further than the Nebular Hypothesis and states that the Sun also is a separated flame, which was shot out of some huge gigantic fixed star-land which because of its intense heat, and inconceivably great and stupendous,

conflagration, may be considered as nothing else but Hell itself.

Now as regards the Moon, there is a remarkable divergence of opinion between ancient and modern philosophers. Some ancient philosophers assert that the Moon is level; some that it is spherical; some call it small; some call it large; some consider it pure and elemental; some gross and compounded; some say, it is self-illuminated, some say it is a dark body; some state that it is one, some that it is many. Though the Moon, as compared with all the other heavenly bodies, is very near the Earth, yet very little is known about it, and there is a tremendous amount of divergence in what little is known.

There is a divergence respecting the position of the Moon in Space, and its Sphere or Sky. The ancient philosophers were firmly of opinion that the Moon was set in its Sky like a stone in a ring. And this Sphere of the Moon covers the Spheres of all the four elements. Above it was placed the Sphere of Mercury.

Modern philosophers and scientists are unanimously of opinion that the Moon is hanging in Space and revolving round the Earth, and that it is *not* set in anything else, and in this respect resembles our Earth, which also freely hangs in Space. The Moon and our Earth, are together performing their revolution round the Sun, and therefore moving in one orbit. As the orbit of the Earth and its Sky are situate in the middle of the skies of the stars hence the Moon may also be considered as situate in the middle of the stars.

Islâmic Astronomy supports the conclusions of Modern Astronomy thus: In the Koran (Sûratu Nûh) we have the following words:

الم تر و كيف خلق الله سبع سموات طباقا و جعل القمر فيهن نورا و جعل
الشمس سراجا

‘Do you not see how God created the seven Skies like layers and made the Moon among them a light, and made the Sun a lamp.’

In this passage, it is clearly stated that the Moon is in the middle and all the skies are the container of the Moon. It is not said that the Moon has been given a place in the skies hence, apart from determining what is exactly the meaning of the word *samawat*, سموات, whether, it means the skies, or the sky above us, it is quite clear that according to both these interpretations, the Moon is in the middle.

This interpretation is strongly supported by the sense of the Korānic text above quoted. God says '*ja'alal qamara fihinna nuran.*' He does *not* say '*ja'al ashshamsa fihinna sirâja,*' for He keeps the Moon and Sun separated in His description of them.

It may be mentioned here that the ancient philosophers never thought of the possibility of the existence of any other moon but our own. But modern research has proved that just as there are planets revolving round our Sun, similarly there are smaller planets or satellites revolving round these planets. These satellites receive the light of the Sun, and thereby illumine the surface of the planets round which they revolve, which planets are just as dark and opaque as our Earth. The number of moons round one planet is different from that round another. For example, our Earth has got only one moon, Mars two, Jupiter five (the latest pronouncement of Astronomy is, that Jupiter has got nine moons), Saturn eight, Uranus four, Neptune one (at least only one has been discovered up to now). Some astronomers in the early part of the last century alleged that they saw a Moon round Venus too. The next point of support is a tradition reported from Imâm Muhammad Bâqir in which it is alleged that the said Imâm remarked that besides our Moon there are forty other moons, and between any two of such moons there are forty Universes peopled by numerous creatures and these latter are not even aware of the creation of our Adam (Anwâri-Numâniyah).

This tradition asserts the existence of forty moons whereas modern astronomy and astronomers are aware of only 21 moons in the Solar system including our Moon, or if the latest moons of Jupiter be also added the number would rise to 25 moons. Even then there is a discrepancy of 15 or 19 between this number and 40 as taught by the Imâm. Then again there is one more point waiting for investigation, the existence of forty Universes between any two of these forty moons. What can these Universes be? The word for Universe in the tradition describing the existence of forty moons besides our own and of forty Universes, between any two of them, is found sometimes changed to denote years. (The Arabic word for Universe is "*'Alam,*" آلَم, and this word is found in some books of tradition occurring as "*'Am,*" عَم, which means a year). So according to this reading the tradition would

mean, "besides our moon there are forty other moons and between two of such moons there are forty years of distance peopled by numerous creatures, etc."

I next come to the remaining point, *viz.*, the numerous population of these forty moons¹. On this point there are several concurrent traditions. For example, the Imâm Ja'afar us-Sâdiq is reported to have said: "Besides your (*i.e.* our Moon), there are forty more moons, containing numerous populations. They do not know of your (*i.e.* our) Adam at all. (*Bihar*) From this tradition, the populatedness of the moons is quite evident. It is further clear that these creatures who are residents of these moons possess intellectual powers too, or else why this assertion that they are not aware that Adam came on this earth at all, just as we do not know anything about the first progenitors of the residents of the various moons.

Among the later astronomers, Hooke, Herschel, Arago, etc. held the opinion that our Moon was inhabited by beings possessed of souls. But some savants have held, and hold, the opinion that the orb of the moon is a desolate waste, and possesses neither an atmosphere nor water, neither vapour nor the power of growth.

One European astronomer remarks that the light of the moon brings with it to the Earth a slight amount of heat also. Islâm also speaks of the Moon as a warm body and thereby flatly contradicts the statements of the ancient astronomers.

In a tradition reported from Imâm Razâ the eighth Imâm, we find it stated that the Sun and Moon are two Divine signs, and that the light in both of them comes from the light of the '*Arsh*,' and their heat from the fire of Hell. Now the later European astronomers are convinced of firey layers in the Moon itself. Just as our Earth is composed of a hot interior or layer, as becomes evident to us when its crust cracks owing to the pressure of the hot expanding gases, as well as from the volumes of fire that gush out from active volcanoes. Similar has been the history of the Moon. The Moon also possessed active volcanoes, and Dr. Hooke gives a very graphic description of the fierce eruption of the Moon

(1) This tradition nowhere says, nor does the Holy Quran nor any known Hadith even suggest that the moon is populous. This tradition says that the Universes or worlds which lie between the moons are populous.—Ed. I.C.

volcanoes and also of the twilight of the Moon at morn and eve.

In Islâmic traditions we find it stated that the orb of the Moon is not an element, but composed of gases, water, fire, etc., *i.e.*, it is composed of earthly elements and the modern spectroscope entirely confirms this statement of Islam, which is centuries old ! More than eighteen earthly metals have been thus discovered on the Moon, and we cannot entertain the least doubt of their existence on the Moon. Besides, with strong telescopes, one may see lakes, fields, craters, etc., on the Moon just as one finds them on the Earth.

As regards the Moon and its light the ancient astronomers also held the opinion that it was not a self-luminous body ; on the contrary they held that the Moon acquired its lustre from the light of the Sun. Modern astronomers speaking more generally remark that all the revolving Moons are quite as opaque as the Earth, and they do not contain light like the Sun, but acquired all their illuminative power from it. Every fixed Star is self-luminous and each from its own place transmits both heat and light to the planets revolving round it. For example, the whole Solar system is lighted by the Sun, and each planet with its Moon or Moons, if any, acquires its light from it. As the heavenly bodies are not transparent but opaque, the solar rays cannot traverse them but get reflected from them and fall on the Earth as moonlight or starlight. Moonlight is 540,000 times less brilliant than sunlight, for the whole of the light that falls on the Moon does not get reflected on to us ; some of it gets absorbed by the body of the Moon and is lost ; the rest that does get reflected from it, radiates from it in all directions and hence we receive from the Moon a light which is one-five-hundred-and-forty-thousandth time weaker than that of the Sun. The fact that moonlight does not apparently give us any heat is no refutation of the established fact that the Moon does acquire its light from the Sun. This point has been more fully discussed in a larger work which I have now in course of preparation.

The Koran says جعل الشمس ضياءً والقمر نورا, 'Jaalash—shamsa ziaan, wal qamara nuran, which occurs in *Surah-i-yunus*, and means, "He (God) made the Sun resplendent and the Moon a light." This passage clearly shows the difference between the lights of the Sun and the Moon. But it is not clear from this passage whether

the light of the Moon is an acquired one or by itself. Rather, it appears as if the light of the Moon proceeded from itself, which seems against received opinion, but when well-weighed and judged, is quite in accord with the latest researches of science on this point.

It will be remembered that Herschel held the opinion that all the opaque heavenly bodies, and the Moon among them, possessed a faint amount of luminosity. This view is strengthened by the observation of many astronomers, to the effect that they saw the Moon very often in the morning, during the period when it remains hidden from sight and also that during a full eclipse of the Moon, they saw the disc of the Moon, of a red colour. Both these observations go to prove the fact that the Moon possesses a faint amount of luminosity, in itself. But of course all the splendour and glory of the Moon in its brilliance every night are derived from its borrowed light from the Sun. In any case it would not be quite wrong to allege a separate luminosity for the Moon, independently of what it gets from the Sun.

Again the Koran says *وجعل القمر فينا نوراً* "Wa jaalal-qamara fihinna nuran," which occurs in *Surah-i-Nuh*, and means, "And He made the Moon, a light in them" (the heavens). Ibni 'Abbâs in his exegesis of this passage of the Koran remarks that God has created the Moon in the heavens for the reason that the heavens are the means of the transmission of light to the people on Earth, but there is no effect of the light of the Moon on the heavens themselves. (*Bihar*). Undoubtedly, there are moons in every heaven, and they have been created with the purpose of illumining the orbs of planets round which they revolve hence these moons do not light up the heavens. The heavens however are a cause of light for an orb, because the light from every star or Sun, passes through them, which are the same thing as the ether of physical science.

I conclude by appending here only one tradition according to which Imâm Razâ (the eighth Imâm), asked the astrologer Hasan ibni Sahl, the following question: 'How much dost thou know of the science of astrology?' Hasan, the astrologer, replied, "There is nothing which I do not know." The Imâm thereupon staggered the astrologer by asking how much was the light of the Sun greater than that of the Moon and how much was the light of Jupiter greater than that of the

Moon and than that of Venus. The astrologer was compelled to confess that he did not know. Thereupon the Imàm retorted by remarking that the astrologer knew nothing of astrology. The fact is no astronomer or philosopher prior to Hasan ibn Sahl had made any estimate of the inherent and acquired luminosity of the sun and planets, hence Hasan was ignorant of the whole topic. And this questioning of the Imàm is intelligible only to one who is acquainted with the researches of the latest European astronomers who have described among other things the apparent size and luminosity of our sun, as seen from the various planets in full detail and with great accuracy.

Ptolemy was decidedly of the opinion that there were seven planets only, namely, the Sun, the Moon, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.

Democritus and Archimedes held the opinion that the planets were innumerable.

Copernicus, the father of modern astronomy, inclined to the view that there were only six planets and the Sun and the Moon were not among them.

Herschel, after discovering Uranus, maintained that there were seven planets only.

Some astronomers held the view for some time, that there were eleven planets, and they included Pallas, Juno, Vesta, Ceres, revolving between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, among them.

Now more than 270 orbs or planetoids have been discovered, the largest of which has a diameter of about 200 miles. Really all these orbs are not properly speaking planets for they seem to be pieces of some large planet which must have exploded or burst in ages gone by.

M. Leverrier, who discovered Neptune, alleged he saw a planet revolving between the Sun and Mercury which he called Vulcan. According to him, there would be nine planets in all, *viz.*, Vulcan, Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune.

Science holds the view that by the collision of Suns and planets that kind of matter is produced which is called cosmic dust. On one side new planets get created, and on the other old planets burst and explode and this is the whole story of creation ending in destruction.

If we turn now to Islamic traditions, we shall find that Islàm openly contradicted the ancient theories regarding the planets, among which the Sun and Moon were included,

and this centuries ago, when no doctrine of modern astronomy was known to any one at all.

'Ali, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet, asked the astrologer Sarsafil, by way of examining him, the following question: "Tell me what is the relation of Venus to the satellites and fixed stars." Sarsafil could not return an answer, for he knew only Greek astronomy, whereas the Imâm asked the question about the real constitution of the Universe.

The Arabic word for satellites in the above tradition is Tawâbi 'توابع' which literally translated means 'followers,' and truly a satellite is a follower of the planet round which it revolves. Similarly the Arabic word for fixed stars, is Jawâmi 'جوامع' which literally means "gatherers" and truly a Sun or fixed star keeps all the planets revolving round it gathered together. How accurate was the terminology of the Imâm 1,300 years ago! There is another tradition reported in the *Bihar* and *Ma'aniul-Akhbar*, according to which the sixth Imam Ja'afar us-Sadiq was asked the meaning of the expression Ufuq-ul-Mubîn 'افق المبين', in answer to which he replied: "It is an orb in front of the Arsh (عرش) in which there are rivers running." Now, I have shown before how the 'Arsh' means also the outermost limits of the Solar System. Hence this expression should mean the orb of Neptune which happens to be on the boundary line of our Solar System, and Ufuq ul-Mubîn would therefore signify that the orbit of Neptune is the largest orbit containing within it all the orbits of all the other planets. Neptune, being at the extremity of the Solar System, certainly faces the limit of the solar system during its slow revolution in space.

There is one more tradition from the same Imâm worth transcribing here (*vide* Bihâr, Kâfi, Wâfi). The said Imâm, by way of test, asked a Syrian astrologer. How much is the light of Sukainah less than that of Venus? The astrologer felt dumbfounded and replied: I swear by God I never heard until to-day even the name of this planet. Thereupon the Imâm retorted, "Holy is the Great God, you have decreased the number of the planets by one. Then how do you hope to be accurate in your calculations?" This tradition most unambiguously indicates the existence of a planet which was absolutely unknown then, but which has been discovered in modern times and named Uranus. The Imâm could not have talked of any fixed star when he mentioned the name Sukainah for the following reasons:

1. Because the comparison of the light of Venus, a planet, with that of a fixed star, would be highly improper, for the Imâm was not an ignoramus, but an exceedingly wise and well-informed man and could not have been guilty of such a breach of propriety in his speech as to compare the light of a planet with that of a fixed star.

2. Secondly, astrology calculates the effects of planets mainly, their exaltation and deterioration, their benignant or malign conjunctions, oppositions and other aspects, such as quadrature, etc. The Imâm places Sukainah also among such orbs for he deprecates the inability of the astrologer to calculate its effects when he did not even know of its existence. This also clearly indicates that Sukainah was a planet.

3. Thirdly, because the Imâm clearly laments that the astrologer left out of account one planet, to which full notice should have been paid. Otherwise, if Sukainah were a fixed star, then there are thousands of other fixed stars, and astrology does not certainly take so much into account the influence of fixed stars.

The following considerations would make our belief all the stronger in the fact that the Imâm meant a planet, and most probably the planet Uranus: first of all, because the Imâm called it Sukainah, which is derived from the Arabic word 'sukûn' سُكُون meaning rest, and how appropriate a name it is for Uranus, would appear from the slow and restful way in which it completes its revolution round the Sun.

Secondly the Imâm spoke in the same breath of two such different planets as Venus and Uranus, the former a very bright and rapidly careering body, and the latter a very faint, slow moving orb. We now credit Herschel and Leverrier with the discovery of the planets Uranus and Neptune, not to mention Vulcan on whose existence astronomers are not agreed. In all equity, these three planets should have had Islamic names.

The ancient philosophers held the opinion that there was no earth besides our Earth, and that all the elements peculiarly belonged to our Earth alone. Mountains, trees, streams, and animals, were the characteristics of our Earth alone. But the present day philosophers are unanimously agreed that all the planets round our Sun are earths, on all of which, day and night, mountains, trees, certainly exist, and in all probability animals too. So when these planets so strongly resemble our Earth,

why should not they be also called earths. The modern philosophers, including astronomers, have not of course openly and undeniably asserted the existence of animals on these planets, but when they clearly assert the existence of mountains, deserts, clouds and moisture on them, one is forcibly led to conclude the existence of animals too on them all.

In the Holy Koran, in *Surah-i-Yusuf*, there occur the following words *اننى رايت احدى عشر كوكبا والشمس والقمر رايتهم لى ساجدين* "Verily I saw eleven planets, and the Sun and Moon, I saw them, they prostrated themselves in worship, before me." Some Jew asked our Holy Prophet Muhammad, (ﷺ) the names of these eleven planets, to which our Prophet at once replied and gave him all the eleven names. In my larger work on the subject, I have given all the Arabic names, and tried to identify the planets indicated by each. What a supreme source of learning and the grandest fount of knowledge our Prophet was, to have unhesitatingly and easily named every one of the eleven planets of which God makes mention in the Koran !

Ancient astronomers held the opinion that comets were not like stars and planets but were caused by smoke and vapour. Aristotle and Ptolemy, were of opinion that the greasy smoke of this earth of ours rises up to a very great height and gets lighted on reaching the fiery region close to the sky of the Moon, and this burning of the greasy smoke appears like a comet in the sky. If the greasy smoke happens to be composed of fine material particles, then its getting burned does not become visible to us at all. But if this smoke be, as it sometimes is, of a gross kind of material particles, then it remains visible to us for as long as it goes on burning. And while thus burning, this smoke assumes various shapes, sometimes conical, sometimes elliptical, sometimes perpendicular, and often with a long tail, or two tails, or like a broom. Modern philosophers have entirely disagreed with this view.

Among all the ancient philosophers only Seneca was of a contrary opinion and maintained that comets were also heavenly bodies like planets or stars.

Tycho Brahe was the first among modern astronomers, who proclaimed that comets were also like planetary bodies, in so far as they revolved in orbits, but their orbits were outside the orbit of the Moon.

Kepler, a pupil of Tycho Brahe, asserted that comets resembled fish, because they swam in infinite space and because they became visible when they came near the orbit of the Earth, or when they were of stupendous size.

Various are the views held by modern astronomers regarding the nature of comets and how they came into being. One view is that comets are naught but the separated and cooled flames of the Sun. Another view maintains that when planets or planetoids collide, the vapour that results gets very widely scattered and on cooling becomes comets. A third view is that comets are independent heavenly bodies careering in the vast and infinite plenum of space. There is however one more view, which I should like to mention here and the fanciful nature of which view is apparent on the very surface of it. It states that comets are the moons of planets beyond the orbit of Neptune, but in my opinion this view must be classed as absurd. Finally I want to close this survey of views by quoting the sanest opinion of scientists which regards comets as both influencing and being influenced by planets, the larger comets appreciably influencing the courses of the planets when passing near them, and the smaller ones being as clearly influenced by their courses and orbits, when passing near them, and sometimes getting attached to some planet as a luminary.

Now to turn to the Koran. God says in *Surah-i Tariq* thus : *والسما والطارق وما ادراك ما طارق* "wa's-samâ-i wa't-Târiq, wamâ adrâka mâ't-Târiq," which means "By the sky and by the Târiq, and thou dost not know what the Târiq is." Târiq is a star or luminary that breaks. What kind of heavenly body is this, which is named Târiq, signifying that it breaks, and which is known to none? Now the natural question that arises is what does Târiq break? and what can this Târiq be? The older exegetists were of opinion that Târiq was Saturn, which opinion was clearly wrong, for Saturn was known to many, if not to all, and perhaps all about Saturn too. Hence evidently God is referring to a comet of which the orbit is and was generally unknown, especially when it happens or happened to be parabolic, for then, it makes an irregular rotation. Then let us take the root of the word Târiq. It is a nominative agent from Târîq or *طريق* which means a way or path. Hence Târiq would mean, a Path-maker, and truly a comet is always a path-maker, for it comes to us breaking through the

orbit of Neptune, and sometimes fears are entertained of its colliding with the Earth, and then it goes away from us, breaking through the orbits of all the planets which it crosses in its journey into infinite space, and sometimes never to return to our sight again. Hence Târiq is pre-eminently a comet, for *it* alone of all heavenly bodies crosses the path of every planet till it comes near the Earth, and then recrossing their orbits, goes off again into the depths of space.

I may quote here one tradition from Hazrat 'Ali, as given in the '*Ilal-ush-sharai*', Bihâr, Tafsîr ul-Burhan, Anwâr Numanîah, etc. It is this: Hazrat 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, was asked to explain what Târiq meant. In reply he said, Târiq was a heavenly body of a beautiful colour, but unknown to the people at large. It is called a Târiq because its light (along with its source) travels, breaking through the orbits of planets, and then it goes back again, breaking through the orbits of planets, to the place from whence it had first started. This explanation of Hazrat 'Ali also superabundantly signifies that Târiq must be a comet.

I shall now quote one more passage from the Koran, briefly discuss it, and finish the present topic. God says in the Koran (*Surah-i-Takwîr*) نالا قسم بالخذس الجوار *fala uqsimu bil-khunnasil jawâril kunasi,* that is 'I swear by khunnas full of kunnas.' Now what are 'khunnas' and 'kunnas?' 'Khunnas' is the plural of 'khânis' خانس, which means fluffing or disappearing from view. 'Kunnas' is similarly the plural of 'Kânis,' which means the abode of wild animals. Such being the data, widely different opinions have been held by different interpreters as to the meaning of these two important words in this passage. Some interpret the words literally and some apply them metaphorically to the seven planets, for those interpreters did not possess sufficient knowledge to apply the words to comets, for these alone, of all heavenly bodies most deserve to be termed 'khunnas' and 'kunnas.' Firstly, because they are made of extremely light matter, like fluffed or carded cotton and ultimately get cooled after the lapse of time, and a crust covers the surface of their matter; further, as regards their disappearing from sight, it is well-known, that very often comets, after becoming visible once, disappear into the void of space for ever, for they happen to be pursuing parabolic paths! And secondly, they have been called 'kunnas' because wild animals

have no fixed place of rest. And the same is the case with comets. They also have no place of rest. They flit about in the depths of space, and sometimes, while thus wandering, they get captured by some solar system and become a regular revolving body of that solar system. Wonderful are the ways of comets, and inconceivably more wonderful are the ways of God !

There is a wonderful disagreement of views in Islamic books of traditions as to the number of fixed stars and universes. Traditions there are in plenty, but the number mentioned in any one is almost always different from that mentioned in some other traditions. For example, the number of the universes as mentioned in Shīah traditions is in one case fourteen and in another tradition forty, in yet another seventy, three hundred and ten, a thousand, four thousand, forty, seventy, eighty, even a hundred thousand. As if not tired of increasing the number of Universes, there are traditions to be found in which this number is mentioned as six hundred thousand, and ten million and finally as *infinite* ! To what are such startling differences in traditions due ? In some traditions possibly the number stands for the position of the various worlds, in others various kinds of universes are described, in others the total number of universes is given, and naturally in many places a large number is given to indicate an unknown large number. The reporter of the tradition could not comprehend or limit the number of the universes.

The ancient philosophers and speculators, believed only in this universe of ours and no other, but Islamic astronomy talks of many universes as mentioned above. I shall now append a few traditions and finish with a text or two from the Korân. (1) There is a tradition reported in the *Muntakhab-ul-Basair*, *Khisal*, *Bihar*, and *Anwari Numaniah*, etc. according to which Imâm Ja'âfar us-Sâdiq is alleged to have remarked "God has created twelve thousand universes (or worlds) every one of which is far larger than the seven skies and seven Earths. The inhabitants of each universe, are quite unaware of the existence of the inhabitants of the other universes." Being unaware clearly indicates the possession of consciousness.

(2) I shall next quote another tradition according to which an astrologer once went to Imâm Zeynul 'Abidin, when the Imâm told him : "I shall introduce

thee to a person whose journey, during the interval taken by thee in coming to me, has extended to fourteen universes, of which each universe is three times as large as our world and all this has happened in spite of the fact that the person has not moved from his place." The astrologer thereupon asked. "Who is this personage?" The Imâm replied: "It is I. If thou wishest I can tell thee what thou atest to-day at home, and what lies in thy house." (This tradition is to be found in *Bihar*, *Basair ud-Darajat*, *Ikhtisas*, etc.) In this tradition those universes are referred to, every one of which is larger than our world, that is, our Solar System, and a knowledge of which far transcends our powers of comprehension and intellect.

(3) Now, I shall but refer to the tradition in the book of Abu Leyth us-Samarqandi and in *Bihar*, according to which the Prophet is alleged to have observed that God has created eighteen thousand worlds (or universes) of which this world of ours is but one.

(4) Again Imâm Mohammad Bâqir once remarked to Jâbir; "Perhaps thou thinkest that God has created only this world and no more, and that no other kind of creature has been created by God. I swear by God, that God has created a hundred thousand worlds and a hundred thousand different Adams. Thou art the last of all." This tradition occurs in the *Bihar* and is given here for what it is worth. As regards the number one hundred thousand, I should like to suggest that this was not mentioned as an exact enumeration, but to convey to the listener an idea of the countless number of worlds and universes created by God. Again in the expression, "Thou art the last of all" what does the word "last" really signify? Does it signify "last" as regards *time* that is, the evolutionary process, or "last as regards *physical fitness* of the race of human beings, in which we may catch an echo of Darwin's doctrine of 'the Survival of the Fittest' something like thirteen hundred years ago. Or "last" as regards *the fitness of the environment* for the person living surrounded by it?"

(5) From Hazrat 'Ali is reported the following tradition in *Tafsiri Qummi*, *Bihar*, *Majma'ul Bahreyn*: "The stars (or planets) that you see in the sky, all of them, contain cities like the cities of our Earth, and each city is tied to a perpendicular of light, and the length of the perpendicular is a distance of two hundred and fifty

years' journey in the sky." From this tradition also it is amply evident that all the stars or planets that become visible to us at night are well-populated and the perpendicular of light quite as clearly means, the rays of light proceeding from the Sun to each planet, and perhaps also the rays of gravitational force which connect and bind all planets to the Sun.

I shall now finish my survey after apologising to the reader for detaining him so long, by quoting the following two passages from the Korân, and briefly commenting on them. In one place, in *Surah-i-Furqan*, God says,—
 تَبَارَكَ الَّذِي جَعَلَ فِي السَّمَاءِ بُرُوجًا
 "Auspicious is he who created the constellations in the sky." Now the word "buruj" بُرُوج is the plural of the word "burj" بُرْج, or constellation, and this word 'burj' or constellation was used to mean a sign of the zodiac, certainly after our Prophet, and therefore this word literally means and meant a house or some exalted mansion. But Greek philosophy, including astronomy, so subverted the minds and penetration of the people of the early Islamic age that, as remarked in the very beginning of this article, meanings entirely at variance with the context of the words of a tradition were forcibly read into certain words to make the tradition agree with the received Greek opinion on any particular point.

Lastly I quote a passage from *Suratu'l-Shura* :
 وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ خَلْقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَابْنِ فِيهِمَا دَابَّةً
 "wa min âyâtihî khalqus samâwâtî wal arzi wa ma bassa fihima min dâbbatin." which means, "And among the signs of God, is the creation of the skies and the Earth and of that creature which is a 'dabbah' in them both." Now I have already shown that 'samâ,' سَمَا is the Arabic word for any elevation or height. Taken in this light this passage to my mind (and I follow some eminent and enlightened Shiah theologians on this point), clearly shows that 'dabbah' or creatures of the Earth, were talked of in connection with all the orbs careering in space round about us, and the surface of the orbs was called by the generic name of Earth, as long ago as when the Holy Koran was first revealed.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

IV. CHRISTIANS AND JEWS.

WHAT distinguished the Muslim Empire from Christian mediæval Europe is the fact that within the borders of the former, unlike the latter, lived a large number of peoples of other faiths than Islam. These were the professors of 'protected religions' who, from the outset, hindered and thwarted the political unity of the Islamic Empire. Relying upon agreements and rights resulting therefrom, churches and synagogues always remained as something foreign to the State and never could form part of it. The Jews and Christians took good care to see that the 'House of Islam' continued in an unfinished state. The result was that the faithful always felt themselves as conquerors and not as citizens. The feudal idea never, indeed, perished—in fact it set up principles surprisingly modern. The necessity, however, to live side by side created an atmosphere of toleration, absolutely unknown to Mediæval Europe. This toleration found expression in Islam in the creation of the science of Comparative Religion and its enthusiastic cultivation. Apart from conversions to Islam these different groups subsisted, sharply divided one from another. As in the Byzantine Empire punishment for conversion to Islam was death, so also in the Empire of the Caliph conversion of a Muslim to Christianity meant capital punishment for him*¹.

(*) *Kit. al-Uyun*, fol. 209a.

(1) Attempts at reconversion must, of course, precede this punishment. From early Fatimide times the following is reported: It was reported to the Qadhi that an eighty year old Christian had accepted Islam, but was reconverted to his faith. He was asked to return to the faith of Islam, but he declined to do so. The Qadhi brought the matter to the notice of the Caliph, who made over the man to the Chief of the Police. This officer sent the man to the Qadhi, with instruction to summon four assessors to reconvert him. If he repented—so ran the order—he was to get 100 dinars but if he persisted in his refusal he

Mixed marriages were out of the question; for a Christian woman, according to her laws, could not marry a non-Christian and a Christian man, according to the laws of the Church, could only marry a non-Christian woman if she and her children became Christians. In the case of a Muslim woman this was an absolute impossibility. The laws of the Empire further guaranteed that protected religions did not in any way collide with each other—no Jew could become a Christian and *vice versa*. Only conversion to Islam was allowed (Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbucher*, 11,75,170). No Christian could inherit from a Jew and *vice versa*. No Christian or Jew could inherit from a Muslim, and no Muslim from a Christian or a Jew either¹.

In the year 311/923 the Caliph issued an edict to the effect that goods of an heirless protected-subject should

was to be killed. He was duly asked to accept Islam but he refused and was, accordingly, killed and his body was thrown into the Nile (Supplement to Kindi, Ed. Guest, p. 593). In Seruj (Mesopotamia) in the 3/9th century an all-too zealous Muslim, who wanted to reconvert the apostates who had gone back to the fold of the Church, by all kinds of ill-treatment, was beaten and imprisoned under orders of the Qadhi (Mich. Syrun, p. 535). Says Abul 'Ala (8449/1057. *Luzumiyyat*. Bombay Ed. 250): "The Christian accepts Islam not out of conviction but from greed. He seeks power or fears the judge or else wishes to marry." Even high ecclesiastics accept Islam. Upon them the angry Church Chroniclers cast terrible aspersions. About the end of the 2/8th century the Nestorian Metropolitan of Merv, who was publicly convicted of pederasty, accepted Islam and traduced the Christians at Court (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.* III., 171 et sqq.).

About 360/970 the Bishop of Azerbaijan accepted Islam after being caught in the very act of fornication with a Muslim woman (Ibid, 247). In the year 407—1016 a metropolitan of Tikrit, who was threatened by his deacons with removal from office for fornication, accepted Islam, and adopted the name of Abu Muslim, and took many wives. The Christian chroniclers report with satisfaction that, at the court of the Caliph, he was no longer respected as before when he was the representative of his congregation. In the end he became a beggar (Elias Nisibenus, 226; Barhebr. *Chron. Eccles.* III., 287 et sqq.). Even in Spain, in the 3/9th century, a high church authority—Bishop Samuel of Elvira, who was deposed for evil living—became a Muslim (Graf Baudissin *Eulogius und Alvar*, 1872, p. 162). In the 3/9th century Abul 'Aina, expressed himself in a humorous way when he was made to wait in the ante-chamber of the Wazir, a convert to Islam, because he was at prayer: 'every thing new has its special charm.'

* Any attempt by a Muslim forcibly or by unfair pressure to convert a Christian subject who payed the tribute was also punishable with death. The law existed in the Turkish Empire in our day. 'Ed. I. C'

(1) In the Letters patent to a Qadhi this point is specially emphasised. Paris. Arab MSS. 5907 fol. 126.

devolve upon the members of his community ; while those of a Muslim should go to the treasury¹.

In the second half of the fourth century an edict, in favour of the Sabians, emphasizes that Muslim authorities should not interfere with the laws of inheritance of the Sabians, remembering the words of the Prophet: 'One does not inherit between different religions².'

Along with the Jews and Christians the Zarathustrians too were recognised in the 4/10th century as protected subjects³. Like the former they too had a chief who represented them at court and with the Government.

And yet there was a difference between the three.

Through all the dangers and difficulties, attendant upon the growth of the loose confederation that arose out of the Empire, the Jews had managed to maintain their political status unimpaired. The Zarathustrians were but a remnant of a people, never fully conquered in their inaccessible homes. The condition of the Christians, living in the once Sassanid Empire, where they had already acquired the status of protected subjects, was less favourable than either that of the Jews⁴ or even of the Christians who had been inhabitants of the provinces forming part of the quondam Byzantine Empire. "Thus the chiefs of the Zarathustrians and Jews enjoyed hereditary dignity and were called kings. They paid their taxes to their respective chiefs. Such never was the case with the Christians⁵." The chiefs of the Magians and Jews are temporal sovereigns, says the Jacobite patriarch at an audience with the Caliph, but he, on the contrary, is a spiritual chief and can only inflict ecclesiastical punishments, such as removal of bishops and priests from their ranks and excommunication of laymen from the Church⁶. By the transfer of the centre of government to the East the Nestorian catholicos, chief of the Eastern Christians, became the head of the Christians in the Muslim Empire. He was chosen by his Church, but his appointment was confirmed by the Caliph and, like other high officials, he received his letter of appointment

(1) Wuz. 248.

(2) *Rasa'il* of Sabi, Leyden, fol. 211a.

(3) See the note at the end of this Chapter.

(4) Nöldeke, Tabari *Übersetzung*, 68, note. (5) Michael Syrus, 519. "At Mosul the people pay a gold piece annually. Of the amount realised from the Jews half went to their chief and half to the government" (R. Petachja, 275). (6) Dinoys of Tellmachre, 148. Barhebraeus, 1872.

from him. One such letter, dated 533/1139 runs thus¹: "A lawful assembly of the Christians has selected you to shepherd their affairs; to administer their trust properties; to adjust differences between the strong and the weak among them. According to an old, well-established practice they have submitted their nomination and, as Imam, I give permission to you to act as the Catholicos of the Nestorians in the 'Town of Peace' and in the rest of the Muslim countries, and also to be an 'authority' over the Greeks and the Jacobites and the Melkites throughout the empire, with full power to wear the robe of the Catholicos in your divine service and in other religious gatherings. I further direct that no metropolitan, bishop or deacon is to share with you the honour of wearing robes or carrying the insignia of office². Should any one act contrary to your decision he will be forthwith punished. The Caliph commands that you should be treated as your predecessors have been treated in the past. He further commands that you and your community be protected in life and property; that everything is to be kept in good condition and that your burial ceremony is to continue as before. The capitation-tax is to be levied only once a year, and then only upon those of sound mind and sufficient means, and women and children are to be excluded from the operation of this rule. Finally, the existing laws are in no way to be tampered or interfered with. You shall mediate between the Christian sects in their disputes and help the weak in his rights against the strong."

The patriarch of the Jacobites also had to get a letter of appointment from the reigning Caliph and, on that account, had to go to Court on the occasion of every fresh accession³. But about 302/912 he was forbidden by the Caliph to take up his residence at Baghdad⁴.

Christians who were Nubian subjects had a privileged position in the Empire. They paid taxes to their own king, who kept special tax-collectors in Muslim territory. When one of them became a Muslim, the son of the Nubian king, who happened to be at Baghdad on a visit, had him forthwith put in chains⁵.

(1) From the *Tazkirah* of Ibn Hamdun (Amedroz, J. R. A. S., 1908, 487 et. sqq.).

(2) The insignia of the Catholicos were a crozier and a high cap burtullah, Jahiz, *Bayan*, II 76; Baihaqi, ed. Schwally, 566.

(3) Michael Syrus 519. (4) Barhebraeus, I, 275. Observation I.

(5) Mich. Syrus, 592; Barheb. I. 384.

Of the head of the Jewish community the Muslims have very little to say. According to Jewish report he passed through hard times in the 4/10th century¹. In the sixth century Benjamin of Tudela and Petachja of Regensburg speak of the head of the Jewish community. The division of Islam into the Caliphate of Baghdad and that of Cairo had apparently also affected the organization of the Jewish community. Thus we hear of the *Roshgalutha* at Baghdad, (to whom the title of *Sayyadana* (our Lord) was given by the Muslims,) whose commands were obeyed only East of the Euphrates² and of the *Sar hassarim* (Prince of Princes) in Cairo who appointed rabbis in Syria and Egypt—the dominion of the Fatimides³.

This isolated position of the Cairene *Nagids* was artificially created by the Fatimide opposition to all things Baghdadian. We have a letter of an Egyptian head of the Community (dating from the XIIth century, directly after the fall of the Fatimides) to whom an objectionable leader of prayer had been given from Baghdad⁴. The number of Jews in the Muslim Empire (excluding the West) is stated by Benjamin (who travelled in A.D. 1165) to be somewhere near 300,000. Twenty years later Rabbi Petachja assesses their number in Babylon alone at 600,000⁵. To the Syria of the 4/10th century these figures are not applicable, for the political measures of the Crusaders had practically destroyed the Jewish community within their jurisdiction⁶. Benjamin fixes the inhabitants of the Ghetto of Jerusalem at four⁷. Petachja did not find even one. According to the report of Bailo Morsillius Georgius, dated October 1243, there were only nine adult Jews in that third of Tyre which belonged to the Venetians⁸.

According to Benjamin, on the other hand, there were 3,000 Jews under Muslim rule in Damascus—according to Petachja 10,000 and 5,000 in Aleppo. But they were very plentiful on the Euphrates and the Tigris, just as they were very plentiful at that time on the Rhine and

(1) H. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden* v, pp. 27 6 et. sqq. As to the Muslim account, Goldziher *Rev. Etud. Juives* viii, 121 ff. According to the popular belief the Jewish chief is to have such long arms that he may touch the knee with his finger tips. *Mafatih al-Ulum*, ed. Van Vloten, p. 35. (2) Benjamin, 61, according to P. also at Damascus and Acco. (3) Benjamin, 98. (4) *Mitteil Samml. Erz.* Rainer V. 130. (5) p. 289. (6) On the Jews in the Middle Ages, See Depping, *Die Juden im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart, 1834 Tr. (7) Only one MS. has the figure 200. (8) Tafel und Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, Vienna, 1856, II, 359.

Mosel. On the Tigris they were particularly so. From Nineveh down the Tigris there were Jewish communities in all the towns and villages¹: in Jazirat ibn Omar 4,000; Mosul 7,000 (according to P. 6,000); in Harbah, the most Northern town of Babylonia, 15,000; in Ukbara and Wasit, 10,000 each town. But it is somewhat surprising that at Baghdad itself there were only 1,000 Jews². The Jewish towns on the Euphrates were Hillah with 10,000; Kufa with 7,000; Basra with 2,000 Jews. In the beginning of the 4/10th century Sura and Nahr Malik were almost entirely Jewish³. Towards the East the Jewish community were more and more numerous: Hamadan 30,000; Ispahan 15,000; Shiraz 10,000; Ghazni 80,000; Samarqand 30,000⁴. Makaddasi confirms these figures of the 4/10th century. In Khorasan, he says, there are many Jews and few Christians⁵; in Media more Jews than Christians⁶. There were, however, only two towns of the Empire in the East which were called 'Yahudiyyah,' towns of the Jews; one was situated near Ispahan and the other east of Merv. In Khuzistan Muqaddasi found few Christians, and not many more Jews or Zarathustrians⁷. In Fars the Magians were more numerous than the Jews; the Christians even fewer than the Jews⁸.

In Arabia itself there were more Jews than Christians. In Qurh—the second great town of Hijaz—the majority of the population was Jewish⁹. For Egypt Benjamin's figures are much lower¹⁰: Cairo 7,000; Alexandria 3,000; the Deltaic towns about 3,000; and 600 in all in the commercial centres of Upper Egypt.

The numerical strength of the Christians can be only very imperfectly fixed. The assessment of taxes in Babylonia under Omar I shows some 500,000 souls, liable to

(1) Petachja, 279. (2) p. 19; P. t. 580. Today there are over 40,000 Jews there with 21 synagogues. Oermeyer, *Monumens Judaïques*, p. 58. Vienna 1907. The latest edition of B reads 40,000. This neither agrees with P nor fits in with the amount of the capitation-tax. (3) Ibn al-Kifti, 194. (4) The numbers are merely conjectural as P did not visit the East. One little Arab town of Khaibar is said to have counted 50,000 Jews. (5) p. 328. (6) p. 394. (7) p. 414. (8) p. 439. A writer of the XIVth century tells us that the little Persian town of Abarquh was noted for the fact that there the Jews were not allowed to stay more than forty days. After that period if they continued to live there they forfeited their life. Hamadallah Mustawfi. G. Le Strange, 1903, p. 65. (9) Maq. p. 184.

(10) This agrees with Maq (p. 202) "few Jews." In antiquity they are said to have constituted more than an eighth of the population. (Caro, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1, 27.)

capitation-tax. This suggests about a million and a half of protected subjects inclusive of Jews¹. According to the Egyptian census of the 2/8th century there were five million Copts paying capitation-tax. This indicates the existence of some 15 million Coptic Christians². At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century Baghdad yielded 130,000 dirhams and at the beginning of the 4/10th century 16,000 dinars in capitation-tax³. Both figures show some 15,000 non-Muslim subjects liable to taxation. Of these 1,000 must have been Jews. We can thus, with tolerable certainty assume, the Christian population to have been somewhere between 40 to 50,000 at Baghdad. The only two towns, between the Euphrates and the Tigris, where Ibn Haukal finds a preponderance of the Christian population, are Edessa and Tekrit, the headquarters of the Jacobites, and the seat of their patriarch. Some of its old churches and cloisters go back, says Ibn Haukal, to the times of Jesus and the apostles⁴. In Babylonia, chiefly in Southern Persia, there was a considerable population of the Zarathustrians⁵. A riot is reported between them and the Muslims in 369/979 in Shiraz. Their houses were plundered and Adad-ad-Dawlah punished every one concerned in it⁶. But as a rule Shiraz was very peaceful. Makaddasi is surprised that the Zarathustrians there bear no distinguishing marks and that the whole town is bedecked on the occasions of the feasts of the infidel. When in the year 371/981 the chief of the Sufis died, Muslims, Jews, and Christians formed the funeral *cortege*. In the Eastern Persian desert only al-Qarinain was inhabited by the Zarathustrians, who mostly lived by letting out donkeys on hire and roamed about in all directions⁷.

About the end of the 2/8th century, under the Caliph Amin, the Sabian community flourished for the last time. "Then paganism once again attained its splendour in Harran. Attired in costly clothes, decked with myrtles and roses, with little bells attached to their horns, oxen were led through the streets, followed by flute-players⁸."

(1) Ibn Khurd. p. 14. (2) According to the census of 1907 Egypt shows only twelve million inhabitants.

(3) Ibn Khurd. p. 125; according to Qod (p. 251) the capitation-tax for the year 204/819 was 200,000 dirhams..

(4) P. 156.

(5) Muq. p. 126.

(6) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 522.

(7) Qod. 209. (8) Mich, Syrus, 497.

In the twentieth year of the fourth century (*i.e.* tenth century A.D.) the Caliph sent for the opinion of the Inspector of Industries at Baghdad regarding them. The opinion was as follows: "They should be killed, for they are neither Christians nor Jews, but are worshippers of stars." It cost the Sabians a great deal to pacify the Caliph¹. An edict, issued about the middle of the century, reaffirmed the protection promised to them and they were permitted to live in Harran, Raqqa and the Osrhoene². But about 400/1009 they had almost disappeared. Ibn Hazm fixes their number approximately at forty³. Legally no calling or profession was closed to the protected subjects. In those lucrative occupations, such as banking, large commercial ventures, linen trade, land-ownership, medical profession, the Christians and Jews were thickly represented and firmly established⁴.

They so arranged among themselves that in Syria, for instance, most of the financiers were Jews and most of the physicians and 'scribes' Christians⁵. Even at Baghdad the head of the Christian community was the Court physician, and the Court banker the head of the Jewish community⁶.

In the lowest class of tax-payers were the Jewish money-changers, tanners, shoe-makers, and particularly dyers⁷. At Jerusalem Benjamin of Tudela (12th century) found the Jews in complete monopoly of the dyers' trade⁸. Even the twelve Jews that lived at Bethlehem were all dyers⁹. Wherever, indeed, there lived even a single Jew in a locality he was certain to be a dyer¹⁰.

(1) Subki, II, 198. (2) *Rasa'il* of Sabi. Leyden, fol. 211a.

(3) *Kit. al-Fisal*, II, 115.

(4) Abu Yusuf, *Kit. al-Khiraj*, 69.

(5) Maq. 188.

(6) The physician Gabriel and his colleague Michael chose, for instance, the Nestorian Catholicos in the year 210/825 (Barheb. *Chron. eccles.*, III, 187). In a poem of Abu Nawas (d. circa 195/810) there occurs: 'I questioned my friend, Abu Isa and the wise Gabriel and said: Wine is gratifying unto me. To this he rejoined: Too much of it kills, but four doses, for each element, are permissible.'

And in far off Nisabur sings a poet: 'When I found my body full of ailments and pain in my joints, I sent or a *Shaiikh* of the capitation-tax payers whose father's brother was a Patriarch and whose mother's brother a Catholicos' (Yathimah, IV, 306). (7) *Kit. al-Khiraj*, 69; Maq. 188. 'Like a sandal from the shop of the Jew Ibn Esrah' says Abulqasim (ed. Mex. 42). The Jews of Ispahan specially carried on humble trades, such as those of cupping, tanning, fulling and, worked as butchers. Abu Nuaim, Leyden MS. fol. 11a (8) p. 85. (9) p. 40. (10) pp. 82, 43, 44, 49.

In the Hanafite and Hanbalite laws the life of a protected-subject was placed on precisely the same footing as that of a Muslim—a most important principle indeed. The very same blood money was payable in either case. According to Malik, however, the murder of a Christian or of a Jew could be atoned for on payment of half the amount required in the case of a Muslim; according to Shafa'i by a third and in the case of a Parsi by a fifteenth part only¹.

It was regarded as an offence to say to a Muslim : You Jew, you Christian².

The Government never interfered with the worship of the tolerated-subjects; in fact, it looked with favour upon the frequently noisy celebration of Christian feasts³.

In the case of failure of rain the Government actually ordered processions of Christians with their Bishop at the head, and of Jews with trumpeters⁴.

Monasticism continued in peaceful prosperity⁵. For instance, it is reported of Dair Qura, about 100 kilometres South of Baghdad, a mile east of the Tigris: "a fine, charming, thriving cloister, containing 100 small cottages for the monks—each with one occupant. A monk was allowed to sell his cottage to another—the price varying from 50 to 1,000 dinars⁶. Every one of these little cottages stood in the midst of a fruit garden, where all kinds of fruits, date-palms, and olive-trees grew, yielding an income between 50 and 200 dinars. Right through the grounds of the monastery, which were enclosed by a high wall, there flowed a canal. On these grounds the festival of the Cross was celebrated and the people flocked to it⁷."

The largest monastery of Egypt was that of St. Anthony, south of Cairo, in the desert, three days' journey

(1) Yahya ibn Adam, 55; Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, 787. In Gaul, for instance, the *Wehrgeld* for a free Frank was twice as much as for a Roman citizen. (2) Qodamah, Paris, Arab. 5907. (3) In theory, they were not allowed to carry banners, crucifixes, torches (*Kit. al-Khiraj*) but this prohibition was never actually enforced. (4) Diony. V. Telmachre, 176. See Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 212 et. sqq. Tr.

(5) Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Caliphate*, p. 207 et sqq. (Tr)

(6) It is reported that about the year 300/912 parents used to purchase a cell for a son joining the monastery. Yaqut, *Irshad*, II, 24.

(7) Schabusti, *Book of the Cloister*, fol. 115b; also Streck, 284. On the Mesopotamian monk life up to the 8/9th century, See Budge, *Book of Governors*, CXLCII ff.

from the Nile, high up on a hill. It owned rich estates and possessed property in the town. Within the walls of this monastery, besides a large vine-yard, vegetable gardens, three springs and various fruit trees, there were as many as 3,000 date-palms¹.

In the Byzantine Empire the State-Church proceeded far more drastically against fellow-Christians of differing sects than did Islam against her protected-subjects. When in the 4/10th century the Emperor Nicephorus reconquered the Syrian territory he specially assured the inhabitants that he would protect them from the harassing interferences of the State-Church. This promise notwithstanding, he insulted the Jacobites as much as he could; for instance, compelled them to leave Antioch. The Jacobite chronicler calls the Imperial patriarch more perverse than the Pharaoh and more sacrilegious than Nebuchadnezzar. From the reconquered Melitene the Jacobite Patriarch, along with seven theologians, was taken and imprisoned at Constantinople and the great Church there was made over to the Orthodox community². The Patriarch died in exile at the Bulgarian frontier; one of his companions perished in prison; another was stoned in front of the gate of the Imperial Palace. Three abjured their faith and were rebaptised but found no peace after, becoming the butt of ridicule. The leaders of the Syrian church found it impossible to continue their residence at the seat of the 'Orthodox' patriarch and had, accordingly, to remove to Amida, the more tolerant country of the infidels³.

The State-church forbade the use of bells to the Armenian Christians⁴.

Often enough the Muslim police had to interfere when the different Christian parties fought each other. Thus in the 3/9th century the Governor of Antioch appointed an officer to whom the Christian community paid 30 dinars per month, who was posted near the altar and whose duty it was to see that members of contending parties did not murder each other⁵.

(1) Abu Salih, ed. Evetts, fol. 54b. As poverty was insisted upon by the monastic rules of Egypt, the Egyptian monasteries were built on quite a different plan from those of Syria.

(2) Michael Syrus, 556 ff. (3) Barheb. I, 432 ff. (4) Schlumberger, *Epopée Byzantine*, 68. Just as the English Church acted towards the Catholics right up to the 19th century, and the Spanish and Chilian churches even later towards the Protestants. (5) Mich. Syrus, 517.

In the Christian community at Tinnis (Egypt) great trouble arose in the 20th year of the 4/10th century over the election of a bishop. "Father did not speak to his son nor wife to her husband." In the end they had to invoke the aid of the Government which put a seal on the door of the main church¹.

About the year 200/815 the Caliph Mamun wanted to give to the protected subjects² complete freedom regarding their faith and the management of their ecclesiastical affairs. Every community of whatever persuasion—even if it consisted of only ten souls—was to be permitted to choose its own spiritual chief and such an one was to receive the Caliph's recognition. But in consequence of the agitation of the various Church dignitaries the Caliph stayed his hand.

As regards the construction of churches the Sassanids showed greater toleration than did the later Roman Law which forbade the erection of new synagogues to the Jews and only permitted the repair of those in ruins. In Islam, the Persian and the Roman, the milder and the harsher views, were indiscriminately applied. At times new churches were allowed to be built; at others old churches in ruins were not permitted to be repaired. The pious Governor of Egypt, between 169 to 171/785-787, destroyed all the newly-built churches there although he was offered 50,000 dinars as bribe. This fact the chronicler states with admiration. His successor, however, permitted the re-construction of those Churches and the theologians decreed that construction of churches was part of the economic system of the country and argued that such was the correct view from the fact that all existing churches in old Cairo were built under the Islamic sway³. When about the year 300/912 in Tinnis (Egypt) a church was destroyed, the Government helped the Christians in rebuilding it⁴. In the year 326/938 the Christians gave money to the Egyptian Amir to induce him to sanction the repair of a church in ruins. He replied: First bring legal opinion on the subject. Ibn al-Haddad decided that permission should be refused and so did the Malekites, but Mohamed ibn Ali held, on the other hand, that it was permissible to make improvements

(1) Yahya ibn Sa'id, Paris, 83b. (2) Sachau, on the legal position of the Christians in the Sassanid Empire. *Mitteil. des Sam. für Orientalische Sprachen* X, 2.

(3) Kindi, Ed. Guest, 181.

(4) Yahya ibn Sa'id, Paris, fol. 81 a.

and to rebuild churches in ruins. On this decision being made public, the people set fire to his house and called upon him to forthwith repent and recant. The populace raved, barricaded the streets, and surrounded the church. The soldiers were called in to restore order, but stones were thrown at them and the ruler recalled them. Then he summoned the Mufti Abu Bakr ibn al-Haddad who had decided against the Christians and spoke to him thus: "Go to the church. If it is not entirely in ruins, let it stand or else pull it down. May God curse them!" He took an architect with him who with candle in hand examined the church and reported: It can still continue for 15 years, then a part of it will collapse. The remainder will, however, continue for another forty years, and then, if the building is unattended to, the entire structure will fall down. Upon this report the Amir forbade repairs. In 366/976 it was, however, repaired; this was just before the completion of forty years and the church was saved¹.

In the hospitals of the Capital, protected-subjects were treated in precisely the same way as Muslims. Only in the year of the plague at the beginning of the 4/10th century, the wazir directed the Caliph's physician, in charge of medical aid and medicines, outside the capital, to attend to Muslims first². The dead were, of course, buried separately. It is, however, stated that in the year 319/931, on the occasion of the floods in Tekrit, a Babylonian town, the dead, both Muslims and Christians, were buried together with the result that it was impossible to distinguish the grave of one from that of the other³. There were no ghettos for Christians and Jews, although people of the same faith lived close to each other. In Baghdad, for instance, Christian cloisters were to be found in all parts of the town.

As the Muslim Law was only meant for Muslims, people of other faiths were left to seek remedy in their own Courts. These courts, so far as we are aware, were exclusively ecclesiastical. The heads of the churches acted as judges and, in fact, published several law books. Their jurisdiction extended not merely to marriage and inheritance but also to most of the disputes occurring among Christians. With these disputes the State did not concern itself. But the protected-subject was not debarred from

(1) Tallquist, 321, f. Supplement to Kindi, p. 554.

(2) Ibn al-Kifti, Ed. Lippert, 194.

(3) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 174.

seeking relief in a Muslim court. This, however, was regarded with displeasure by the Church. The catholicos Timotheus (cir. 200/300) published rules, intended for removal of all excuses to Christians for seeking relief in Islamic courts, on the ground of want of legal assistance in their own system¹. And SS 12 and 13 of this Book of Rules imposes upon every one, seeking relief from Islamic courts, punishment such as penance, alms, sackcloth and ashes². His successor even decreed excommunication for it. In the year 120/738 the Qadhi of old Cairo first sat in the mosque to deal with cases of the faithful, and then on the steps, to deal with those of the Christians³. Later the Qadhi there set apart a day in the week at his residence to hear cases of Christians. The Qadhi who acted in 177/793 actually took the Christians inside the mosque. In any case the Islamic State did not compel any protected-subject to submit to the jurisdiction of the Qadhi if he was not so inclined⁴. But once he submitted to his jurisdiction the trial proceeded according to Muslim Law and he had to abide by it⁵.

In the laws issued by the patriarchs which have come down to us, only ecclesiastical punishments are mentioned; for instance, reprimand before the assembled community; standing in sackcloth and ashes before the church; payment of atonement-money to the church; exclusion from the church, the sacrament and Christian burial⁶. For instance the punishment for one who assaults another Christian is prohibition from attending church or receiving sacrament for two months. Every Sunday he is to stand in sackcloth and ashes and give alms to the poor according to his means⁷. We also learn from a reliable Spanish source that there too the Christians settled their disputes among themselves and that only in cases of capital sentence had the Qadhi to be consulted. They placed the condemned criminal before the Qadhi, submitted proofs, and if he said '*bene est*' the offender was put to death⁸.

According to R. Petachja the chiefs of the Jewish community in Mosul were permitted to punish their own people even in cases where a Muslim was concerned.

(1) Sachau *Syrische Rechtbücher*, II, 57. (2) Ibid, 67, p. 169.

(3) Kindi, Ed. Guest, 351. (4) Maverdi, Ed. Enger p. 109. (5) Thus in the draft of a Qadhi's patent in Qodamah (written shortly after 316/928). Paris, Arab. 5907.

(6) Sachau, *Syr. Recht*. II, p. VI. (7) Ibid. p. 681. (8) Graf Baudissin, *Eulogius und Alvar*, p. 13.

There was there a Jewish prison where the offenders were incarcerated¹.

The disability which the non-Muslims felt most keenly was one which they shared with slaves; namely their incompetence to depose in a law court. According to certain jurists they could not depose even against one of their own people. Others, however, made some exceptions².

As a return for the protection accorded to them by Government the tolerated subjects paid capitation-tax, each according to his means: 12, 24, 48 dirhams, and in countries of gold currency, 1, 2, 3 dinars, per head per annum. It was a tax in commutation of military service; only adults capable of bearing arms paid it.

Cripples and monks, if they were not self-supporting, were exempted³.

Even in the Byzantine Empire every non-Christian, Jew and Magian, had to pay one dinar annually per head⁴ and, in the conquered countries, the Christians imposed capitation-tax upon all Muslims⁵. Naturally the major portion of the tolerated-subjects paid the lowest amount. Thus Benjamin of Tudela reports that the Jews pay one gold piece per head in all Muslim countries⁶. Likewise Petachja: The Jews of Babylon pay no tribute to the Caliph—only a gold piece annually to Regalutha⁷. In October 1243 the Venetian Bailo Marsilius Georgius reports from Tyre: Every male Jew, as soon as he reaches his fifteenth year, pays to our officer one *Bisantius*, on the feast of All-Saints⁸.

Notwithstanding different currencies, the amount

(1) p. 275.

(2) Sachau, *Muh. Recht*. 739; Kindi, 351. According to the patent in Qodamah (Paris Arabe 5907, fol. 12b) the Qadhi was to allow Christians and Jews as witnesses against one another. On the other hand Christian courts, in Muslim countries, had to accept, though not willingly, the testimony of a Muslim against a Christian. Only they insisted that the witness was God-fearing and unobjectionable—qualities equally required by the Qadhi in the witnesses before him. *Syr. Rechtbucher*, II, 107.

(3) According to B. of T. (p. 77) and Marsilius, 15 was the lowest age for the payment of capitation-tax. In the Persian Empire it was 20 (Nöldeke, *Tr. of Tabari*, 247). (4) Ibn Khurd, p. 111. (5) Ibn. Haukal, 127. In the year 358/969 when Basilios captured Aleppo, along with other taxes every adult had to pay one dinar per head. Ibn Sa'id, fol. 98b. (6) p. 77. Compare the Chinese traveller on the Persian capitation-tax. Nöldeke, *Trans. of Tabari*, 246. Anm. 2. (7) pp. 275; 288. (8) Tafel und Thomas, II. 359.

actually paid by each individual was practically the same, any variation being due to fluctuations in the exchange.

At the beginning of the 3/9th century the Egyptian government was satisfied with the payment of half-a-dinar. But in 390/1,000 the Egyptian patriarch Georgius imposed upon each adult-male member of his flock $1\frac{1}{2}$ dinars instead of half-a-dinar as before¹.

When on a visit to Egypt about the year 200/815, the patriarch Dionysius thus reports of the famous linen-weaving town of Tinnis : Although Tinnis has a considerable population and numerous churches we have never witnessed greater distress than that of its inhabitants. When we enquired into the cause of it they thus replied : Our town is encompassed by water. We can neither look forward to a harvest nor can we maintain a flock. Our drinking-water comes from afar and costs us 4 dirhams a pitcher. Our trade is exclusively that of linen which our women spin and we weave. We get from the dealers half-a-dirham per day. Although our earning is not sufficient to feed our dogs we yet have to pay 5 dinars a head in taxes. They beat us, imprison us and compel us to give our sons and daughters as securities. For every dinar they have to work for two years as slaves. Should a girl or a woman get a child while with them, they make us swear that we would not claim them. It is not uncommon to exact a fresh tribute before such a woman is set at liberty. The patriarch replied : According to the Law of Mesopotamia they were to pay the capitation-tax in this order : rich 48, middle class 24, poor 12 dirhams per year². The taxes were collected in instalments of six, five, four, three, two dirhams³.

In the beginning this tax was collected from the Babylonians every month, apparently because the Muslims received out of it their pension month by month. Such also was the case in Spain⁴ in the 3/9th century. But

(1) *Mittel. aus den Samlungen* Rainer II/III, 176 ff.

(2) Mich. Syrus, p. 516. In Syria the pig was an object of special taxation. Bailo of Tyre reports that up to his time every Christian who killed or sold a pig had to pay four dinars to the king. The Venetians abolished this tax. Tafel und Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels und Staatsgesch. der Republik Venedig*, Vienna 1856, II, 350. (3) As in the Persian Empire, Tabari (Nöldeke's trans.) p. 242 ; Dionysius, 61, Yahya ibn Adam, p. 56. (4) Leovigildus, *De habitu Clericorum* (Esp. Sagr. XI) : *Vectigal quod Omni lunari Mense pro Christi nomine solvere cogimur*. Eulogius *Memoriale*, 1,247 : *quod lunariter solvimus cum gravi moerore tributum*, according to Graf Baudissin, *Eulogius und Alvar*, p. 10.

later in the year 366/976 it was ordered to be collected in the first month of the year. Women, minors, old men, people out of work, indigent and unmarried monks, were exempt from payment¹. On payment a paper receipt was usually given. In harsher times they tied the quit-tance-receipt round the neck and put a stamp on the hand of the protected-subject². This was an old Babylonian custom. The slave there carried a small cone of burnt clay bearing his and his master's name (*Mashriq*, V, 651). The Talmudic Jews marked their slaves by a seal either on his neck or on his coat (Krauss, *Talmudische Archæologie*, II, 89).

In the year 500 A.D. the Governor of Edessa fastened a leaden seal round the neck of those poor of the town who received a ration of a pound of bread per day³.

The old jurists Abû Yûsuf and Yahya ibn Adam do not say a word about this practice. Apparently it was but rarely enforced. At all events Dionysius of Tellamachre (d. 845 A.D.) mentions it as an exceptional procedure to send a tax-collector, accompanied by a stamper, who was to stamp the name of the town or of the village on the right hand and on the left the word 'Mesopotamia' and to tie two discs round the neck, one bearing the name of the town and the other the name of the district. For every three men they exacted a stamp-fee of three dirhams. Dionysius further states that they also noted in their register the name, the personal description, and the native-place of the tax-payer. This caused great excitement, for it led to the detection of many strangers against whose names fictitious residences, as stated by them, were recorded. If this method had been pursued to its legitimate conclusion, it would have caused greater mischief than ever. When the stamper saw that he had not enough work on hand he proceeded into the surrounding country and seized everyone he met. More than twenty times he visited the whole of the neighbourhood and was not satisfied until he had brought all the

(1) *Rasail* of Sabi p. 112, ed Ba'abda, 1898. (2) In Egypt under the last Omayyads every monk had to wear an iron ring round his wrist and every Christian a signet of the shape of a lion on his hand. Maqrizi, *Khîat*, I. 492.

(3) Joshua Stylites, ed. Wright, 42. Even in Strassburg of the XIVth century the poor of the town had to carry a public badge (Brucker, *Strasburger Zunft-und Polizeiverordnungen*, p. 61.) In China of the 9th century the enrolled prostitutes carried a copper label of the Emperor round their necks. (Renaud, *Relation des voyages*, 69.)

inhabitants to book, not one escaping him. Thus happened what the Prophet Daniel and the Apostle James had said: All men received the stamp of this animal on their hands, on their breasts, on their backs¹.

It is apparent that the patriarch does not mention the discs and the stamps as something of common occurrence.

A Basran poet of the first period of the Abbasids, however, sings:

“Love for her is stamped on my neck,

“It is stamped where the seal is impressed on the protected subjects².”

According to a writer quoted by Jâhiz (d. 255/869) it is the sign of an inn-keeper to put a seal on the neck of a protected-subject³. One such disc, found in the neighbourhood of Hamadan, dates from the first year of the 4/10th century. We have, indeed, direct proof that in the first quarter of the same century a sealed quittance-receipt was given on payment of this tax⁴.

The ordinary clergy were not exempt from the capitation-tax; but monks, living on charity, like other beggars, were⁵. In Egypt, for the first time in 312/924, capitation-tax was imposed on monks and bishops and on all monasteries in Upper and Lower Egypt and of the Sinai Peninsula. A number of monks thereupon travelled to Baghdad and complained to the Caliph Muqtadir. He forthwith directed that, as in the earlier times, nothing was to be taken from monks and bishops⁶.

Even in 1664 A.D. all Europeans, all unmarried members of the Coptic church, the Patriarch, and all Turks, i.e. Muslims, were free from capitation-tax in Egypt⁷.

The collection of the capitation-tax was just as harsh and severe as was that of other taxes, though, according to law, all severity was banned. The canonical law forbade those old, tried methods, such as assault, torture, exposure in the sun, pouring of burning oil on the head. According to it, the defaulting tax-payer was only to be kept in custody until he paid up his dues⁸.

Regarding the regulation as to dress, Harûn al-Rashîd, in the year 191/807⁹, ordered the protected subjects to use cord instead of belts, stitched caps, and to

(1) Dionys. of T. ed. Chabot, 148. (2) Aghani, III, 26. (3) Bayan, I, 41. (4) Masudi, IX, 15. (5) Abu Yusuf, p. 70. (6) Yahya bn Sa'id, 83. (7) M. Wanslebs, *Beschreibung von Aegypten*, p. 57. (8) *Kit. al-Khitraj*, p. 69. (9) Tabari, III, 718.

refrain from using foot-wear of the same kind as that of the Muslims. Instead of a tassel they were to have a wooden knob on their saddle. Instead of the horse-saddle their women were only permitted the use of the donkey-saddle¹.

In the 2/8th century the Jews wore a tall hat which has been likened by certain writers to a mile-stone or to a pitcher². The Christians in those days used a burnoose, but when the tall-hat (qalansuah) went out of fashion among Muslims it became the distinguishing token of a Christian³.

In the old regulations no special colour is mentioned. The use of a special colour evidently was a purely local custom⁴. Jâhiz (d. 255/869) describes the Babylonian custom: the proper wine-dealer must be a protected-subject bearing the name of Adin, Mazbar, Azdankad, Misa or Sluma and wearing a black and white spotted dress and having a seal on his neck.

At the time of Harûn al-Rashîd, the faithful of Misr abused, in the mosque, a Qadhi whom they hated, but the Qadhi stood at the door of the mosque and called out: *Where are the fellows in honey-coloured mantles? Where are the sons of whores? Why doesn't one of them say what he wants to enable me to see and hear him*⁵.

By an edict of the Caliph in 325/849 honey-coloured head-gear and girdles were, for the first time, prescribed for non-Muslims. He who used a Qalansuah (a pointed cap) like that of a Muslim, has to fasten two buttons of a colour different from that used on Muslim caps. The slaves of Christians and Jews were to have a honey-coloured patch four fingers in diameter on their chest and on their back. Also they were forbidden to use a small, soldier's belt. They were, however, permitted a broad band round their waist. On their housedoors a wooden figure of the devil was to be nailed⁶. According to an ordinance of the year 239/853 they were not to ride on

(1) *Kit. al-Khiraj*, 75. (2) Kindi, ed. Guest, p. 424. In Egypt it was called 'burtullah'. In the East it formed part of the dress of the Catholicos. (3) *Mustatraf* II, 222 a, R; *Mufid al-Ulum*, 200 a; R. (4) Jahiz, Bayan, I, 141 (5) Kindi, p. 390. (6) Tabari III, 1389 et sqq; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, II, 494. The Sabians also had to wear a special coloured dress. Yatimah, II, 45. In the West, for the first time in 1215 A.D. the Lateran Council demanded a distinguishing sign for the Jews. Probably this was due to the knowledge of such practices in the East.

horses but only on mules and donkeys¹. All these measures, however, were of no avail. The protected subjects simply disregarded them. Already in the year 227/885 the people of Baghdad rose against the Christians who, in defiance of the regulation, rode on horses². And about the 90th year of this very century Ibn al-Mutazz once again complains that Christians give themselves airs, riding on mules and using horse-saddles (Ibn al-Mutazz, *Diwan*, II, 9; Abul Mahasin, II, 181). Four years before the beginning of the 4/10th century all these measures were revived and re-inforced. And yet through the whole of this century (*i.e.* the 4th/10th century) we hear nothing of these rules. In any case they lay dormant. With the ascendancy of orthodoxy in the 5/11th century they were once again taken more seriously.

In 423/1031 the Catholicos of the Christians and the Ras-al-Ghalut of the Jews pledged themselves in a solemn assembly on behalf of their brethern-in-faith, who wanted to place themselves on an equal footing with Muslims, that they would once again carry their distinguishing marks. At this time, as never before, the rule came into force that protected subjects were not to build their houses higher than those of the faithful. So far as I am aware Mawardi is the first to mention this fact³. The idea soon makes its way into the West, where in 1205 Pope Innocent III complains that the Jews at Sens have built a synagogue which overtops a neighbouring church⁴.

There was as much jeering and ill-will between religions as between the races. They spoke of the stench of the Jews⁵. The Christians were dubbed wine-bibbers (especially on Easter day⁶). Their nuns and choir boys were slandered as corrupt and of easy virtue. The Sabians were taunted for their hard-heartedness towards each other⁷.

It was, indeed, known to cultured Muslims that Christianity, more than any other religion, preached love and meekness and, knowing this, they noticed how little its professors lived up to its teachings. Jâhiz (d. 255/869)

(1) Tabari, III, 1419. Even in the Constantinople of the XIIth century no Jew was to ride a horse. Benjamin of Tudela, p. 24.

(2) On this occasion the cloister of 'Khalil Yasu' was demolished. Elias Nisibenus, 188. According to Tabari this happened in the year 272.

(3) Enger's edition, p. 428. (4) Caro, I, 296. (5) Ibn Kutaiba, *Adab al-Katib*, p. 26. (6) Yatimah, III, 97. (7) Ibn al-Kifti, 898.

states that all sharp practices come from the Greeks, notwithstanding compassion being the key-note of their religion¹. Al-Beruni declared it a noble philosophy which gives the shirt to him who takes away the coat ; which offers, when struck on one, the other cheek ; which blesses an enemy and prays for all. But men are not philosophers and since the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, adds the author, the sword and the lash have been the instruments of the Christian government².

The most amazing feature of the Islamic Government is the number of non-Muslim officers in State service. In his own Empire the Muslim was ruled by Christians³. Old is the complaint that the decision over the life and property of Muslims lay in the hand of protected subjects⁴. To Omar I* is ascribed a warning against making Christians and Jews State officers⁵.

Twice in the 3/9th century even the War Ministers were non-Muslims with the result that the 'defenders of the faith' had to kiss their hands and obey their commands⁶. Like Muslims, Christian and Jewish officers were sworn in. The *Diwan al-Insha*⁷, composed about 840/1436, mentions the Jewish 'formula of oath' and states that it was drafted by Fazl ibn al-Rabi, Chancellor of Harûn, and has served since then as a model for later times.

Against the domination of protected subjects, so galling to true Muslims, were the anti-Christian movements directed⁸. In 235/849 the Caliph decreed that none but a Muslim was to hold a public office and, in consequence thereof, even the office of the recorder of the level of the water of the Nile was taken away from Christian overseers. But ten years later this very Caliph placed the construction of his palace in charge of a high Christian officer⁹ and by 296/909 the Christian 'State-Officers' had become so powerful that the Caliph Muqtadir had to resuscitate the ordinances against them¹⁰. Christians and Jews were to hold no other appointments except those of physicians and tax-collectors¹¹. But Muqtadir's order was so ridiculously unworkable that his own Wazir had four Christians

(1) *Kit. al-Haywan*, 1, 55. (2) *India*, Translation II, 161. (3) For Syria, Muq. 183 ; for Egypt Yahya ibn Sa'id, Paris fol. 122a. (4) Ibn Kutaiba, *Uyun al-Akhbar*, 99. (5) Ibn Kutaiba, *Ibid*, p. 62. (6) Wuz, 95. (7) Paris, MS. 4439. (8) Kindi, 203. (9) Tabari, III, 1488. (10) *Arib*, 30. (11) Abulmahasin, II, 171. The papyruses show that in Egypt there was a large number of Christian tax collectors. One of them, in the year 349/960, actually had the cross impressed upon his seal. Karabacek, *Mitteilungen* II/III, p. 168.

* It was Omar II, Omar ibn Abdul Azîz, the Umayyad—Ed. "I. C."

among the nine privy Councillors, who were daily guests at his table¹. Christian officers were found everywhere. Such already was the case among the Tahirids² in the 3/9th century. And, in the year 319/931, one who sought the Wizarat, had to ingratiate himself into the favours of Ibrahim, the Christian secretary of the Amir, and Stephan, secretary of the Field-Marshal Munis³.

To get on in the world one had to call a^ttention to his Christian connexion. "My family is connected with yours, says an applicant for a post under the government. My fore-fathers held important offices in the Byzantine Empire. In the days of Mutadid a crucifix fell from the hand of my grand-father, Ubaidullah ibn Sulaiman, and, when the people saw it, he said: it was an amulet of our women-folk, who conceal it in our dress without our knowledge⁴." He had calculated correctly. Under the very same Muqtadir who wanted to remove Christians from public offices, this flatterer of the Christians became his Wazir. At the head of the intriguers against the all-powerful Munis stood the eunuch Muflih. His Christian secretary, also a eunuch, then wielded the greatest influence⁵. In the year 324/935 died Stephan, the Christian superintendent of the Caliph's private chest⁶. The first Buwayyad also employed a Christian secretary⁷; when the Wazir of Adad-ad-Dawlah proceeded to Basra he left behind a Christian as his representative at the capital⁸. The Caliph al-Tai (363-381/993-991) had a Christian secretary⁹, and in the second-half of the same century both Adad-ad-Dawlah (d. 372/982) at Baghdad and the Fatimid Caliph al-Aziz at Cairo had Christians for their Wazirs. The former sought and obtained permission of his master to rebuild churches and cloisters and to help his needy brethren with money¹⁰.

Later the Muslim jurists laid down that a Christian or a Jew could hold the post of a Wazir (Wizarat al-taufid), provided he was not vested with absolute powers¹¹. At the Egyptian Burah at the beginning of the 3/9th century, sat a Christian district magistrate who every Friday donned the black Abbasid official dress, girded the sword round his waist and rode to the mosque, accompanied by his guardsmen. There he halted. His

(1) Wuz, 204. (2) Schabusti, Berlin, fol. 51a. (3) Misk V, 352. (4) Arib, 164. (5) Ibid, 112. (6) Al-Suli, *Auraq*, Paris, 96. (7) Misk, V, 465. (8) Misk VI, 310. (9) Ibn al-Hajja, *Diwan a*, p. 18 (10) Misk VI 511; Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 518. (11) *Iqd al-Farid* of Abu Salim (d. 652) p. 147.

representative, a Muslim, went into the mosque, prayed and preached and then returned to his chief outside¹. Under the orders of the Amir a Muslim saint, who is said to have bidden the Christian secretary of the Viceroy to dismount, was thrown to the lions².

In the year 389/999 the Christian Secretary of State of Egypt, Fahd, was ordered to prosecute all who after the death of the Qadhi were accused of embezzling funds belonging to orphans, depositories, etc. He sold the property left by the Qadhi and dismissed all who had held responsible offices under him, including some most influential Muslim clerics³.

Despite these unnatural conditions even Christian chroniclers report but few disturbances in the 4/10th century between Muslims and non-Muslims. In the year 312/924 the people in Damascus plundered a great church and took away 200,000 dinars' worth of property in crucifixes, cups, dishes, incense-burners, cushions.

They also plundered a number of monasteries⁴. About the same time at Ramla three churches were destroyed but, by the order of the Caliph, were rebuilt⁵. On the other hand the bishop could get nothing when he came to Baghdad to complain about the church of St. Mary at Ascalon which was burnt down by Muslims. It was said to have been done with the help of the Jews who had collected wood and set fire to it and had gone on the roof with red-hot rollers to melt the leaden sheet which covered the roof. The result was that the lead melted away and the pillars collapsed⁶.

In the year 329/937 some churches in Jerusalem were plundered by Muslims⁷. In the year 381/991 two Muslims abused a Christian astronomer who did not wear his distinguishing badge. He complained to his chief who put the two offenders into custody. Thereupon two churches were plundered and the Catholicos ended the unhappy affair by rich presents⁸. There was also excitement over a report that a pig had been found in a mosque. It was said to have been thrown in by Christians. In the year 392/1002 the people of Baghdad were roused to anger by the report of the murder of a Muslim. They

(1) Eutychius *Corpus Script. Christ. Orient.*, p. 58. (2) Abulmahasin, II, 233. (3) Supplement to Kindi, Ed. Guest, p. 595, 597. (4) Yahya ibn Said, fol. 83, Maqrizi, *Khitat*, II, 494. (5) Yahya, fol. 81a.

(6) Yahya, f. 84b. (7) Yahya, f. 82b. (8) Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.* III, 259.

set fire to a church which in collapsing caused the death of quite a number of people¹.

In the year 403/1012 the funeral of the daughter of a Christian physician, married to a high Christian officer, took place during the day with the accompaniment of candles, drums, litanies, monks, and women hired to weep. A Hashimid found all this objectionable. He stoned the coffin. Thereupon a clerk of the Christian officer cut his head open with his club. The Christians then fled with the corpse into the church in the Greek quarter. The people were inflamed; copies of the Quran were displayed in the bazars; the doors of the great Mosque were closed and a procession appeared before the Caliph's palace. The Caliph ordered the officer to surrender the offending clerk, but he refused. This was followed by a fight in front of his house.

An Alid was reported to have been killed. This news enraged the populace still more. Prayers were suspended and some Christians killed. After long negotiations the clerk was surrendered to the Caliph, but after some time was again released². At Baghdad these were mere isolated occurrences. The relations were strained then in Egypt only. There a united church and a non-Arab people stood in opposition to the Arabs. Not until the end of the century did the Christians of Egypt begin to forget their Coptic language³. In the first two centuries one Coptic rebellion followed another. In 216/831 the last of them was put down. And yet the entire middle class of Egypt was Christian. The Arabs understood the Copts as little as once the Greeks understood the Egyptians, despite the fact that Copts managed to introduce into the traditions of the Prophet sayings favourable to themselves. One of these spurious traditions thus lays down the rôle of the Coptic clerks in the State: "The Copts will help the faithful to the path of piety by removing worldly cares from them⁴."

(1) Wuz, 448; Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 147 b; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.*, III, 262 et sqq. (2) Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 159 a. (3) This is best explained by what Maq., who was there in the third quarter of the 4/10th century, reports: The Christians speak Coptic (p. 208); while the Bishop of Ashmunian (Egypt) writing about 400/1010, reports that he had translated the Coptic and Greek documents into Arabic as most of the people do not understand those languages sufficiently well. *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*, ed. Seybold, Beirut, 1904., p. 6. The Coptic popular poetry of the 10th century A.D., known to us, is purely ecclesiastical. (4) Abu Salih, ed. Evetts, fol. 286. from the *Fadail Misr* of Kindi, Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 24 et sqq.

As State-Officers these Copts did their work so effectively that most of the Christian disturbances of Egypt might be put down to their credit.

About the middle of the 4/10th century a successful military operation of the Byzantines found its echo in Egypt. When in the year 389/960 Syria was devastated by the Byzantines, a disturbance which broke out in the old mosque of Cairo after the Friday prayer culminated in the destruction of two churches¹. And when, in the following year, the Emperor Nicephorus won back Crete for the Christians, the so-called Imperial church of St. Michael at Cairo was plundered. It remained closed for a long time, the doors having been blocked with earth².

The first Fatimids showed to the protected subjects a toleration amazing in sectarian chiefs such as they were. They had Jewish physicians who were not required to accept Islam³. At the court of Muizz nothing could be done without the help of some Jew or other. The cunning renegade Ibn Killis knew this and thus largely depended for support on his former brethren in faith⁴. The rationalistic tendency of the Ismailites made public disputations between Muslims and Christians possible for the first time in Islam⁵. Under Aziz the friendly attitude of the court towards Christians grew. He had, indeed, relations among the Christian clergy; of these Aristes became the Archbishop of Misr. The Caliph, indeed, had great regard for the Christians in general.

No idle song did the poet sing when he sang: "Become Christian, for Christianity is the true religion! Our time proves it so. Worry not about anything else: Yaqub, the Wazir, is the Father; Aziz, the Son, and Fadl, the Holy-Ghost." When the people asked for the punishment of the poet, the Caliph begged Ya'qûb and Fadl to forgive the author⁶. Later this very Caliph made the Christian Isa, son of Nestorius, his Wazir and appointed Manassah, the Jew, his representative in Syria. This was too much. The people clamoured for the removal of them both and the Caliph acquiesced in their

(1) Yahya ibn Sa'id, fol. 92. a. (2) Yahya, fol. 92b. Graetz, (3) *Gesch. der Juden*, V. 4th Ed. p. 266. (4) de Goeje, Z.D.M.G. 52, 77. According to Ibn al-Jauzi (Bodl. Uri 670 year 880) (See Lane-Poole's Egypt. Tr.) (5) Guyard, *Grand Maître des Assassins*, p. 14. (Long before the Ismailites public disputations were held between Christians and Muslims, See Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies: Indian and Islamic*, p. 58 Tr.). (6) Ibn al-Athir IX, 82.

demand¹. Under this Christian Wazir there was an attack upon the Christians.

Disquietened by the conquests of the Emperor Basil in Syria, the Egyptian Caliph fitted out a fleet in the year 386/996 which was burnt down in the dock-yard. The people suspected the Greek merchants and killed 160 of them. From the Greeks the attack passed on to the native Christians. Churches were plundered and the Nestorian bishop fatally wounded. The Wazir, however, restored order. Sixty-three offenders were seized. Every one of these had to draw a lot from under a piece of cloth. On one was written 'Thou wilt be killed'; on another 'Thou wilt be whipped'; and on the third 'Thou wilt be set free.' And thus everyone was dealt with according to the lot he drew².

In the year 393/1003 the fanaticism of al-Hâkim began to burst into flame³. Noticing the Caliph's attitude, the people took to destroying churches and the Caliph to replacing them by mosques. Among such mosques was the famous al-Azhar. But this was not all. The old regulation regarding 'dress' was now renewed and reinforced. The Christians, moreover, had to carry heavy wooden crosses round their necks; public festivals and ringing of bells were proscribed; the crosses outside the churches were broken down and their traces effaced. Famous churches such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and the great cloister of al-Qosair, on the Moqatta mountain chains, were destroyed. Even the graves in the great cemetery were violated. This Hâkim never intended or wished to be done and he stopped it as soon as he heard of it. Despite all this, the Caliph appointed the Christian Mansûr ibn Sadun his Wazir that very year and throughout this period employed Christian physicians. A list of capable Muslims eligible for the

(1) Ibid, IX, 81.

(2) Yahya, fol. 113a; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 195. The judgment really was not meant to be carried out, for the author adds that the condemned one was taken through the town with the head of a murdered man tied round his neck. No other instance of this kind is reported, from the 4/10th century.

(3) The history of al-Hakim is most exhaustively told by de Sacy in his '*Exposé de la religion des Druzes*', p. CCLXXVIII et. sqq. Only, de Sacy has not used the continuation of Eutychius by Yahya ibn Sa'id, a contemporary of al-Hakim and a sober and trustworthy reporter. It is only from his work that the chronological sequence of events can be accurately fixed for the first time. The account of the other contemporary, Bishop Severus, is more a pious legend.

post of clerks was ordered to be made with a view to appointing them instead of Christians; for hitherto all clerks, officers, physicians of his empire, without exception, were Christians. On Thursday, the 12th of Rabi II of 403/1012, clerks, tax-gatherers, physicians with the bishops and priests met together and walked weeping, bare-headed and bare-footed, to the Palace and, on reaching it, kissed the ground before it. Al-Hâkim sent an officer to receive the petition and gave a gracious answer. On the Sunday following, the 15th of Rabi II, there came forth an order that the cross round the necks of Christians should be much heavier, its arms were to be two feet long and a finger's breadth its thickness. The Jews too were ordered to wear balls, five pounds in weight, round their necks in commemoration of the calf's head which they were supposed to have worshipped.

Many distinguished Christian officers accepted Islam. Others followed suit with the result that for many a day together no Christian was seen in the streets. Many, indeed, only pretended to be Muslims, such as Muhass ibn Badus who was killed in 415/1024 when Finance Minister. They found his corpse uncircumcised although he had sent for the man to perform the operation¹.

On the contrary, in the Provinces most of the Christians and Jews retained their respective religion. Many thousands of churches and cloisters were destroyed and the Christians had actually to pay for their destruction. Of the cloisters in Egypt only two were spared, at Alexandria. The Sinai cloister surrendered all its treasures, and apart from heavy payments, owed its salvation to the impossibility of destroying its massive masonry walls².

Later, when the incense of the newly preached religion of the Druses reached the Caliph's nostrils, and he strove to set it in competition with the old Islam, the religions of the protected subjects ceased to provoke his anger. When in the year 419/1019 it was reported that the Christians had assembled in their houses to celebrate the Lord's Supper and even those of them that had accepted Islam had taken part in it he did not worry about it. The very same year he restored the endowments to the Sinai cloister and rebuilt the cloister of al-Qosair³.

Under his successors things went back to earlier practices. Christians were again allowed to conduct

(1) Al-Muhasibi (d. 420/1029) apud Becker, *Beurage zur Geschichte Aegyptens*, 1, 61.

(2) Yahya, fol. 122. (3) Yahya, fol. 181a.

public processions. The only thing that reminded the people of the mad Caliph was the black turban and the black girdle which most of the Copts have ever since worn.

Already in the year 415/1024 the Coptic Feast of the Epiphany was celebrated with the old splendour and under the patronage of the Caliph himself. From 436-439/1044-1047 a converted Jew was the Wazir in Cairo, and under him the Persian Jews Abu Sa'd and at-Tustari administered the State¹.

Thus did a poet sing :

“ Today the Jews have reached the summit of their hopes and have become aristocrats.

“ Power and riches have they and from among them are Councillors and princes chosen.

“ Egyptians, I advise you, become Jews, for the very sky has become Jewish² !”

(1) Yahya, fol. 133b. The regulation regarding dress must have been renewed from time to time. Thus under the Qalaunid al-Nasir in 8/14th century the Christians were directed to wear blue, the Jews yellow, and the Samaritans red head-bands. The Samaritans, even to this day, in Palestine, wear a red hat-band. (2) Suyuti, *Husnul-Muhadharah*. II, 129.

S. KHUDA BUKSH

SOME LEGENDS OF FATEHPUR SIKRI

ON the north-eastern side of Shaikh Selim Chishti's tomb and in its outer court, is a square in mosaic which measures about seven cubits each way. The following historical legend regarding his saintly character was related some years ago by a lineal descendant of the Shaikh. It offers a reason for what seems to be a departure, in the pavement of the court, from an originally symmetrical design.

Shaikh Selim Chishti desired to die, and to be buried, at Mecca in order that he might waken to the final judgment from a grave in holy ground. But Selim had a work given him to do even at Fatehpur Sikri, and his pious wish was incompatible with the fulfilment of his mission. One evening, while pondering his long cherished plan of journeying to Mecca, he was suddenly surprised by the appearance of a venerable man who stood on the spot now indicated by the square in mosaic. Selim approached, performing lowly reverence in the approved style of the polished court of Akbar. The stranger in a calm and dignified voice uttered the one word: *Salâm* (peace)—the salutation prescribed to the faithful by the prophet of God, perhaps the noblest salutation known to man.

On the stranger announcing himself to be no other than the great Prophet, Selim fell on his face and knees to the earth. The Prophet then revealed God's will concerning him. Selim was to live and die, and to be buried after his work on earth was completed, not, as he had hoped, in far off Arabia, but here, on this red sandstone ridge, which to human seeming was not sufficiently sacred for the grave of the faithful. Was Chishti, then, to be to the dissolute courtiers round him what Lot was to Sodom? Had the vision any moral like Peter's vision, that nothing was common or unclean that had been sanctified by the Most High; or was it like the exiled Greek philosophers' request that he might be buried where he died; for was not every spot on earth equally far from heaven?

These things may suggest themselves to those who hear the legend : to those who relate it by the tomb it probably has no other significance than that Selîm was Heaven's chosen one, God's ambassador at Akbar's court. What higher relation could he occupy to his age and country ? And yet it must have seemed to the fervent disciple that all the merits of self-induced privations, " the multitudes of sacrifices " that would have attended his pilgrimage, were overlooked and set-aside.

Selîm submitted to the will of God. The comforting divine assurance followed. Selîm's desire would be fulfilled albeit not as he had proposed to himself. Forty cubic yards of earth transported from Mecca itself had, by angelic hands, been deposited beneath the spot where they were standing, and there the saint was to be buried. Then the vision disappeared. So Chishti lived, laboured, died, and was buried in the heart of Fatehpur-Sikri, but still in Meccan soil.

Another legend is connected with the building of the mosque to the west of the justly celebrated quadrangle. Selîm of course was the designer of that mosque ; yet not Selîm, although he drew the plans and endeavoured to instruct the workmen who were engaged to execute them. The mosque, with the exception of the domes—so says the legend—resembles the mosque at Mecca. And what of the mosque at Mecca ? It in its turn is the exact counterpart of a Mosque which stands in that portion of heaven immediately over Mecca.

Either Selîm's design was not of the clearest, or the workmen of Fatehpur Sikri were deficient in intelligence, they were utterly unable to comprehend the plan, and in consequence could not build according to it. When human means failed, Selîm had recourse to the supernatural. He took the principal workmen aside, and covered their eyes with his cloak, and lo ! there rose before them a vision as of a glorious temple of golden cloud, a house not built with hands, far off in heaven itself. The workmen gazed, and first the outlines and then the minutest details of the gorgeous original painted themselves on the tablets of their memory. When he knew that the heaven-inspired artists had embraced the whole of the vast design, Selîm removed his cloth. The architects found themselves still standing with the villages of Fatehpur and Sikri on either hand, with the familiar green fields before them, and the bright sun overhead and thereupon

they set to work with a will that swept away all obstacles. Thus was the mosque at Fatehpur Sikri built after the model of a visionary temple that revealed itself to mortal eyes beneath the mantle of Selim.

Shaikh Selim had a son, who died when he was exactly six months old. He is buried in the western platform, outside the Mosque, in a corner that seems to be neglected and more left to itself than almost any place within a hundred yards of it. To the West of his grave is a tree, the leaves of which are reported to be a specific in cases of intermittent fever. Twigs and little chips of bark from it are tied round the wrists of persons suffering from the disease, and the remedy, as might be expected, is at once efficacious. But how came the tree to possess these valuable properties? Growing in the neighbourhood of the saint's son's tomb, has it been developed and nourished with elements favourable to well-doing?

Anyhow, Selim's son was emphatically a prodigy. The little toothless babe one day stopped suddenly and forever in his childish smiling and, turning to his father, begged of him in the correctest Persian to pray to God that the childless Akbar might have a son. The words were no sooner uttered than the infant stretched its little limbs in the death struggle and, with a glory of perfect peace on its features, gently died. Another overwhelming billow from the stormy ocean of sorrow and disappointment broke on the saint's soul. Heaven's beautiful gift had been taken away soon, too soon after it was granted, so felt the father; the saint exclaimed "Allahu Akbar"! "God is greatest"; and "Aslamtu" "I have surrendered my own will." He prayed too in accordance with his dead child's last, and first, request, prayed fervently, and his prayers were answered. In due course, reckoning from the day of the death of the Shaikh's child, a son was born to Akbar. He too was called Selim. He succeeded his father Akbar and was the Jehangir of history, the husband of the still more celebrated Nûr Jehân, at whose court Thomas Roe figured as the ambassador of James I of England. Jehangir was no shadowy or saintly being. He loved the things of this life too well for one sent to earth in answer to such earnest prayer, who should have led a dedicated life. He himself admitted that, when quite a lad, his daily allowance of wine exceeded ten pints, and that his hands shook if he went for an hour at a stretch without a little of his favourite beverage. Roe frequently

banqueted in his Majesty's company, and he declares that the Emperor made it a nightly practice to continue his potations till the lights went out, and he himself dropped asleep, which last imperial act was the signal for such of his guests as were still sober—Sir Thomas and a few others—to disperse. With many amiable gifts and qualities, he is hardly the personage one would expect to find associated with this legend of the circumstances of his birth.

S. C. SANIAL.

PHYSIOLOGY AND MEDICINE UNDER THE KHALIFS¹

OF the dynasty of the Ommayyads whose reign extended for about ninety years (A.H. 41 to A.H. 132, or 661 to 750 of the Christian era) only one of the thirteen Khalifs escaped execration by the pious Muslims. That one was Omar ibn Abdul-Azîz, generally known as Omar the second, the pious Khalif (*al-Khalifatu's-Salih*), who was indeed a royal saint.

Concerning his parentage, it is related that one night as the great Khalif Omar² was patrolling the streets of Medîna, he overheard a woman saying to her daughter, "Rise, my girl, and water the milk." The girl replied "O mother of mine! Did you not hear the public crier of the Commander of the Faithful forbid the mixing of milk with water?" The mother replied "His crier is far from you now. He cannot see what you do." The daughter answered, "If he see me not, the Lord of that crier, and of all creatures, will see me." On hearing this Omar wept, and, when the morning came, he sent for the two women and asked the daughter if she was married. The mother answered that she was not, whereupon Omar said to his son Abdullah, "O Abdullah! marry that girl. If I stood in need of a wife, I myself would take her." Abdullah replied that he was already suited; and the Khalif, turning to his other son, said, "O Abu-Azim, do you then marry her." Abu-Azim did so, and she bore him a daughter, fair to be seen, of purest virtue and highly intelligent, who was named Umm Assim. This girl became the wife of Abdul-Azîz ibn Marwân of the Ommayyads and bore him a son, Omar ibn Abdul-Azîz.

(1) The previous article of this series appeared in our October number. Ed. "Islamic Culture."

(2) The second of the Muslim Khalifs, succeeding to the Khalifate on the death of Abu-Bakr in the year 634 A.D. He defeated the Persians at Kadesia in 635 and 2 years later completed the conquest of Syria.

Tradition states that prior to his birth his grandmother dreamt that she saw her daughter (the afore-named Umm Assim) nursing a son, who was wearing a white turban interlaced with threads of gold, and who held a golden *mizan* (balance) in his hand, from which dream she prognosticated that her daughter's future son would be a monarch and rule his people with justice and equity. Tradition also states that when Omar ibn Abdul-Azîz was a little boy he received a kick from a horse. He was carried to his mother, who clasped him in her arms, and began to wipe off the blood from his face. While she was thus occupied, the child's father entered the room and, turning to him, she passionately exclaimed: "You have killed my child, because you would not give him a servant or a nurse to protect him from such accidents as this." He replied, "Be silent, O Umm-Assim! Allah knoweth what is best for us all! What a blessing it will be for you if this, our boy, proves to be the Ommayyad with a scarred forehead!" This remark of the father was an allusion to a prediction that was current that a descendant of Ommaya, having a mark on his face, should fill the world with his benevolence and justice.

The manner in which Omar ibn Abdul-Azîz was brought to be a humble and faithful servant of the Most High is said to have been this:—While yet a young man, he was on the point of inflicting corporal punishment upon a negro slave who had been guilty of some fault. "Master!" asked the bondman, "Why are you going to thrash me?" Omar reminded him of the fault he had committed. "And you," replied the slave, kneeling before him, "have you never, by some wrong that you have done, exposed yourself to the wrath of your master, the Lord of the Worlds, the great Creator of the Universe?" Omar assented that he had done so—"And did He hasten to chastise you?"—"Subhan-Allah!—Blessed be God!—No." "Then wherefore are you so eager to punish me, who have but done to you what you admit that you have done to your master?"—"Rise," said Omar. "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, I pronounce you a free man." This circumstance was the cause of his thorough appreciation of the true spirit of Islam and in after life he would frequently recall it in his prayers, murmuring to himself, "Oh, the gentleness of Allah, who hastens not to punish those who have offended Him!"

Omar ibn Abdul Azîz ascended the throne in the month of Safar, in the 99th year of the Hegira. Omar is regarded by the Sunni Muslims as the fifth of the *Rashidin* or "rightly directed" Khalifs¹.

Unaffected piety, a keen sense of justice, unswerving uprightness, moderation, and an almost primitive simplicity of life formed the chief features in his character. He was indeed a true Muslim in thought, word and deed. The responsibility of the exalted office with which he was invested filled him with anxiety, and caused him many a heart-searching. Once his wife, Fâtima, the daughter of the Khalif Abdul Malik², and a sister of the last two Ommayyad rulers, found him weeping after his prayers and asked him if anything had transpired to cause him grief, to which he replied: "O Fâtima! I have been made the ruler over the Muslims and the strangers, and I was thinking of the poor who are starving, and the sick who are destitute, and the naked who are in dire distress and the oppressed who are stricken, and the stranger who is in prison, and the venerable elder, and him that hath a large family and small means, and the like of them in the countries of the earth and the distant provinces, and I felt that my Lord would ask an account for them at my hands on the day of resurrection, and I feared no defence would avail me, and I wept."

Immediately upon his accession, he ordered the horses of the royal stables to be sold by public auction and the proceeds therefrom to be deposited in the State Treasury. He also requested his wife to return to the Treasury all the jewellery and valuable presents she had received from her father and brothers and she cheerfully complied with his request. After her husband's decease, when her brother Yazîd ascended the throne, he offered to return to her the jewellery. Her truly noble reply was: "I did not care for the things in my dear husband's lifetime, why should I care for them after his death?"

My husband's wish and mine were ever one,
Jewels and gems are naught, now he is gone.

There was great dismay among the Shu'arâ (the poets) when the austere and pious Omar ascended the throne. The pensions, it had been the custom from the time of

(1) The four preceding Râshidin being Abu-Bakr, Omar, Othman and Ali.

(2) Abdul Malik, son of Marwân I, was the fifth sovereign of the Ommayyad dynasty. He occupied the throne from A.H. 65 to 86. He was a great lover of poetry, especially when in praise of himself.

Abdul Malik to pay to them, they now felt to be in danger. A pious monarch, such as the new Khalif was known to be, could have no love for the men who sang the delights of wine-bibbing and other illicit practices. The desire of Omar was to curtail expenditure and to suppress any superfluous luxuries, and thereby to ease the burden of taxation laid upon the people. Pensions to poets he would almost certainly consider as unjustifiable expenditure. The poets, who had been placed on the ulûfat or pension list by the preceding sovereigns, therefore, came in a very depressed frame of mind to pay their respects to the new ruler. They were headed by Jarîr, the first poet of the time¹.

(1) Jarîr and Al-Farazdak (Abu Firas Hammam, or Humaim, of the tribe of Tamîm) were two very celebrated poets, who lived at the same time, and died in the same year (A.H. 110=A.D. 728-29), al-Farazdak expiring just forty days before the death of Jarîr. Ibn-Khallikan has given each of their lives at considerable length, and says : Jarîr was in the habit of making satires on Al-Farazdak, who retorted in the same manner, and they composed parodies on each other's poems." Jarîr always used to say that the same mischievous Jinn inspired them both, and consequently each knew what the other would say. As an example of how personal and insulting these poets were to one another the following extract from a long Qasida written by Jarîr against Al-Farazdak may be cited :—

"The mother of al-Farazdak brought into the world a reprobate, a short-winged buzzard. When night spreads her shades around, he forms his two ropes into a ladder, by which he may mount to the chambers of his female neighbours. Adulterer ! you were lowered down from a height of eighty fathoms, but you could never attain to any height in glory and in honour. People of Medina ! That man is impurity itself ; be on your guard and shut all entrances whereby may pass a wretch so foul, so versed in all lewdness. The expulsion of al-Farazdak from your town was the purifying of the quarter which lies between the Musallon and Wakim."

Despite all this seeming hostility between these two great poets, when Jarîr learned of the death of al-Farazdak, he wept and said : "By Allah ! I well know that I shall survive him, but only for a short time ; we were born under the same constellation, and each of us was taken up with the other ; and it rarely happens that a rival or a friend dies without being followed by him whose rival or friend he was !"—And this, in fact, was the case.

The anecdotes told of al-Farazdak are very numerous. Ibn-Kutaiba mentions in his *Tabakat-ash-Shu'ara* that al-Farazdak, when suffering from severe vomiting was conveyed to Basra in that condition. The physician who was called in prescribed to him a draught of *Naft* (naphtha), whereupon the patient exclaimed : "Do you mean me to drink naphtha, before I am gone to *Jehennam* (Hell) ? I am still in the world." This remark caused so much laughter amongst those present, that al-Farazdak was forced, despite his weakness, to join in the merriment and from that moment the excessive vomiting he had been subject to ceased and the food of which he was able to partake, remained on his stomach. When he died he was nearly 100 years old.

Omar refused to receive them. As they stood in the *auda*, or ante-chamber, a Mufti, or Doctor of Law, passed through on his way to the Khalif, to whom Jarîr addressed himself in a poetical couplet which runs beautifully in Arabic and of which the English translation is this :—

“O Doctor with flowing turban, the good time for you, behold ! has come ; for me, alas ! it is passed and gone. Say to the Khalif, if you have the honour to see him, that I and my companions in misfortune stand at the gate, each as a *mujanzar* (chained one).”

The Mufti informed Omar of the request of Jarîr and obtained permission for him to come into his presence. When Jarîr was admitted, he, after the manner of poets, commenced to recite verses setting forth the sorrows that afflicted the Islamic World, and how the eyes of all true believers were fixed upon the Commander of the Faithful as one designed by Allah to give them relief, and all hearts trusted in his benignity and justice. Omar was moved to tears by the eloquence of the poet ; and Jarîr, thinking the moment propitious, requested that his pension should be continued. This the Khalîfa refused to do, but added, “I have forty *dînârs* and two dresses, one of which I wear while the other is being washed. I will share them with you, though, Allah knows, I have more need of them than you.” Jarîr declined this magnificent offer—“Had you not done so,” replied Omar the pious, “I confess that you would have inconvenienced me greatly.”

Omar restored to the Christians and the Jews such churches and synagogues, to which they were entitled under the ancient capitulations, as had been taken away from them. The garden of Fedak, which belonged to the Prophet Muhammad, had been appropriated by Marwân (son of al-Hakam) the fourth of the Ommayad Khalîfahs (A.H.64-65) ; Omar restored it to the family of the Prophet.

One of Omar's first acts after his accession was to send a circular letter to the Governors of provinces, cautioning them against admitting *Zimmis*¹ or non-Muslims to any of the State offices, because, he said, there could be “neither judgment nor experience among those who provoked the anger of God and of his Prophet.” Haian,

(1) The term *Zimmi* is applied to non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim Government, belonging to the Jewish, Christian, or Sabean creed, who, for the payment of a poll or capitation tax, enjoy security of person and property and full liberty of worship in an Islamic country.

the Governor of Egypt, replied to this circular letter thus :—" O Prince of True Believers ! If such a state of things endures for any time in Egypt, all the Zimmis will become Muslims and the revenues from their tribute will be lost to the Imperial Treasury." On the receipt of this missive, Omar at once despatched a special commissioner to Egypt charged with this command : " Strike Haian thirty blows on the head with a whip as a punishment for the wicked words he has spoken, and tell him that every soul who shall embrace the pure and holy faith of Islam shall be exempted from the capitation tax. I shall be beyond measure happy if all the Zimmis become Muslims, for God sent His Holy Prophet into the world to do the work of an apostle, not to act as a *muhassil*—a collector of taxes."

Prior to Omar's accession to the throne, it had been customary under the Ommayyads to anathematise from the pulpits the memory of the fourth Khalifah, Hazrat Ali, and his descendants. Omar ordered the immediate discontinuance of the practice, and directed that, in lieu of the imprecation previously used, a *du'a* (prayer) should be offered to turn the hearts of the people towards charity, forbearance and benevolence.

Omar's desire was not to enlarge but to consolidate the vast empire to which he had succeeded. The army of Maslamah then encamped under the walls of Constantinople was recalled ; all frontier expeditions were stopped; the people were encouraged in industrial pursuits, and provincial governors were required to give a strict account of their stewardship. In a rescript addressed to the prefect of al-Kûfah, a city on the west bank of the river Euphrates, about four days' march from the site of Baghdad, Omar exhorted his governors to abolish all unjust ordinances and remove all causes of complaint, " for," so runs the document, " thou must know that the maintenance of religion is due to the practice of *adalat wa karamat* (justice and benevolence); do not think lightly of any sin ; do not try to depopulate what is populous ; do not endeavour to extract from the subjects anything beyond their capacity ; take from them what they can give ; do everything to improve population and prosperity ; govern mildly and without harshness ; do not accept presents on festive occasions ; do not take the price of sacred books (distributed among the people) ; impose no tax on travellers or on marriages or on the milk of camels ; and do not insist on the poll-tax from anyone who has become a convert of Islam."

Omar's son, Abdul-Malik, a promising youth of seventeen, who was in complete accord with his godly father in all his aspirations for the good of his people and the reform of the Muslims, one day asked him, half reproachfully, why he did not make more serious endeavours to exterminate the evils that were beginning like *makruh aklah*, a foul canker, to eat into the heart of Muslim society. "My beloved son," was the father's reply, "what thou tellest me to do can only be achieved by the sword, but there is no good in the reform which requires the use of the sword."

During the reign of Omar, laxity of morals was re- prehended ; and many burdens were removed from the shoulders of the people, by the reduction of taxation. Omar died (A.H.101) having reigned only for two years and four months¹. His reign forms the most attractive period of the Ommayad domination. It is pleasant to dwell on the labours and aspirations of so pious and capable a ruler who, all his life, made the welfare and happiness of his beloved people the sole object of his ambition.

Six further sovereigns of the *Banu-Umayyah* succeeded to the Khilâfat after the death of Omar the Pious, the last of the line being Marwân II nicknamed Marwân al-Himâr². Directly after his accession to the throne the Abbasids, the lineal descendants of Al Abbâs, the son of Abdul-Muttalib and paternal uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, refused to acknowledge Marwân as Khalîfah. Under their Imâm (who, in consequence of the terrible revenge he took upon the Ommayads for the murder of his brother, Ibrahim, received the name of *as-Saffah* or "the Sanguinary," by which appellation he is known in history), the Abbasids conquered Khorasan, and on the 13th Rabiâ-as-sani, in the 132nd year of the Hegira (25th November, 740 of the Christian era), Abû'l Abbâs Abdullah was proclaimed Imam and Khalif of the Muslims. Marwân raised an army, 120,000 strong, and crossed the Tigris, but was defeated with heavy loss on the banks of the Zab, on the 11th Jumâda-al-âkhir, A.H. 132 (25 January 750). This memorable battle sealed the fate of the Ommayads. Marwân fled first to Môsul, then to

(1) Before coming to the throne 'Omar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz had for years borne a conspicuous part in the government of the Muslim Empire—Ed. "Islamic Culture."

(2) al-himâr—"the ass"—This name was given, not in derision but in recognition of Marwan's remarkable powers of endurance, his physical strength and force of will. The Arabian donkey is noted for possessing great powers of endurance.

Hairain, thence to Homs, and from there to Damascus. Ultimately he fled to Egypt. His pursuers, who had followed him "hot o' foot," found the fallen monarch at a place called Busir, or Busiris, on the western bank of the Nile, where he had lain down to rest. Determined to sell his life dearly, the unfortunate sovereign rushed forth, sword in hand, only to fall transfixed with a lance. Thus, on the 26th day of Zul-Hijja, in the 132nd year of the Hejira (5th August 750) perished, sword in hand, one of the bravest and best of his house, and with him fell the House of Ommaya. "Some of the sovereigns of this dynasty were undoubtedly great, whilst others were no worse than their contemporaries in the western world. Omar II ("Omar the Pious"), who has been deservedly styled the Marcus Aurelius of the Arabs, was a ruler far in advance of the times; and Walid I and Hisham, though they cannot be placed on the same pedestal with him, were yet men of great capacity, honestly solicitous to promote the well-being of the people. Marwan II himself, but for his unfortunate end, would have taken a front rank among the rulers of the world. He was brave and wise; but says Ibn-ul-Athir, 'as destiny had put a term on his reign, both his valour and his wisdom came to naught¹.' "

Brave as a lion, as a serpent wise
 It seem'd as if to highest heights he'd rise;
 Despite all this *Nasib*² did seal his fame,
 And left him nothing but an empty name.

While these great events were in progress in the East the sciences were being less and less cultivated and encouraged in Europe and eventually sank into a state of total inactivity, the unsettled state of society during the latter ages of the Roman Empire being extremely unfavourable to the successful cultivation of science. The sanguinary conflicts wherein the southern nations of Europe were repeatedly engaged with their northern neighbours between the 2nd and 8th centuries of the Christian era tended greatly to estrange their minds from scientific pursuits; and the hordes of barbarians and other invaders by which the Roman Empire was latterly overrun, while forcibly bringing home to the people the necessity of making strong resistance, introduced such habits of barbarism that science was almost entirely

(1) The Rt. Hon. Sayyid Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, page 188.

(2) *Nasib*=Destiny.

forgotten. True the art of healing was still professed by a few ecclesiastics and by itinerant practitioners (many of whom were absolute charlatans), but anatomy and physiology were utterly neglected: and no name in Europe of anatomical or physiological celebrity seems to diversify the long and uninteresting period which is now referred to as "the Dark Ages."

The flourishing period of Arabian medicine begins about the year 640 of the Christian era and ends with the fourteenth century. The supremacy of this school during this period is accounted for by its history. Early in the seventh century the great Arabian prophet Muhammed, (on whom be everlasting peace!) appeared in Mecca and, by his magnetic personality, his skill in war and diplomacy and his clear and logical religious teachings, consolidated into one powerful nation all the smaller States which had composed Arabia.

In less than a century after his advent all Arabia, Persia, Syria, North Africa and Spain were in the hands of his followers and Islam had been accepted as the religion of the majority of their inhabitants. Western Rome had been over-run and her territories filched from her by the northern barbarians. Her eastern empire was surrounded and threatened by enemies.

This political decadence of Rome, and the ascendancy of the followers of Muhammad, was reflected in the history of medicine. The conquerors absorbed the learning of the conquered, and it may readily be understood that the rise of Arabian medicine at this period was only in accordance with the ordinary laws of history. An offspring from Greek schools, it reflected the teaching of the masters of the Age of Foundation, and although it showed no great discoveries, no wonderful advances for some considerable time, it vitalised all the learning of the past, and rendered clear a good deal of what had hitherto been obscure.

Anatomical and physiological learning and the art of medicine neglected in Europe was sustained and extended by the Muslims. The Arabs and other races who had embraced the Islamic faith coalesced under various rulers and by their rigid and abstemious habits, great powers of endurance and enthusiastic and indomitable valour in successive expeditions against the eastern division of the Roman Empire, acquired such a military reputation as rendered them formidable wherever they appeared. After a century and a half of foreign warfare and internecine

animosities under the successive dynasties of the Ommayyads and the Abbasids, the Muslims, under the latter dynasty, recognised more and more the value of science, and especially of that branch of it which has for its aim the prolongation of life, the prevention and healing of disease and the alleviation of pain arising from wounds and bodily injuries.

The Khalif Abu Jaafar al-Mansûr ("the Victorious") (A.D. 754-755), combined with his official and comprehensive knowledge of Islamic Law the successful cultivation of the science of astronomy; but to his grandson Abu-Abbâs Abdullah Al-Mamûn, (A.D. 783-833) belongs the honour and merit of undertaking to render his subjects philosophers and physicians. By the direction of this noble-minded ruler the works of the Greek and Roman authors were translated into Arabic; and the favour and munificence with which literature and science and the professors thereof were patronized speedily raised a succession of distinguished and learned Muslims. The residue of the rival family of the Ommayyads already settled in Spain, prompted by an equally honorable ambition to promote learning, adopted the same course; and while the academy, hospitals and library of Baghdad bore eloquent testimony to the zeal and liberality of the Abbâsids, the munificence of the Ommayyads was not less conspicuous in the literary institutions of Cordova, Seville and Toledo.

Abû Bakr al-Râzi, Abû Alî ibn-Sîna, Abû'l-Qâsim, and Abû'l-Walîd ibn Rushd, the Rhazes, Avicenna, Abulcasis and Averroes of European authors, are their most celebrated names in medicine and physiology.

We shall deal with these great men more *in extenso* later, but we may here remark that Rhazes (Abû Bakr al Râzi) has left descriptions of the eye, of the nose, the ear and its *meatus*¹ and of the heart, and treatises on the small-pox and the measles; and Avicenna (Abû Ali

(1) Meatus. [Latin *Meatus*=a passage, going, motion, or course, from *Meo*=to go, to pass]—a term used in anatomy to designate an opening or canal, as the *Meatus auditorius*, extending from the concha (the largest and deepest concavity of the external ear) to the tympanum or drum; in its lining membrane are found the ceruminous glands (the follicles, or numerous small glands situated between the cutaneous lining and the cartilage of the external auditory canal), secreting the cerumen (the wax or wax-like secretion) of the ear—the meatuses of the nose are passages between the spongy bones and the nasal fossæ, and in rushing through them, the air deposits its odour on the mucous membrane.

ibn Sina), Abû'l-Qâsim and Averroes (Abû'l-Walîd ibn Rushd) give anatomical descriptions of the body.

It has been often stated that the general character of the physiological works of these learned men would seem to indicate that they were based upon, if not exactly copies from, Galen's writings¹, and to a certain extent this is undoubtedly correct. They, however, obtained a place in anatomical and physiological history and their medical authority exercised a considerable influence in the European schools; the nomenclature which they employed was adopted by European anatomists and physiologists, and continued to be used by them until the revival of ancient learning in Europe, during the Renaissance period, restored the nomenclature of the Greek physicians. Thus the *cervix*, or nape of the neck is termed *nucha* and *Kafra*; the oesophagus is *meri* and *halk*; the umbilical region is *sumen* or *suma*; the abdomen is *myrach*, the peritoneum (a membrane which encloses the bowels) is *siphac* and *assifak*; and the *omentum*, plural *omenta* (one layer of the peritoneum passing over the liver, and another behind, the two layers meeting at the under surface, passing to the stomach, and forming the lesser omentum; then, surrounding the stomach, passing down in front of the intestines, and returning to the transverse colon, forming the greater omentum) *zirbus*². One name worthy of special mention in the long list of Muslim

(1) Galen (Claudius Galenus)—Born at Pergamum, Mysia, about 180 of the common era. A celebrated Greek physician and philosophical writer, long the supreme authority in medical science. He travelled in various countries (studying in Smyrna, Alexandria, and elsewhere) visited Rome 164—168, and returned there in 170, remaining for a number of years. He is said to have died in Sicily. He composed a large number (about 500) of works on medicine, logic etc. whereof 83 genuine treatises and some others regarded as doubtful have been preserved.

(2) The following Arabic anatomical words may be of interest:—Anatomy=*tashrih*; anus *makad*, *dubr*; analysis *tafsil*, *tafrik*, *taksim*; arm *said*; the arm-pit *ibt*; artery=*sharyan*, *irk*; the beating of the artery, the pulse=*nabd*; blood=*dam*; bone=*azm*, *izum*; joint bones (of the heel)=*kab*, (of the hands)=*kas*, plural, *kaas*, (of the back); the back-bone, the vertebra=*kharraz azzahar*; a bone-setter=*mujabbir*; the neck, *unk*; heart=*kalb*; vein=*irk*, plural, *uruk*; the temporal veins=*assudghan*; two veins in the jaws or throat=*annahiran* two veins in the eyes (also two in the nose)=*al asharan*; stomach=*midah*, *batan*; the intestine (gut)=*maa*, pl. *ama*, *masarin*; uterus womb *rahm*; uterine=*rahmi*; throat=*halk*, *halkum*; jaw=*fak*, *hanak*; the upper jaw *al fak al ala*; the lower jaw, *al fak al asfal*; tooth=*sin*; wounded=*majruh*; cut=*majud*; an emetic=*mukayi*; death *mamat* deadly=*mumit*.

scientists is that of Abdu'l-Latif, the annalist of Egyptian affairs. This author, who maintains that it is impossible to learn anatomy from books, and that the authority of Galen must yield to personal inspection, informs us that the Muslim doctors did not neglect opportunities of studying the bones of human bodies in cemeteries ; and that he himself, by once examining a set of bones in this manner, ascertained that the lower jaw is formed of one piece ; that the sacrum, though sometimes composed of several, is most generally of one ; and that Galen is mistaken when he asserts that these bones are not single.

The era for Islamic physiological and medical learning extends to the 13th century A.D. Let us now take in sequence some of the names already mentioned and give some further details with regard to them.

There were in all thirty-seven Abbasid Khalifs, of whom Abû-Jaafar, surnamed Al-Mansûr, "the Victorious" (A.D. 754-775), Harûn-ar-Rashîd (A.D. 786-809), and Al-Mamûn (A.D. 812-833) were the most celebrated—of these, the first, who was the second Khalif of that line, founded Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasids, about 762 ; the second, who was the fifth Khalif, has been rendered immortal by the frequent allusions to him, and to members of the Barmekid family, in the "Arabian Nights ;" while the third, who was the seventh Khalif of the line, was a great patron of literature and science. As years rolled on the dynasty and its princes became weaker and weaker, and finally came to an end under the 37th and last Khalif Al-Musta'sim Billah, with the capture of Baghdad, in the year 1258 of the Christian era, by Hulakû Khân, sovereign of the Mughals, and the grandson of Jenghiz Khân.

No history of this kind would be complete without a reference to that distinguished family which played so prominent a part for many years under the Abbasid Khilâfat. It is said that during the khalifate of Abdullah Abûl' Abbâs Al-Saffâh (the Blood-shedder) A.D. 747-754, the founder of the dynasty, there came to his court from Khorasan the son of a priest at the fire temple at Nevbehâr in Balkh, named Jaafar ibn Barmak, who subsequently became the founder of the great family known afterwards as the Barmakids or "Barmecides." This same Jaafar Barmak, who had renounced his ancestral faith, Zoroastrianism, and embraced Islam, offered the Khalif Al-Saffâh a ring containing *Samm* (poison), which he said might serve him in case of necessity. His son, Khâlid, became

chief Vizier under Al-Saffâh, continued to hold the same office under Al-Mansûr and was retained in office by the third Khalif, Al-Mahdi. The family was rich beyond computation, and Khâlid was sage, eloquent, frank and courageous beyond all men of his day. So great was the influence of Khâlid that, at this time, when Al-Mansûr was at the height of his interest in the creation of Baghdad, and proposed to despoil the palaces of the Khosroes at Medain of their magnificent columns and other masonry, he dared to interpose objections to the plan. With the sagacity of a wary courtier he suggested that to destroy the evidences of the past Persian grandeur was to obliterate the proofs of the power of Islam which had overthrown it. The date of the foundation of Baghdad is placed in the year 762 of the Christian era. The protests of Khâlid were efficacious, and the palaces of the the Persian monarchs were left undisturbed.*

Concerning this great man, Mas'ûdi, the historian, writes thus :—

“ The height to which Khâlid-ibn-Barmak attained in prudence, bravery, learning, generosity and other noble qualities, was never realized by any of his sons ; Yahya did not equal him in judgment and intelligence : nor Fadhl, the son of Yahya ,in liberality and disinterestedness ; nor Jaafar, the son of Yahya, in bravery and energy. When Abu-Muslîm, the Khorasani, sent Kahtaba Tai against Yazîd-ibn-Omar, who was governing the two Iraqs, Khâlid was one of those who accompanied him. They halted on the way at a village and whilst they were breakfasting on the terrace of one of the houses, they saw several flocks of gazelles and other wild animals coming from the desert, and approaching so near that they got into the camp among the soldiers. “ Amîr !” said Khâlid, “ order the men to saddle and bridle !” Kahtaba stood up in amazement and, seeing nothing to alarm him, said, “ What do you mean, Khâlid, by this advice ?” The other replied, “ The enemy are on the march against you ; do you not see that if these flocks of wild animals draw so near to us, they must be flying before a numerous body of men ?” The troops were scarcely on horseback when the dust raised by the approaching army was perfectly visible. Had it not been for Khâlid, they would all have perished.”

Khâlid died about 780. Yahya, the son of Khâlid, not only himself became the Vizier of the Khalif Harûn

al-Rashîd but also his two sons, Fadhl and Jaafar. Yahya was very liberal, and sometimes gave away considerable sums of money for very small services. It was said of him that no poet or philosopher ever left his door without carrying some gold pieces with him. Fadhl, the son of Yahya, was more liberal but less eloquent than his brother Jaafar. The Khalif Harûn esteemed the two brothers so highly that he entrusted his son Muhammad to the care of Fadhl, and his son Mamûn to the custody of Jaafar. Afterwards he made Jaafar his vizier, and sent Fadhl to be Governor of Khorasan. There Fadhl built mosques, reservoirs of water and carvanserais, augmented the army, and attracted numbers of emigrants to the country, whereby he gained the approval of his sovereign, who ordered the poets to sing his praises. Fadhl died in 809, and his death was bewailed by several poets, such as Abû'l-Hejna, Otbi, Abu-Nawwâs and others.

The Barmakids were patrons of art, letters and science, and encouraged men of learning to make their homes at Baghdad; the Khalif Harûn-al-Rashîd sympathized with this prudent policy and his metropolis became magnificent almost beyond the power of language to express. In the progress of the city, the Khalif's brother, Ibrahim (surnamed *as-Sari*, "the ever-ready,") a man of great intelligence and considerable learning and a student of science, who afterwards became a claimant for supreme power, was a great helper. The chief Wazîr ("burden-bearer,") who bore the burdens of State was Yahya, son of Khâlid and grandson of Jaafar Barmak; and it was he who encouraged trade, patronised learning, regulated the internal administration of government in every respect, fortified the frontiers, and made the provinces prosperous by preserving them in safety. His son Jaafar governed Syria and Egypt, besides having other responsibilities. "The family was an ornament to the forehead and a crown on the head of the Khalif, as the chroniclers relate; they were brilliant stars, vast oceans, impetuous torrents, beneficent rains, the refuge of the afflicted, the comfort of the diseased, the pillars of learning, the patrons of science, and so generous are they represented that the story of their beneficence reads like a veritable page from the Thousand and One Nights¹."

Jaafar was slain in 802, his tragic fate is well known. He excelled in literary attainments and was especially noted for his oratory and his style of composition. A long

(1) Gilman, *The Saracens*, ("Story of the Nations" series) p. 357.

biography is given of him by the Muslim historian, Ibn-Khallikan. He was a thorough master of language and expressed his thoughts with great elegance and eloquence. In one night he endorsed more than a thousand petitions addressed to the Khalif with his decisions, all of which were in perfect accordance with the Islamic Law. The favour enjoyed by Jaafar with Harûn-ar-Rashîd was so great that this Khalif caused one robe to be made with two separate *yaka* (collars), which they both wore at the same time.

I have already mentioned the names of three of these Abbâsid Khalifs who were distinguished patrons of learning. The following additional information may be useful :—

Abu Jaafar Al-Mansûr (The Victorious) (A.D. 754–775) succeeded his brother the founder of the dynasty, in A.D. 754. He removed the seat of government from Kufa to Baghdad, which he built (764) at immense expense. The spot which he chose was not far from a city called Median (The Twin City), because it occupied the site of two more ancient towns, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, but a little north of it, on the Tigris. Bestowing upon it the name of Baghdad, he erected his palace, calling it Dâr-as-Salâm (“The Abode of Peace”), in the centre, building about it circular walls, in order that it might be approached from all quarters equally well. The waters of the Tigris were carried around the ramparts by means of a ditch, and a hundred and sixty towers served as further protection. “Every art of the architect and the designer, of the artist in stone, of the painter and gilder, was made tributary to the grandeur of a city which was intended to embody something of the magnificence of a dynasty that counted its wealth by the hundred million, and hesitated at no outlay that would make a display¹.

Mansûr is represented by the Arabian historians as a person of uncommon personal beauty and of brilliant mental gifts. He caused the *Elements* of Euclid to be translated from the Syriac, the famous fables of Bidpai from the Persian, and some of Aristotle’s works from the Greek into Arabic. Al-Mansûr died in the 158th year of the Hegira (corresponding with the year 775 of the Christian era) during a pilgrimage to Mecca, at the age

(1) Gilman. *The Saracens*. (“Story of the Nations” series) p. 357.

of almost 70, and was succeeded by his younger brother Mahdi.

Medical science under Mansûr enjoyed the highest honour, which it ever afterwards retained under the Abbasid dynasty. Distinguished physicians were brought from the Persian hospital at Jondhsapûr, and between the years 750 and 850 of the Christian era the number of physicians was considerable, among whom the following were the most celebrated :—

Georgios (Jorjis)-bin-Bakhtyeshun of Jondshapûr lived at the commencement of the Abbâsid dynasty, and was the author of a book on Pandects, and also of a work called *Risalatul jumjumat* ("Treatise on the Skull"), which is now lost. When Al-Mansûr was building the city of Baghdad it is stated that he suffered from *Takhmat* (indigestion), pains in his stomach, and from 'ajaz (impotency), and Georgios, then the director of the medical college at Jondshapûr, was recommended to him as the most skilled physician of the time. Accordingly the Khalif ordered Georgios and two of his pupils, Ibrâhîm and Serjis, to come to Baghdad, appointing Jebrayl (Gabriel), the son of Georgios, as director of the *Dar-al-mard* (hospital) in the place of his father.

Georgios, so the story goes, placed his royal patient on a new diet wherein vegetables predominated, and amongst other viands, prescribed a dish of *kamat* (mushrooms) to be taken each day. By this regimen the Persian physician effected a cure and received from Al-Mansûr three thousand gold pieces as his fee, along with a beautiful slave-girl; the latter was, however, returned to the Khalif with a letter which, while profoundly thanking the monarch for his gift, said: "It is necessary for my professional success that I keep my mind, *bi kamal wadi* (perfectly placid) and how can I do so if I think, on one hand, of the voluptuous charms of this beautiful damsel, and, on the other hand, of the *dayim ghirah* (perpetual jealousy) of my wife?" The Khalif was highly amused with the wording of this document, took back the maiden, and gave Georgios a hundred more gold pieces in her stead. From that time the physician attained free access to the harem, and enjoyed high favour with the Khalif, who endeavoured to persuade him in 770 to become a convert to Islam; this he refused, however, and died early in the following year (771). Before his death, Georgios asked to be permitted to return to Jondshapûr, to be interred

there with his ancestors. Al-Mansûr said, "Fear God and believe in His Prophet, and I guarantee you paradise!" Georgios replied, "I am satisfied to be with my ancestors, be it in Paradise or be it in hell." The Khalif laughed, allowed him to return home, and presented him with ten thousand pieces of gold for his travelling expenses.

Jibrayl (Gabriel), the son of the above-named Jorjis (Georgios), was also a great student of physiology and a celebrated physician. He is said to have written a treatise on the human vertebra. The work bearing the title of *Al kharaz azzahar*, wherein he enumerated the exact number of bones contained therein, and divided them into sections, and made some interesting observations upon the ribs (*dulin*), and their position in the human frame. He was a great favourite of the Khalif Harûn-ar-Rashîd, who frequently declared that he would not refuse him anything. When, however, this Khalif fell ill at Tus and asked Jibrayl for his opinion, the latter replied that if Harûn had followed his advice to be moderate in sexual pleasure, he would not have been attacked by disease. For this candid reply he was thrown into prison, and his life was saved only by the Bash Hâjib (chief chamberlain), Rubî'i, who was very fond of him. Amîn, the son and successor of Harûn-al-Rashîd, strictly followed the advice of Jibrayl and would not eat or drink anything without the sanction of his medical man.

In the 200th year of the Hegira (817 of the Christian era) Jibrayl cured a high dignitary of the empire named Sehl-bin-Hassan, who recommended him to the Khalif Al-Mamûn; who already had, as his personal "body-physician," Mikâil, the son-in-law of Jibrayl. Eight years later Mamûn fell very sick and, as all the medicines of Mikâil had proved inefficacious, 'Isa, the brother of the Khalif, advised him to call in Jibrayl and be treated by him, as he had known him from childhood; but Abû-Ishâk, the other brother of Al-Mamûn, called in another celebrated physician of the time, Yahya-bin-Mas'awwih. His treatment proved as abortive as that of Mikâil, and when it was demonstrated that he could do nothing, the Khalif sent for Jibrayl, who by a skilful massage of the invalid's spine and appropriate medicine restored Al-Mamûn to health in three days and was in consequence rewarded with a princely gift.

When al-Mamûn marched, in the 213th year of the Hegira (828 A.D.) against the Byzantines, Jibrayl fell seriously ill and died, whereupon the Khalif took the

eldest son of Jibrayl, who was an intelligent and skilled physician, with him on the campaign.

The works of Jibrayl, in addition to the one already quoted, are :—

1. A *Risalah* (treatise) on food and drink, dedicated to the Khalif Al-Mamûn.
2. An introduction to '*Ilm-al-mantik* (The science of Logic).
3. Extracts from medical Pandects.
4. A book on *Tabkhir* (Fumigation) and on fumigatories.

H. M. LEON.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE KINGDOM OF BORNU¹

"ACCORDING to the preponderance of Bornu tradition, which, it must be noted, is Muslim tradition," writes Mr. H. R. Palmer in his Introduction, "the epoch at which this rule or Kingdom arose was contemporary with the time of the death of the Ummeyyad Caliph Umar ibn Abd ul Aziz, for it is said that after the time of this Caliph the Caliphate passed to Bornu. We may therefore date the rise of the Bornu Kingdom in the Wadai region as between 750 and 800 A.D." Curiously he adds: "and it seems probable that this ignoring of the Abbasid Caliphate by the Bornu historians or traditionalists means that Islam was introduced into Wadai and Kanem by adherents of the Fatimid (Shi'ite) dynasty of Egypt." The ignoring of the Abbasids appears to us quite natural in view of the great popularity of the Ummayyads in North Africa, so that many people, as we find in Spain, were of opinion that the orthodox Khilâfat ended with the massacre of that dynasty, which, in the minds of distant peoples, might well be confused, with the death of its last great Khalifa, Umar ibn Abdul Aziz. There is no trace of Shi'a influence to be found in the material here presented. "The nascent Kingdom of Bornu drew its inspiration from Egypt and North Africa. Though its conduct towards the African peoples by which it was surrounded was callous and brutal, the degree of civilisation achieved by its early chiefs would appear to compare favourably with that of European monarchs of that day. It was probably during the 13th century that a settled capital was founded at N'jimi (Sima) near Mas, in Kanem,

¹ History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma of Bornu (1571—1588). By his Imam Ahmed ibn Fartua, together with the "*Diwan* of the Sultans of Bornu" and '*Girgam*' of the Magumi. Translated from the Arabic with Introduction and notes by H. R. Palmer, sometime Resident of Bornu Province. Government Press, Lagos. 7/6.

East of Lake Chad. From thence a redoubtable warrior, Mai Dunama Dabalemi, early in the 13th century extended the Bornu empire up to Kauwar and Tibesti in the North, and to the regions South-West of Lake Chad."

Though the existence of occasionally powerful Muslim Sultanates in the Southern Sahara and Western Sudan is known, very little is known of their character and history. This work by the Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Nigeria, representing as it does much careful study born of friendly interest, is, therefore, of real value to the student of Islamic history. The main text of it consists of a contemporary narrative of conquests made by a Sultan of Bornu in the late 16th century, which affords some vivid glimpses of the mode of warfare, dress and customs of the time. The references to former historical records and the quotations from various poets show that Bornu, though remote, was not cut off from Muslim culture. Twice did the Sultan, hero of the work, repair to Mecca on the pilgrimage, and his knowledge of the Qurân and Hadith is emphasised, though he would appear to have been ignorant of the Prophet's merciful rule in war: "Destroy not their means of subsistence," since he was particularly fond of devastating standing crops and what we nowadays should call "the economic weapon," which to Muslims is undoubtedly forbidden.

"Now when the time of the rains came, and the corn put forth its shoots and sprang up and was good to look on, and almost ripe, the Sultan, the Amir ul Muminin Haj Idris (may God ennoble him) went out with his army and cut the corn of the enemy, leaving none at all. . . . In the following year when the time for the cutting of trees came round, the Sultan Haj Idris, in accord with his custom, came to cut the trees in the town of Maya. The heathen assembled with their hearts full of anger, and fought a fierce battle with the Muslims and succeeded in making them desist. The Muslims returned to their halting place, the Sultan was angry with them, very angry, and asked how did this occur? They saw that their Sultan was displeased and his wrath lay heavy upon them. So when God brought the morning, they advanced towards the town of the enemy to cut the trees. The unbelievers hastened to drive them back, trying to do as they had done the day before. They charged the Muslims—a horrid host. But the Muslims cared not, but pursued their tree-cutting.

"Then the enemy attacked on all sides and, divided

into many parties, charged the Muslims. But it did them no good. The Muslim horsemen and the archers from the West crept up under Wazir Kursu.

“Lo ! there has been gathered for them

“As it were a showing up of their affairs :

“My detractors have assembled and their hurts
reach me.

“The shield-bearers and all the chiefs put forth their utmost endeavour and cut the trees, and did not return till the day was well advanced. Thus they cut the trees on the second and third days, till there were no more trees left at Maya and Badama. In a few days they reached Charum. The Muslims were astonished at the cutting of the trees of Badama in such a short time, and the enemy were entirely non-plussed. The Sultan then divided up his army, and ordered every section to return to their quarters and clear their farms until the proper time for cutting trees or spoiling farms or deeds as named above came round. Then the enemy experienced the pinch of the three kinds of pressure upon them. They gave up burying corn except for those whose farms were surrounded by deep pools on every side. Thus the Sultan's victory over the first of the unbelievers was assured. The faithful triumphed—the amirs and officers and their followers and horsemen—in that means of feeding their children was denied to the enemy, and every man in Bornu hoped for the destruction of their towns. No-one had dreamt of such a thing before Sultan Al-Haj Idris ibn Ali who carried out his design, hoping that his Lord (be He exalted) would fulfil his task and make it easier for him. His Lord on high had indeed chosen him, and made him excel in wonderful resource and fruitful design. There was no rivalry or competition with him on the part of the people of his age. They followed him, taking example from the injunctions of the Hadiths and Kura'an. No-one great or small among the Muslims or among the pagans ever expected the destruction of all these thickets. Thus the enemy were deceived and came to the great town of Sausana (an outpost town which he had built) twice to attack the Sultan. The first time they retreated without a battle, for the Lord (be He exalted and His perfection glorified) cast terror into the hearts of the dirty idolators. They returned a second time and a battle took place. God put to flight their host in accord with the promise in His spoken word. They broke and fled whence they came.”

Thus from Ahmad ibn Fartua, the sixteenth century historian of Bornu, we learn that Sultan Idris had in his service Turkish soldiers armed with muskets, that his cavalry had quilted armour for their horses, and his infantry great shields against the poisoned arrows of the heathen. He took no avoidable risks, his delight was in a battle where he lost not a single Muslim while the enemy were put to wholesale slaughter. But he could show mercy on occasion, his wars were waged in the first place for the protection of his law-abiding subjects from marauders, and as a testimony to his personal powers of endurance the following passage is worth quoting : (p. 50).

“ As an example of the fine character of our Sultan Haj Idris, may God exalt him in both worlds, he left Birni on the 27th of Ramadan for the West, and halted at the town of Mara. He made the afternoon and evening prayers there, and then passed South, marching rapidly. It was in the rains. When he was close to Diskam, the rain came down heavily, and the Sultan observed that certain sections of his troops wished to enter the town; but he passed on without stopping, even though he was soaked. The people continued tired and wet; their clothes and saddles were soaked; till they reached the town of Dagazabi in the evening. They were bound to fast, but the people broke the fast owing to thirst, and did not wait for night. The Sultan then mounted and the people with him. They crossed the river (Komadugu Gana) near the town of N'gazar and journeyed the whole night pressing on till the morning. By afternoon they reached the town of Alaraba. The Sultan then launched forays South and North. They did not return till late the next morning, capturing some prisoners. The Sultan returned to N'gazar and camped there before the approach of evening.”

“ The people slept, weary and thoroughly exhausted, and prayed the sunset prayer—hungry. It was impossible for the Imâm Ahmad ibn Sofia that night to pray the Ramadan prayers with his Sultan by reason of his fatigue and faintness, for the march was a cruel one. When the time came to praise the Lord in the morning, the Amir-ul-Muminin Haj Idris mounted with the army and marched to the big city, the Birni. They had not yet reached it when they saw the new moon of the month Shawwal. They entered the city between sunset and eight o'clock and slept there. The drum was beaten for the Id ul Fitr.”

It will be noted how well Mr. Palmer's manner of translation preserves the graphic force of the original.

We are amused in the list of the Sultans of Bornu to come across the name of our old friend Al-Malik Seyf bin zi Yazal (or Yazan), "the man who brought the Nile to Cairo," to whom there is a little shrine on the Mocattam Hill behind the citadel, the subject of a cycle of Arabic folk-tales and inserted poems as long as the Arabian Nights. But when Ahmed ibn Fartua writes of "Saif ibn Dthi Yazan from the flower of the Quraish and the seed of Himyâr," we cannot follow him, because Quraish are not the seed of Himyâr but of Mudhâr, and the two were separate as light and darkness in old Arabia, and even in Islam are at the bottom of the Shî'a-Sunni controversy. Seyf bin Zi Yazal is a South Arabian personage.

Of the other documents which Mr. Palmer has translated and his local, ethnological, linguistical notes we can say no more than that we judge them valuable and have found them interesting. They are quite outside the field in which we claim some knowledge. The work is of a kind deserving praise, particularly where the author is a high official and administrator. In giving it its due we congratulate Northern Nigeria.

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MUSLIM AUTHORS¹

When presenting a note on Muslim Jurisprudence by Maulvi Mahmûd Hasan Khan, formerly Mufti of Tonk State, in the first number of "Islamic Culture" we mentioned in a footnote that the learned author was engaged upon a monumental work of bibliography in twelve volumes. Of this the first volume in Arabic has now reached us, most admirably printed in Beyrût. In this volume the author is fully occupied in stating his intentions and propounding the whole scheme of his work, being here less concerned with the classification of authors than with the various headings under which he will range them according to their literary work. Such a *catalogue raisonnee*, though invariably useful to the student, can be very dull; but here the author's learning and his turn for anecdote have raised this spade-work to the height of

1 معجم المصنفين الجزء الاول طبع في ظل دولة السلطان ملك الدكن
حماة الله عن الشرور والفتن في بيروت

(*Ma'jamu'l Musannifin* published under the patronage of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government in Beyrût.)

literature. He explains why it is inadvisable in the case of Muslim authors, to group his material according to the names of writers which is the ordinary Western method of disposing of such work. The same name is often common to a dozen Muslim authors—for instance, Ibn ul-Athîr—who were distinguished in their own day by some pseudonym or surname; and even in the case of surnames there is still room for confusion, as in the case of Yahûdi. One writer was called Yahûdi (Jew) because he really was a Jew and wrote from the Jewish standpoint; while another was called Yahûdi simply because he lived near the Jewish quarter in Baghdad, he was a Muslim and had no connection whatsoever with Judaism. Of former bibliographies, most have been confined to a particular century or country or class of literature. Our author intends to deal with the whole of Muslim literature in every land. Therefor, following the example of an old work, *Kashfu'z-zunun*, of which after full consideration he prefers the system to all others, he decides to classify his authors according to the subject of which they treat.

The volume opens with a brief but luminous account of the origin of human literature in general and of Muslim literature in particular; he then carefully apportions the share of credit due to Arabs and non-Arabs (عجمى properly means a *non-Arab*, not a *Persian*) in the evolution of that literature; distinguishes that which is peculiar to it, such as *fiqh*, *tafsir*, *hadith* and *tasawwuf*, from that which has been assimilated or adopted from outside, and that which has been merely borrowed, not assimilated or adopted, terms which imply some degree of modification. And then he enumerates more than three hundred categories of literature, giving to each a name and explaining what he understands by it. For example, when he comes to *Tasawwuf* he gives a clear account of what is meant by the term, following Al-Ghazzâlî and incidentally Ibn Khaldûn, and the result is as good an exposition of the whole subject as can be found anywhere. The work completed on these lines will be of inestimable value to every student of Islamic literature. The author's style in Arabic is extraordinarily good, quite free from the strain and excessive hyperbole which mark the efforts of most Indian writers; and the admirably clear and comely type of the Beyrût press adds to the reader's pleasure. Why is it, we wonder, that Arabic type, which has been brought to such perfection in Syria and Egypt, is still,

with the exception of one press in Constantinople, so poor outside those countries. The casting of fair type is not a 'mystery' of the Egyptians and Syrians, and there seems no real reason other than lethargy why clear type should not be introduced even in India, particularly now that Persia (India's traditional model) has declared in favour of it.

A VOYAGE IN ALGERIA¹

Good travel-books are rare like fine observers, and it is remarkable how large a proportion of the memorable travel-books of recent years have been by women. The names of Miss Edith Durham, Miss Gertrude Lothian Bell and Miss Kingsley will occur to everyone as those of writers having each some special subject of enthusiasm in addition to the love of adventure and that curiosity which in writers of the baser sort seems mere inquisitiveness. To this select group of travellers the author of "*Desert Winds*" seems to us to belong; although the tour she here describes is made by hundreds every year, although there was nothing unusual in her means of conveyance (a motor-car), and no wish on her part to break records or set foot upon untrodden ground. But she approached Algeria from a new mental direction and found more there than the tourist finds; and her deep and understanding sympathy for Muslims, even as they appear, discredited and disinherited, in Algeria today, makes us, at any rate, welcome her appearance as an author. Islam has fewer students in America than in any other civilised country, most Americans seeming temperamentally barred from appreciation of a civilisation based on thoughts of universal brotherhood and generosity rather than individual acquisitiveness. The author of "*Desert Winds*" is an American lady. She writes as "Hafsa," an Arabic proper name which may or may not be a pseudonym but is certainly a disguise; and she writes uncommonly well. Along with vivid and charming impressions of people and scenery, her book contains a heap of information concerning Muslim North Africa—information which the author, in her great enthusiasm for the Arabs, no doubt, assimilated with the pleasure she is able to impart so easily. Such understanding can hardly be of spontaneous growth in the West. We suspect some freak of heredity.

(1) *Desert Winds*. By Hafsa. New York and London, the Century Company.

Here is her opening description of Algiers : " Above the blue waters of the Mediterranean the old Turkish citadel huddles on its promontory like an aged hawk, molting and motionless. The sea no longer brings it treasure-trove ; yet still it watches for the sails of old ships, not knowing that they are no more . . . The breeze ruffling the waters of peacock blue brushes the hoary walls of the ancient fortress, yet stirs no silken banner nor Pasha's princely cloak. It only whirls up puffs of yellow dust that sifts over the odd wares spread on the ground by vagrant merchants, over the rude tools of squatting barbers and settles as fine grit on chessboards balanced between the knees of bearded Moors." And after she has started on her journey : " On the banks of these quiet rivulets, wild grasses rippled in the sunshine and nodded their feathery heads soberly in the shade of cypresses. And upon the highway flowed a varied current of life. Flocks of spotted goats and sheep some with the owner's mark dyed on their backs in red, were led by Berber, herdsmen in search of pasturage on the plains or higher in the hills. The sheep—a wavy mass of soft, dingy white—docilely followed by the shepherd, who oft-times carried a lamb or a kid too young to keep up with the others, while the goats, quicker and more independent, nibbled at every bit of herbage by the wayside. But the sound of the automobile horn would galvanise this leisurely migration into scrambling tumult ; the good shepherd, in humble anxiety lest harm come to any of his charges, would hasten to clear the way."

Hafsa tells us all we need to know about the Kabyles, even to the origin of their name in the Arabic word *qaba'il* (plur. of *qabilah* tribe) ; though she forgets to mention the origin of their other name of Berber which is the same as that of our "barbarian"—the people whose language sounded like "burr—burr." Every where on the outskirts of the Arabic-speaking world in Africa we come upon the words Berber, Berberi, Berâberah (the plural). We hear of Marabout saints, tombs, legends ; of the Ouled Nail, the prostitute tribe of North Africa, of superstitious practices. but—and this is a peculiar merit of this author—Hafsa never confuses these things with Islam. Her chapter on Islam is one of the best in the book and does not interrupt the travel story, but illuminates it. " With the first stirring of the Muslim world at the dawn of a new day, comes the *muedhdhin's* call to prayer—a distant singing voice, cadent and sweet,

with a few repetitive notes of compelling simplicity. It is an appeal, a command to wake ; not to the commonplace drudgery and meaningless routine of visible life, but to open the mind wide, to give the soul free sway in an aspiration toward God. Thus the Muslim, hearing the voice from the "shining tower," is lifted from the nadir of sleep to a full zenith of spiritual exaltation. He is refreshed and invigorated and gains inspiration to guide him gladly and wholesomely throughout the day.

"From dawn to sundown, from birth to the grave, he sees in his life and in all the lives about him, in the world and in the universe, a single, primal, and final God, infusing each thought, each thing—and yet somehow centred into one great crowning Ideal, unimaginably remote, all-powerful. Toward this all-wise Magnificence embracing all beauty, all mystery, flows the soul of every believer.... But for reward the Muslim does not pray, neither does he pray for any personal favour, for any miracle of deliverance. No, he does not pray ; he worships, he sings praises. Working his own salvation, the Muslim, after his best struggle, works upon the outcome, good or bad, with dignity and composure. "It is the will of Allah"—and "Muhammad is His Apostle"; he does not bridge the chasm between the Merciful and the Muslim but the chasm is bridged by the Truth who inspired Muhammad. The life, the personality, the work of the Prophet are dwarfed by the Glory whom he taught his people to worship.... Thus unity came to old Arabia—that was as corrupted by blood feuds, selfish prides and false idols as is the world today."

Hafsa has praise for the revival work of the Sannûsiyah confraternity, and even a word which shows her understanding of the potential worth to the Muslim world of the emergence of Sultan Abdul Azîz ibn Sa'ûd and his *ikhwan* into civilised life. Her work is eminently quotable and there is much which we should like to quote if space allowed—particularly, her conversations with Algerians and the description of the solemn ceremony of digging a new well in the M'zab. Only one more extract :

"The Muslims of Algeria are not allowed to vote or to bear firearms except by special permission of the colonial government ; but under the capable rule of their own leaders the Arabs do not indulge in disturbances. In this respect they make good subjects ; yet from the point of view of the colonizer, they may lack co-operative enthusiasm. They seem to wait for some inevitable

future. This appearance of waiting, this apparent faith in the phoenix of their race, has caused the Arabs to be regarded as inscrutable, unknowable, aloof....yet their reserve is rather a dignified defence against the frequently rude inquisitiveness of foreigners whose patronage naturally engenders resentment. Perhaps the Arabs are indifferent to the progress of an alien civilisation imposed upon them. But they have some reason to be proud. And although the Beduin of today may not accurately know the past—cloaked with the glamour of legend, remembered as South Arabia was remembered in the poetry of pre-Islamic nomads—yet the message of the past is vividly graven on their unlettered hearts."

Innumerable students of Persian in the schools and innumerable lovers of Persian who have long since left the schools behind them will acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Mr. Kuka for his excellent anthology of Persian wit and humour¹. For the student, overdone with grammar and "prescribed texts," Mr. M.N. Kuka's book will have the charms of a wild garden, and it will possibly be here for the first time, that he will come to realise the bewitching charm of Persian prose and verse. "Anecdotes of Poets and Princes," "Parody and Burlesque," "Hyperbole," "Satire and Epigrams," "Humorous Stories in Verse" "Riddles," "Play on words and Macaronic verses," "Stories of Akbar, Birbal and Mullah Do-Pyazah," these are some of the headings under which Mr. Kuka has arranged the treasures of his literary search; and we must not forget "The Cynic's Glossary," under which heading the author gives the definitions of Mulla Do-Pyazah and his predecessor Ubaid Zâkânî, from which we quote the following: "King=The idlest man of the time." "Fool=an officer who is honest." "Ill man=the slate on which the physician learns his alphabet." "Poet=a proud beggar." "Bribe=the resource of those whose cause is lame." "National calamity=a ruler given to the pleasure of the Harem only." "The sword of God=the hunger of the unemployed." "Sûfi=a whirlpool of deceit." "Salutation=a polite hint to others to get up and greet you with respect." "Muezzin=one who disturbs the sleep of the lazy." "Brave man=one who seeks dangers and accidents." "Schoolmaster=one whom the children regard as the Angel of Death." Every Persian reference and extract is fully rendered and explained in English, and for any English-knowing person

(1) *Wit, Humour and Fancy of Persia*, By Mehrjibhai Noshervanji Kuka, M.A., Bruce Road, Fort, Bombay. Rs. 5.

learning Persian or wishing to renew acquaintance with that fascinating language no pleasanter approach could be imagined than this garden path which Mr. Kuka has so nicely planned and planted for his reader.

We have received from Bombay a nicely printed pocket size edition of "*Omar Khayyam as a Mystic*," by Mr. J. E. Sâklatwalla. Mr. Sâklatwalla is a great enthusiast for Omar Khayyam, and his enthusiasm carries him to heights and depths where we can hardly follow, as when he says : "Those Persian scholars who have passed their lives pouring over the works of Iran's mystical poets, find no hesitation to conclude that if not by faith or persuasion or both, Omar, Hafiz and Sadi were at heart more of a Zoroastrian than Muslims." On the same grounds we ourselves, for our part, might as well conjecture that Mr. Sâklatwalla himself is more of a Hindu than Zoroastrians. The work concludes with a suggestion, almost an appeal : "In concluding these stray jottings it may not be out of place to suggest to form an Omar Khayyam club of India in Bombay on the same lines and footing as those of London and New York. Such a hope I trust will not take long to fructify as there is much literary talent to initiate the movement. Amen." The idea seems quite a good one.

KITABU'L-HUDA¹

MR. Yaqub Hasan writes² : So far as I am aware, it is not true, that "difference of opinion with regard to the value of this undoubtedly remarkable work in Urdu is so strong, not only among the general public, but also among the Ulama." The general public has, through snsh of its spokesmen as have communicated their views to me, given its unanimous verdict in favour of *Kitabu'l-Huda*. As regards the Ulama, excepting Nawab Sadr Yar Jung Bahadur, not a single a'âlim has uttered a word of deprecation against my compilation. On the other hand there has been a remarkable unanimity of opinion and chorus of praise from learned *fazils* of all schools of Muslim religion and theology. Every one recognized the purity of the motive with which I undertook this stupendous task. Moulâna Asghar Husain Sahib of Deoband Madrasa remarked : "On seeing the name of the enlightened author on the book a thought came into

(1) *Kitabu'l-Huda*. By Yaqûb Hasan. Office of *Kitabu'l-Huda*, Madras.

(2) In reply to the review in our January number—Editor, "*Islamic Culture*."

my heart that, like other modern educated authors he must have followed the example of the Ulama of the 'New Light'; but after perusing the book I have come to know that, praise be to God, the author has not adopted this hateful method, but with extreme labour and attention and high research, and after much thought and care bestowed on the *ma'qulat* (recorded materials) has wielded the pen with great justice. Making a mistake in *ijtihad* (deduction) and opinion is a different matter, but he has not deliberately and intentionally interfered with the *Shari'at* (laws of religion), nor has he gone against the *ma'qulat* (recorded materials)..... His study and research is not only worthy of all praise but is a matter of envy and desire for seekers after knowledge like us (Ulama)."

I am emphatic that the extracts that Nawab Sahib has given from my book *do not* "deny the existence of Spirits, Satan and the Angels." On the other hand the verses of the Qurân, as arranged by me, so subtly define the composition of these spiritual beings that even an agnostic or a hardened materialist can have no difficulty in reconciling himself to the belief in them.

Is it not true, as I have asserted, that "the mention of the angels occurs for the first time in the story of Adam?" How then can "thinkers understand from this one line how weak is his (*i.e.* my) faith in them."

It cannot be denied that "bad people are (also) called Shayâtîn (Satans) in the Qurân," but I have not from this concluded, as the Nawab Sahib would have the reader believe, that therefor "there is no separate existence of Satan as is generally believed by Muslims."

"To interpret any verse of the Qurân in such a manner as to contradict the meaning explained by the Prophet (Peace be on him) is not only a sin but is against common sense." Nawab Sahib has not pointed out a single instance in which I have committed this sin, with which he obviously charges me by implication. I have made a thorough and searching study of Hadith, and even Nawab Sahib cannot have failed to notice that in the chapter on Jinn I have quoted all the true Traditions that are to be found in the "The Six True Records." It is true that I have not even referred to the several *maudu'* (fabricated) hadiths which are found in commentaries of the usual type.

In this connection I should like to point out, what is often forgotten or ignored, that believers are called upon to put their faith unreservedly in the revealed word of God as faithfully recorded in the pages of the Qurân. In the matter of our beliefs we look to the teachings of the Qurân, and what is contained in the Qurân, alone. We are not required to believe in everything that may happen to be found in a Tradition or any other book, but for which there is no sanction in the Qurân. By following this principle we can easily get rid of all the baseless and incredible legends which, passing current among Muslims, have found their way even into some commentaries of the Qurân.

In the matter of *Ahkam* (commandments), however, we follow the *Sunnat* (example) of the Prophet (Peace be on him) and obey him as we obey God Himself. In fact obedience to His Messenger is obedience to Allâh. In my tafsîr of the verses of *Ahkam* I have drawn entirely upon the Traditions. But for this the reader must wait for the Madani volumes of *Kitabu'l-Huda*.

In conclusion I wish to assure Nawab Sadr Yar Jung Bahadur that as he expected, I have taken his criticism in good part, and nothing would have given me greater pleasure, than to "carry out the corrections" he thought needful, if he had only pointed out the alleged "defects" in plain language as I myself had asked him to do.

URDU PUBLICATIONS.

Ta'limo Tarbiat (Teaching and Education). A quarterly magazine published by the Committee of Educationists of the All India Muslim Educational Conference, Aligarh. Annual Subscription Rs. 5. The object of this magazine is to solve the problems of teaching from the practical point of view, to exchange opinions on those problems and give publicity to experiments in India and elsewhere so that teachers may profit by each other's experience.

Payam-i-ameen. By Moulvi Muhammad 'Abdullah Minhas, Shirkat-i-Adabia Press, Amritsar. Price. Re. 1. A compendium of information relating to the Holy Qurân.

Allah Walon Ki Zindagi. (The Life of Godly persons) By Syed Wizarat Ali, Kaiser-i-Hind Press, Gurgaon, Punjab. Price Annas 12. An interesting and instructive little book dedicated to Nawab Sadr Yar Jung Bahadur, Sadr-us-Sudûr of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government.

Insidad-i-Plague. Same author. Price Annas Six.
A manual in Urdu on the 'Prevention of Plague.'

BOOKS RECEIVED

'Science'—A New Quarterly, *Hamari Sha'ri*, '*Al-Biruni*' and '*Kullyat-i-Wali*' from Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Aurangabad, Deccan.



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NEW LIGHTS ON MOGUL INDIA FROM ASSAMESE SOURCES¹

IN the following pages, I propose to introduce the reader to a very old Assamese manuscript chronicle, known as the *Padshah Buranji* or History of the Badshahs, which throws many new lights on the history of Muhammadan supremacy in India, and more particularly on the reigns of the greater Timurids. While many other races of India are groping in darkness for materials to construct the history of their past ages, the Assamese have ready-made chronicles of past events recorded by contemporary eye-witnesses and historians. These chronicles are known as *Buranjis*, a word of Ahom or Shan origin, literally meaning a store that teaches the ignorant. The chronicles dealing with the events of the Ahom rule, 1228 to 1826 A.D., are systematic and complete, but we have also chronicles of the Hindu or pre-Ahom period, though of a fragmentary and desultory character. Assam came in contact with Kashmir the only Hindu Kingdom, which can boast of any historical literature, through Meghavahana and Lalitaditya who came to Assam on friendly as

(1) Chiefly based on the MS. Assamese Chronicle, *Padshah Buranji* or annals of the Delhi Sultanate.

The idea of introducing the *Padshah-Buranji* to readers in India and abroad was in my mind since we arranged a transcript of the manuscript for the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti or Assam Research Society in 1923; and references were made to this chronicle in my paper *Mir Jumla and Ram Singha in Assam*, published in the Journal of Indian History for December, 1926, p. 377 n. and in my Review of Haliram Dhekial Phukan's *History of Assam* in Bengali, pub. in 1829 A.D., in the Journal of the Bangiya-Sahitya-Parisat, B.S. 1333, p. 21. But I allowed the work to be superseded by other pre-occupations. A few episodes from the *Padshah Buranji* were read out to my most revered and esteemed teacher Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, B.A., B.C.L., (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, during his visit to Gauhati as President of the Assam Students' Conference during Christmas, 1927. The distinguished authority on Islamic culture and civilisation at once saw the value of the book, which represents Assam's contribution towards the reconstruction of the history of Islamic India: and I owe this paper to his kind suggestion and encouragement.—S. K. Bhuyan, Gauhati 18-1-1928.

well as belligerent missions. The Shans are noted for their historical instinct which manifested itself in their *Azawins* and *P'ongsawadans*. It has not yet been decided whether Assamese historiography owes its origin to these Kashmirian visitors or to the Shan conquerors and settlers.

The Assamese regarded historical knowledge as an indispensable accomplishment of a gentleman, and this was necessary in a country which had no written constitution, where the Government with its numerous branches had to be conducted on precedents gleaned from history or tradition. The supreme importance which history played in Assam attributed to it the sanctity of Scripture, and in certain quarters it was looked upon with esoteric veneration. Oaths were taken by touching hand-written chronicles, and occasionally recital of a few pages from history was an inseparable function in an Ahom royal marriage. We may quote here the testimony of Sir George Grierson,—

“The Assamese are justly proud of their national literature. In no department have they been more successful than in a branch of study in which India, as a rule, is curiously deficient. The historical works, or *Buranjis*, as they are styled by the Assamese, are numerous and voluminous. According to the custom of the country, a knowledge of the *Buranjis* was an indispensable qualification to an Assamese gentleman.”

The number of existing chronicles which I have myself seen, and of which I have heard or read, comes up to nearly one hundred and fifty. To this number should be added those which are lying untraced in family archives. During the reign of the Ahom King, Rajeswar Singha, 1751-1769, his Chief Executive Officer, Kirtichandra Barbarua destroyed a large number of chronicles which were suspected of having references to his ignominious descent. The depredations of the Moamaras, of the Bengal burkenduzes and of the Burmese, which preceded the British occupation of Assam in 1826, had led to the disruption and depopulation of the country, which were responsible for the loss of many chronicles and other valuable manuscripts and treasures.

The existing chronicles may be roughly divided into the following classes :—

(1) *Chronicles dealing with the events of the Ahom period*, or extending up to several decades of British occupation. They are written in Assamese prose or in the

now obsolete Ahom language—the language of the Shan conquerors of the province¹. Some of them were also written in verse. We have here side-lights on the activities of Mogul generals and Emperors as far as they have some bearing on Assamese history. This class will be designated in the present paper as *Chronicles, Class I*, or briefly C-1 :

(2) *Chronicles narrating the history of other countries besides Assam*. We had chronicles of Burdwan and Kashmir, of whose existence we have the testimony of reliable men, but they have not been recovered as yet². We have chronicles dealing entirely with the affairs of Muhammadan India. As far as we know all of them are in Assamese prose. The object of the chroniclers was the enlightenment of their countrymen about neighbouring and remote territories. These will be designated as C-2.

(3) *Fragmentary chronicles*, dealing with particular episodes, events, tribes, something like what we mean at present by monographs, for example, the desultory history of ancient Kamarupa; of the Kacharis, Chutias, and Garos; and the metrical history of the Rajas of Darrang. We have also a manuscript containing an account of the tribute paid to Mir Jumla³. These manuscripts are in Assamese, and are generally tagged on to chronicles of the first two classes.

(4) *Kataki Buranjis*, or chronicles of diplomatic embassies, dealing with the foreign relations of Assam. They contain, besides other facts, accounts of receptions, accorded to the ambassadors of Assamese and foreign courts in their places of deputation. They contain copies of diplomatic epistles, though these letters are also occasionally inserted in C-1 and C-2, to illustrate the context.

(1) *The most complete Buranji*.—The most complete Buranji of Assam is an Ahom manuscript dealing with events from the earliest times to the end of Ahom rule in 1838. Gait's *History of Assam*, Introduction, p. vi. Prof. Sarkar drew materials from the Buranjis for the Assam portion of his *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. 3, chapter 32. English translations of some of these Buranjis were prepared for Sir Edward Gait by Rai Sahib Golapchandra Barua and others.

(2) *Burdwan Chronicle*.—An Assamese manuscript chronicle of Burdwan was exhibited by Sriut Hemchandra Goswami in the Bengal Literary Conference held at Burdwan, where it was lost.

(3) *Tribute to Mir Jumla*.—In his Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam, 1897, p. 17, Sir Edward Gait refers to a Puthi or manuscript "containing an account of the tribute paid by the Ahoms to the Mussalmans after the defeat of the former by Mir Jumla in 1668 A.D." A fragmentary history of the Chutiyas was published in the first Assamese magazine, *Arunodoi*.

(5) *Vangsavalis* or family chronicles. Most of these families were of considerable influence and importance, and their family history throws much light on the general political history of Assam. The Vangsavali of the Baniya Kakati family, recently published, contains numerous references to the activities of Raja Ram Singha in Assam.

(6) *Satria Buranjis*, or chronicles of the various religious monasteries, or histories of their founders and prominent pontiffs. They are very interesting as their relationship with the Kings, on whose patronage they were generally established or maintained, have a significant bearing on the general history of Assam. The Buranjis were compiled primarily under official supervision with the help of court-minutes and despatches of local Governors, and of generals engaged in military operations¹. Families of distinction managed to take copies of the above, and supplemented and brought them up to date with the help of materials at their own disposal. Self-importance, family animosity or tribal jealousy were occasionally responsible for undue emphasis, elaboration, or omission. So the bare nucleus of information obtainable in the various chronicles is generally the same, and their multiplication can be justified only by the fact that some contain more details on particular subjects, while others dismiss them in a line or two. One Buranji, for example, devotes only ten lines to Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam, while another elaborates the theme in ten folios. The undue brevity in the former might be due to the family's having other chronicles in its possession which did full justice to the Assam campaign of the great Mogul general. We scarcely come across two palpably contradictory statements regarding the same events, leaving aside scribal mistakes which can be easily detected. Dates are recorded at frequent intervals to their day, hour and *danda*. The accuracy of Assamese *Buranjis* has been a matter for wonder and amazement². Their correspondence to each

(1) *Assamese historiography*.—For further information regarding Assamese historiography see,—S. K. Bhuyan : *Ahomar Din*, pp. 89-92: *Desecration of Buranjis by Kirtichandra Barbarua in History of the Reign of Rajeswar Singha : Review of Dr. Wade's Account of Assam* in the Cotton College Magazine for January, 1925 : Anandaram Phukan: *A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language*, 1855, pp. 45-46, a synopsis of which was published in the Indian Antiquary for 1896.

(2) *Accuracy of Buranjis*.—Some examples of Assamese historical accuracy were given in *Mir Jumla and Ram Singha in Assam*, published in the J. I. History.

other, and to other independent accounts left by foreign visitors, only points to the fact that historiography in Assam was really a branch of the sacred Scriptures, where wilful misrepresentation was a sin. Their value as great monuments of a racy Assamese prose-style, belonging to an age when no prose work could be found in Bengal¹, and their conservation of the customs, manners, ideals, feelings and aspirations of the people place them in the highest category of representative national literature.

Wars and conquests have always contributed to the enrichment of historical literature as well as to the expansion of the intellectual horizon of different nationalities. The contact of European nations with the Saracens through the medium of the Crusades led to the interchange of Arabic and European culture and was responsible for the Earlier Renaissance, which first dispelled the gloom and stupour of the Middle Ages. This is nowhere truer than in the conflicts of the inhabitants of the eastern frontier of India with the Muhammadans. In the fourth century of the Christian era, Shankal, King of Kamarupa, overthrew Kedar Brahman, King of Northern India, and founded Gaur or Lakhnauti which remained the capital of Bengal for more than one thousand years. Peeranweisa the generalissimo of Afrasiyab, the great King of Turan and Scythia, met the army of Shankal near Ghoraghat. The Mongols of Afrasiyab were completely defeated: but the great King himself now appeared on the scene with his invincible legions, and compelled the Kamarupa monarch to offer his submission. Shankal was carried off by Afrasiyab to Turan, where he remained for some time, being afterwards slain in action by Rustom, the Achilles of Persia and the slayer incognito of his son Sohrab². Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji invaded Kamarupa about 1198 A.D. He crossed a stone bridge and advanced into the interior of the country. But the Kamarupa Raja in the meantime marshalled his forces, destroyed the bridge and besieged the army of the invaders. Bakhtiyar escaped with a few-hundred horsemen.

(1) *Assamese prose literature*.—The antiquity of Assamese prose literature as compared with its total absence in Bengal was elaborately discussed by Sir P. C. Roy in an article in the *Prabasi*, in 1919-20.

(2) *Shankal*.—(a) Gait's *History of Assam*, pp. 19-20. (b) Sri-jut Lakshminath Bezbarua's address, 7th sitting of the Assam Literary Conference, p. 5. (c) Dowson's Elliott's *History of India*, vol. 6, p. 533. (d) Preface to Firista's history, tr. Briggs, pp. 64-76. (e) Firdusi's *Shahnama*. (f) *Riyaz-us-Salat*, tr. Salam, p. 56. (g) *Banhi*, vol. 13, pp. 15-16. (h) Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. 1.

The destruction of the hostile forces in *Saka* 1127 or A.D. 1205 is recorded in a Sanskrit couplet inscribed on a rock at North Gauhati¹.

Ghiyâs-ud-dîn Bahâdur Shah, Sultan of Gaur, invaded Assam about 1220, but he was defeated and compelled to return to Gaur².

Ikhtiyâr-ud-dîn Yuzbak Tughril Khan invaded Assam in 1256-57 A.D. and achieved a victory over the Assam king, which he celebrated by erecting a mosque³. But when the rains set in, the King of Kamarupa fell upon his soldiers and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. Yuzbak was killed, and of his army only a few could return to Bengal⁴.

It is recorded in the *Alamgir-namah* that one Muhammad Shah, son of Tughluq Shah, invaded Assam in 1337 with 100,000 horse, "but the whole army perished in that land of witchcraft and not a trace was left of the army⁵." Another army was sent but they would not go beyond the frontiers of Bengal.

Ibn Batûtah travelled from Sadkawan (Chatgaon) for the mountains of Kamru, with the object of meeting one

(1) *Bakhtiyar Khiliji's invasion*. (a) Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 50-56. (b) P. R. T. Gurdon, *A Rock Inscription at North Gauhati*, in the work of the Assam Research Society, pp. 33-35. (c) *Tabaqat-i-Nasari*, tr. Raverty, A. S. B. (d) *Notice of the Stone Bridge in Kamrup* by S. F. Hannay, J. A. S. B., vol. 20, p. 291.

(2) *Ghiyasuddin's invasion*. (a) Gait : *The Koch Kings of Kamarupa*, J. A. S. B., 1893, p. 280. (b) Gunabhiram Barua's *Assam Buranji*, p. 48.

(3) *Yazbek's invasion*. (a) Gait's *Koch Kings of Kamarupa* (b) G. Barua's *Assam Buranji*, p. 74. (c) *Tabaqat*, p. 263.

(4) *Gushtasib's treasures*. Tughril Khan, who invaded Assam some years after Bakhtiyar Khilji came upon "1,200 hoards of treasure, all still sealed as when left there by Gushtasib, which fell into the hands of Muhammadans."—*Tabaqat*, p. 561. Gushtasib was son of Zau and fought with Arjasib, son of Afrasiyab, king of Turan and the vanquisher of Shankal Raja of Kamarupa. Minhaz says that Gushtasib returned from China through Kamarupa. The Iranian records do not refer to any Indian exploit of Gushtasib; but his son Isfandiyar reduced the Sovereign of Hind to submission and also invaded Chin. Raverty's notes.

(5) *Muhammad Shah's invasion*. Blochmann's *Kuch Behar and Assam*, J. A. S. B. 1872, p. 79n. (b) *Alamgir-namah*, by Muhammad Kazim, p. 731.

of the saints, named Shaikh Jalâl-ud-dîn Tabrîzi¹. Kamru was the name of Kamrup, by which it was known to the Islamic world, being adopted by Al-Berûni as well. Ibn Batûtah was in Assam in about 1350 A.D. This traveller records in his *Turbat-al-nuzzar* that he stayed at the saint's hermitage for three days. Some amount of confusion has arisen between this saint visited by Ibn Batûtah, and Shah Jalâl, who died in 1189 A.D. and whose *dargah* or mausoleum at Sylhet is still visited by pilgrims.

In the reign of Barbak Shah, Sultan of Bengal, 1457-1474, Shah Ismaîl Ghâzi, "a descendant of the family of the Prophet" and born at Mecca, invaded Kamrup, about 1460, then ruled by one Kameswar². Barbak Shah had previously despatched several expeditions against Assam, which had all met disastrous defeat in the land of witchcraft, and so the generalship fell this time on Ismaîl Ghâzi, evidently a saint, who had formerly defeated Gajpati, King of Orissa. Kameswar, the King of Kamarupa, "who was one of the greatest heroes of his time and possessed good military talents" offered the invaders a very stubborn resistance. The Raja was ultimately brought to bay by the diplomatic manoeuvres of the Muhammadan commander, and made his "voluntarily submission" to the latter. The title of "Bara Larwaiya" or a great fighter, was conferred on the Raja. Sultan Barbak suspected Ismaîl "to have entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Kamrup with the object of setting up an independent kingdom." He was beheaded on January 4, 1474, and his head is buried at the *Dargah* or shrine at Kanta-Duar, Rangpur. The faqîr in charge of the Dargah had (in 1874) a Persian manuscript, entitled *Risalat-ush-Shuhada* or Book of Martyrs, which contains a full description of Ismaîl Ghâzi's life and career.

Sir Edward Gait has not referred to this invasion of Ismaîl Ghâzi "as it is wholly uncorroborated" and "as it does not occur in any Assam chronicle or tradition."

(1) *Saint Jalaluddin in Assam*. (a) Ibn Batûtah, tr. Lee, p. 195. (b) H. Beveridge: *The Khurshid-Jahan-Namah* of Sayyid Ilahi Baksh al Hussaini Angrezabadi, J. A. S. B., 1895, p. 230. (c) Dr. J. Wise: *Note on Shah Jalal, the patron saint of Sylhet*, J. A. S. B., 1878, p. 278, with Blochmann's postscript, p. 281. (d) Sachau; *Alberuni's India*, vol. 1. p. 201. (e) Mm. P. N. Bhattacharyya: *Faqir Shah Jelal*, Pradip, 1312 B. S.

(2) *Ismael Ghazi's invasion*. (a) Gait's *History*, p. 43n. (b) Damant: *Notes on Shah Ismael Ghazi*, J. A. S. B., 1874, pp. 215-240. (c) Gait's *Koch Kings of Kamarupa*.

But as the above manuscript was composed by Pir Muhammad Shattari on the testimony of the keepers of the tombs in Kanta-Duar and Jala Maqâm in 1663, who prayed for "the correction of mistakes and rectification of errors by the learned of the time," we are unwilling to dismiss the episode as entirely untrustworthy. In the *Padshah Buranji*, MS.A., Chapter 13, one Masalanda Ghâzi is mentioned as an invader of Assam: and as the title Ghâzi is somewhat rare, this name might be the Assamese version of the original Shah Ismail Ghâzi. James Prinsep refers to the invasion of Masalanda Ghâzi about 1498 in his *Useful Tables*.

About 1498 Husain Shah, Sultan of Gaur, invaded Western Assam, Kama and Kamarupa, and subdued Nilambar, King of Kamata, and other chieftains, viz., Rup Narayan Pola, Kumwar Gora, Lakkhan and Lachmi Narayan¹. Daniel, his son was left in charge, but he was defeated and killed, this time evidently by the Ahom King of Upper Assam. Hussain Shah's coins embodied his victory over Kamarupa and Kamata in the following legend,—“The Sultan conqueror over Kamru and Kamata”.

A Muhammadan commander named Turbak invaded Assam in 1532, and the Ahom General Kancheng Barpatra Gohain, after a war lasting for three years, defeated the invader, and extended the limits of Assam up to the river Karatoya². This was the war in which the widow of an Ahom commander displayed unprecedented bravery, and where guns were used for the first time.

Kalapahar, the commander of Sulaiman-i-Karrani, Sultan of Bengal, invaded Assam in the middle of the sixteenth century, but failed to achieve any permanent result³. The generalissimo was the iconoclast Kalapahar, the so called *Pora-Sultan* of Assamese chronicles, who is associated with the destruction of numerous images and temples in Kamarupa, including those of Kamakhya.

(1) *Hussain Shah's invasion*. (a) Stewart's *Bengal*, pp. 128-130. (b) *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah*, tr. Blochmann, J. A. S. B., 1872, p. 79; J. N. Sarkar, J. B. O. R. S., 1915, pp. 188-189. (c) *Riyazu-s-Salat*, pp. 182-183. (d) C. J. Brown: *The Coins of India*, p. 80.

(2) *Turbak's invasion*. (a) Haliram Phukan's *Asamer Itihas*, 1829, p. 54. (b) G. Barua's *Assam Buranji*, p. 75. (c) MS. Assamese Chronicles.

(3) *Kalapahar's invasion*. (a) Blochmann's *Kuch Behar and Assam*, (b) Gait's *History*, p. 53. (c) Gait's *Koch Kings of Kamarupa*. (d) Gunabhiram Barua's *Buranji*.

During the reign of Jahangir, Mukarram Khan, Governor of the eastern Koch Kingdom, the country taken from Parikshit, deputed in 1614 Sayyid Hakim and Sayyad Abu Bakar and Satrajit to invade the Ahom territories¹. Abu Bakar and his son Ghiyâs-ud-dîn were slain in the battle. Satrajit's son was sacrificed to the goddess Kamakhya. The body of Ghiyâs-ud-dîn, who was a highly devout Muhammadan was buried at Hajo, and his tomb is still visited by pilgrims, though a claim is made on behalf of another Ghiyâs-ud-dîn, who was the successor of Daniel, son of Hussain Shah in the Fauzadarship of Hajo. The pilgrimage at Hajo is known as "Poa-Macca," literally "One-fourth Mecca."

During the reign of Shah Jahan, Islâm Khan Mashhedy², Governor of Bengal, despatched in 1636 Shaikh Muhi-ud-dîn, brother of Abdus Salâm, the Fauzadar of Koch Hajo, with a large army, to intercept the activities of Satrajit, Thanadar at Pandu, who had joined the Darrang Raja, Balinarayan. The invaders met with a crushing rebuff, and a fresh reinforcement was despatched from Jahangirnagar under Allah Yar Khan. Satrajit was captured and executed; after a protracted contest the invaders cleared Koch Hajo of the Assamese, and the boundaries of Assam and Bengal were fixed by Allah Yar Khan, and Momai Tamuli Barbarua, the father of Ram Singha's antagonist Lacit Barphukan³.

(1) *Abu Bakar's invasion.* (a) Gait and Blochmann. (b) *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 147. (c) *Padishahnama*, II, pp. 64 ff.

(2) *Allah Yar Khan's invasion.* (a) Blochmann's *Kuch Behar and Assam*. (b) *Padishahnama*, II, 94. (c) *Purani Assam Buranjî*, published by the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti, or The Assam Research Society, Gauhati.

(3) *Islam Khan, Governor of Bengal.* There were two Islam Khans who became Governors of Bengal,—(1) During the reign of Emperor Jahangir, Islam Khan Chisti Farûqi, grandson of the celebrated saint Shaikh Selim Chisti. In 1612 A.D. Islam Khan founded Dacca or Jahangirnagar. Jahangir wrote,—“Islam Khan was a brave man, of most excellent disposition, in every respect distinguished above his tribe and family.” See *Echoes from Old Dacca* by Mr. Syed Hossain, pp. 2-3. (2) During the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan, Islam Khan Mashhadi, his actual name being Ikhtesis Khan. Maulavi Abdus Salâm, B. A., translator and editor of Ghulam Husain Salâm's *Riyazu-s-Salatîn* says that Abdus Salâm *alias* Islam Khan succeeded his brother Mukarram Khan in the Governorship of Kuch Hajo, p. 211. “In the 11th year of Shah Jahan's reign, Islam Khan, Governor of Bengal achieved several notable triumphs,—(a) the chastisement of the Assamese, (b) capture of fifteen Assamese forts, (c) capture of the son-in-law of the Assam Rajah, (d) capture of Srighat and Mando (Pandu?) (e) successful establishment of Imperial military outposts, or Tahnas, in all the mahals of Koch Hajo, etc.”

In continuation of the campaign against Prince Shujā'. Mir Jumla invaded Assam in 1662, partly on the provocation offered by the Ahom King Jayadhwaja Singha, and partly on his own initiative, as a preliminary step towards the conquest of China¹. His action was subsequently confirmed by Aurangzeb. The Ahom Raja fled to the hills and, though the invaders had a series of rebuffs, they ultimately succeeded in compelling Assam to enter into a treaty favourable to the Moguls².

After the departure of Mir Jumla, the Ahom King, Chakradhwaja Singha, successor of Jayadhwaja Singha, preferred war to a perpetual ratification of the treaty and the payment of *Pesh Kash*; he mobilised a large army and attacked and reoccupied Gauhati. Aurangzeb deputed Raja Ram Singha of Amber to invade Assam in the beginning of 1670, as a punishment for his connivance at the escape of Sivaji and the Sikh Guru, Teg Bahadur³.

(1) *Mir Jumla's invasion*. (a) Prof. J. N. Sarkar: *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. 3, ch. 31. (b) Sarkar: *The Assam and the Ahoms in 1660*, J.B.O.R.S., 1915. (c) Prof. S. K. Bhuyan: Mir Jumla's letter to Aurangzeb, *Sadhana*, vol. 1. (d) *Hadiqat-as-Safa*, Calcutta Quarterly Journal, June, 1825. (e) *Mir Jumla's Invasion of Assam in "Bengal: Past and Present,"* 1925. (f) *Alamgir-namah* (g) Vansittart: *Description of Assam*, Asiatic Researches, vol. 2, p. 176. (h) Travels of Bernier, Tavernier and Manucci. (i) Glanius, *Unfortunate Voyage into Kingdom of Bengala*, 1682 and 1852. (j) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, *Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, *Maasiru-l-Umara*, (k) *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah* by Shahābuddin Talish, Assamese tr. by S. K. Bhuyan in the *Ahomar Din*, Hindi tr. by Mir Bahadur Ali Husayni, French tr. by T. Pavie. (1) Prof. S. K. Bhuyan *Mir Jumla and Ram Singha in Assam*, in the Journal of Indian History for December, 1926.

(2) *Mir Jumla's Assam expedition*.—The P. B. says that Aurangzeb reported to Shaista Khan that Mir Jumla had proceeded to Assam without the Emperor's orders, to which Shaista Khan replied,—“Mir Jumla has no bread in this country, he is doing all this to procure a status for his descendants in India.” The Emperor's confirmatory orders were received by Mir Jumla in the firman referred to by Prof. Sarkar in his *Aurangzeb*, vol. 3, p. 179. The *Riyaz* says that the Emperor on hearing of Mir Jumla's occupation of Cooch Behar directed him to march to Arrakan to rescue the family of Shujā'. ‘The Khan in reply to the Imperial order represented that the Imperial troops were busy in fighting to conquer the provinces of Kuch Behar and Assam, and that to march to Arrakan, without accomplishing the conquest of these two provinces, was opposed to expediency, and that he would postpone the expedition to Arrakan to next year, and that this year he would set about subjugating the provinces of Kuch Behar and Assam,’ pp. 224-5.

(3) *Ram Singha's invasion*. (a) Sarkar, Gait, Blochmann, Bhuyan, work mentioned *ante*. (b) Col. Brooke: *Political History of Jeypore*, p. 14. (c) Blochmann: *A Chapter from Muhammadan History*, Calcutta Review, 1870, (d) Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*. (e) Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, 1908, p. 79. (f) *Shivaji Maharaj* by N. S. Takakhar and K. A. Keluskar.

Ram Singha, evidently broken-hearted, his dissatisfaction being aggravated by reports of his son's maltreatment at the hands of Aurangzeb, was defeated by the Ahom general Lacit Barphukan in the battle of Saraighat, which, being the greatest of all the Assam-Mogul contests, has been held by the Assamese as their Marathon and Thermopylae. Ram Singha retired to Rangamati in March 1671, and paid his respects to the Emperor in June 1676, his long stay in Eastern India being evidently a punishment for his alleged remissness.

Assam's preoccupation with these frontier wars with the Moguls led to internal troubles. Laluk Sola Barphukan the brother of Lacit Barphukan offered, through Baduli Phukhan, the *Bidjili Phukan* of Persian chronicles, to Prince Azam, Governor of Bengal, the evacuation of Gauhati, on condition of the Prince's promise to help the Barphukan to become King of Assam¹. Prince Azam despatched Mansûr Khan, who occupied Gauhati in March, 1679, and lived there as Fauzdar for more than three years. The Barphukan performed a bogus coronation ceremony at his own residence and became King with the regalia stolen from the royal store, but was assassinated soon after. The Emperor Aurangzeb rewarded Prince Azam with costly presents for this "conquest." The Prince had already married on May, 2, 1668, with a dowry of 1,80,000 rupees, Maina or Rahmat Banu, the daughter of the Ahom Monarch.

The continued occupation of Gauhati by the Moguls brought back the intriguing ministers to their senses, and they placed the powerful Prince Dadadhar Singha on the throne of Assam. He attacked the Mogul garrison at Gauhati or Itakhuli². The enemy after some resistance was defeated towards the latter half of 1682 and the river Manas became the western boundary of Assam, which continued till the termination of Ahom Rule in 1826. Jayantia Singha, a Mogul commander, displayed unusual bravery, but he was captured by the Ahoms. Mansûr Khan escaped to Rangamati with Satmal Ali Akbar, and his other generals Indramani Jal Singha and Kabîr Khan deserted their camp and fled. The battle of Itakhuli is the last notable contest between Assam and the Moguls.

(1) *Prince Azamtara*. (a) Assamese chronicles, C. I. (b) Blochmann, Stewart.

(2) *Mansur Khan*. (a) Assamese chronicles, C. I. (b) Gait, Blochmann, Gunabhiram Barua. (c) Robinson's *Descriptive Account of Assam*, 1841.

King Rudrasingha, 1696-1714, the greatest of the Ahom monarchs, resented the humiliating overtures of Murshid Kuli Khan¹, Governor of Bengal, who used to send to the former presents of Khelats. The Mogul forces attacked Gauhati, but they were defeated after a few engagements. Rudrasingha marched with an army of 6,00,000 soldiers against Bengal to restore to Assam its *Pauranic* limits, from the Karatoya to the Dikkaravasini. He also sent embassies to the rulers of Delhi, Amber, Tripura, Behar, Burdwan, Krishnasundar(?), Pangia, and other Nawabs and princes of Bengal². But his plan was frustrated by his death, which occurred during his stay at Gauhati.

The death of Swargadeo Rudra Singha occurred seven years after that of Emperor Aurangzeb. The disruption of the Timurids, which followed the death of that great Emperor, prevented all thought of a military expedition in the extreme north-east corner of India. The germ of decay also ate into the vitals of the five hundred years old Ahom Government. Assam, which combated successfully the repeated efforts of the Moguls to incorporate it within their territory ultimately succumbed to the internal depredations of a mere religious sect, and the inhuman hordes despatched by the Avanesse monarchs of Alompra dynasty gave the final sword-thrust to the province, which was already gasping in the throes of death consequent upon its self-exhaustion and inanity.

During all these conflicts the foreigners could never acquire a permanent footing in Assam. Its unexpected floods, its pestilential airs, its rugged hills proved a serious handicap to soldiers accustomed to fighting in the

(1) *Rudra Singha's invasion of Bengal.* (a) J. P. Wade : *An account of Assam*, compiled during 1793-1800, MS. in the India Office Library; reviewed by S. K. Bhuyan in the Cotton College Magazine, January, 1925 (b) *Stewart's Bengal*, p. 420. (c) Harakanta Barua's *Assam Buranji*, MS. with S. K. Bhuyan.

(2) *Rudra Singha's message.* Swargadeo Rudra Singha despatched the following ultimatum to the Nawabs and Princes of Bengal.—“ We formerly possessed the provinces on this side of the Korotoya river and we are now desirous to resume them. Do not prove inimical to us. If we remain friendly everything will succeed. Be yours the countries, the government and the revenue ; mine the name. Act in a manner to preserve peace. Fear not our approach ; send friendly answers respecting your welfare without delay.”—*Account of Assam* by Dr. J. P. Wade, India Office manuscript.

plains of Northern India¹. Besides, the invaders had to ply their boats upstream and come over long distances which compelled them to bring only their minimum forces and provisions. The banks of the Brahmaputra were studded with high, rocky hill-tops which served as natural fortresses, on which the Assamese mounted their cannon and garrisoned their army. The unsuccessful soldiers dinned into the ears of the Delhi Emperors stories of magic and witchcraft in Assam, to which they ascribed their repeated ill-fate and disaster. According to the *Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh* the people of Kamarupa were supposed to "build houses by the force of magic, with pillars and ceilings made of men, who remain alive without having the power of breathing and moving; with the help of black arts they transformed men into quadrupeds and birds, so that these men got tails and ears like those of beasts²." The tales of black arts supposed to be practised by the men of Assam were carried back to Mogul India by the soldiers who survived the numerous expeditions, and the result was that, in the imagination of the people of India, the magic of Assam excelled that of Egypt, and the only thing with which Assam was associated was its formidable sorcery and witchcraft³.

Ram Singha brought with him the ninth Sikh Guru, Teg Bahadur, and five Muhammadan pîrs, Shah Akbar, Shah Bagmar, Shah Saran, Shah Sûfi and Shah Kamâl to undo the effects of Kamrupi black arts⁴.

(1) *Assam and Muhammadan invasions*. Pringle Kennedy writes.—"Assam had been almost absolutely unaffected by the Muhammadan invasions of India. Situated in the far East on the banks of a great river, with impenetrable forests, wooded hills and an abnormal rainfall, and there being almost no means of communication, its people had worked out a distinct national existence in which an adapted form of Hinduism found its place."—*History of the Great Mughuls*, vol. 2, pp. 94-95.

(2) *Assamese magic*. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's translation of *Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh* given in his *India of Aurangzeb*, 1901, p. 43. The Mogul reporter on whose testimony the above account was based certainly mistook the wooden pillars carved to look like men, used extensively in the monasteries and potentates' houses even up to this day. Cf. "Probably nowhere else in the whole world are wooden houses built with such decoration and figure-carving as by the people of this country, Assam," *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah*, tr. Prof. J. N. Sarkar.

(3) *Mir Jumla dies of sorcery*. Even Mir Jumla is said to have died of 'the well-known sorcery of the Assamese.' *Riyaz*, p. 226.

(4) *Moslem Pirs in Assam*. MS. document in possession of the Mahant at the Gurudwar Damdame at Dhubri where Teg Bahadur halted for some time. References to Kamarupi magic are made in the

Apart from the natural disadvantages which the invaders had to confront and the alleged potency of Assamese magic, the prowess and strategy of the Assamese people were also not of inferior order. Their legions had fought in the battle of Kurukshetra; the King Bhaskaravarma served in the campaigns of his friend Emperor Harshavardhana, and extended his sovereignty over Karnasuvarna, and subsequently helped the Chinese general Wang-heuentse in his invasion of Nepal¹; with them King Harshadeva, the father of Rajyadevi, consort of Jayadeva, the Lichehari King of Nepal, made himself the lord of Gaura, Odra, Kalinga and Kosala²; their valour and courage were a wonder to the Kashmir invader Muktapida-Lalitaditya. Their repeated success in stemming the tide of foreign invasion was no eccentric gift of fortune or of fate; it was the outcome of the supreme efficiency of their internal organisation, their unparalleled patriotism, their capacity to subordinate personal interests and ambition to the higher demands of their mother land³. Beside the regular forces, the Ahoms kept ready for service a standing militia, composed of all the adult laymen of the country, and conscription was in the very blood of the normal system of Government, under which an army could be mobilised at a week's notice, its number being determined by the exigency of the situation.

sketch of the Guru's stay in Assam in the *Suryya-Prakas* and in *Tawarikh-Guru-Khalsa-Bartak*. There is also at Dhubri a Moslem shrine known as the *Panchipirar Darga* where the remains of Shah Akbar, one of the Darveshes who accompanied Ram Singha are buried.

(1) *Bhaskaravarma*. Bana's *Harsha-carita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, ch. 7; *Hieun-tsang's travels*, tr. Waters; *Harsha* by Radhakumud Mookerji; *Sri Hersha of Kanauj* by K. M. Panikkar; *Copperplate Inscription of Bhaskaravarma* by Mm. Padmanath Bhattacharyya in *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. 12, part 2.; *The Nalanda Seal of Bhaskaravarma* by K. N. Dikshit, J. B. O. R. S., 1920, p. 151.; J. A. S. B., January, 1827, p. 70; Calcutta Review, XLV. 1867, p. 510.

(2) *Harshadeva*. *Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. 1, by C. V. Vaidya, pp. 332, 335; *Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediaeval India*, by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, J. I. H. for Dec. 1926. *Gauravaho of Vakpatiraja*, Bombay Sanskrit Series: *Inscription of Jayadeva of Nepal* dated 769 A.D., by Bhagavanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 9.

(3) *Assamese patriotism*. Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh after his visit to Assam in December 1927 summarised his impressions as follows,—“I was deeply struck by two things: the seriousness that pervades the atmosphere of Assam, and the love of the province which marks its inhabitants. They are patriotic, self-sacrificing, entirely devoted to its interests; and their devotion is the devotion of a lover who is always on the alert and never neglectful of his mistress's interests.”—*The Times of Assam*, 7-1-1928, p. 6.

The espionage system of the Assamese was highly efficient. The commanders entrusted with the conduct of military engagements could never be bribed or won over to the hostile camp. There are instances of voluntary desertion to the enemies' side by men like Baduli and Bhatdhara Phukan, but it had no effect upon the course of the war, as the heart of the general mass of soldiers was sound and the deserters had no responsible command. Ram Singha made repeated attempts to win over Lacit Phukan, but here Mogul-Rajput strategy failed, while it had succeeded in many other parts of India. After the defeat of Ram Singha, Lacit Phukan ordered his soldiers in the following words, not to tarnish the fair name of their country by pursuing the remnant of the vanquished army and seizing their properties and war-materials,—“Being unable to achieve any success during a contest lasting for one year the enemy are now retreating in utter disgrace and shame. Why should you bring discredit upon the reputation of our victorious king and ministers by seizing the goods of the fugitives?” Important military commands were given by the Ahoms to Assamese Muhammadans who fought for their land of adoption with a zeal and patriotism far superior to the lukewarm interest of some of the Hindu adherents of the Moguls¹.

The Assamese legions were composed not only of the Aryan settlers in the Brahmaputra Valley, but also of the primitive tribes living in the neighbourhood, with whom war and bloodshed were a daily recreation, among whom social rank and prestige were determined by the number of human skulls each member of the phratri could collect.

The Mogul wars of Assam represented a clash between the strategy and strength of the Timurid Turks, miscalled Mongols, settled for generations in the enervating atmosphere of Northern India and of the Mongoloid tribes of the Brahmaputra reigon, who inhabited the inaccessible defiles and recesses of the Assam mountains, and whose undiminished primitive vigour was marshalled to the best

(1) *Assamese Muhammadan commanders*.—This statement is based on the story of the Muhammadan commander Bagh Rajarika whose military genius was partly responsible for the success of Lacit Phukan's operations against Ram Singha. It was heard from Maulavi Mufizuddin Ahmad Hajarika, Government Literary Pensioner, Debrugarh, a descendant of the said Bagh Hajarika.

advantage by the subtle military organisations of their intellectual neighbours¹.

The adoption of Hinduism by the Ahoms, attended by their natural desire to acquire posthumous bliss in supersession of the benefits of this mundane globe, dissipated their martial ardour; and their spiritual preoccupations were followed by continued neglect of State duties, which led to the inevitable relegation of kingly powers to ministers and potentates, which in its turn led to unremitting jealousies between rival clans and families. It is curious to note that the ascendancy of the Muhammadans in India synchronised with Shan supremacy in the Brahmaputra Valley. Both dragged on a *faincant* existence during the eighteenth century, and had ultimately to succumb before a culture and strategy of a new order.

The invincibility of the Assamese during the period of Muhammadan conflicts has led a writer to remark,—“The Assamese were to the Moslems what the Numidians and Mauritanians were to the old Romans—*genus insuperabile bello*”²

The Muhammadan historian, Muhammad Kâzim, wrote in his *Alamgir-nama*,—“The Rajas of Assam have never bowed the head of submission and obedience nor have they paid tributes or revenue to the most powerful monarch, but they have curbed the ambition and checked the conquests of the most victorious princes of Hindustan; the solution of a war against them has baffled the pene-

(1) *Assamese hill-tribes and plains people*. The author of the *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah* made a distinction between the hill tribes and plains people of Assam, though he adopted a very misleading and erroneous nomenclature, the former being designated as *Assamese* and the latter as *Kulitas*,—“The Kulitas are superior to the Assamese, except when fatigues are to be undergone; and in warlike expeditions the Assamese are better.” Blochmann in his *Kuch Behar and Assam*, J.A.S.B., 1872, p. 82, inserted Dalton’s note,—“What the Persian historian says of the physical superiority of the Assamese over the Kulitas was, no doubt, quite true at the time; for the Assamese were at that time a hardy, meat-eating, beer-drinking, fighting race, and the Kulitas were effeminate subjected Hindus.”

(2) *Ahoms and Hinduism*. Gunabhiram Barua said,—“By the adoption of Hinduism the customs and manners of the Ahoms entirely changed. Gradually they imbibed the traits of the lip-powerful Brahmans in place of the warlike habits of the arm-powerful Kshattriyas.” *Assam Buranji*, p. 134. The Ahom King Gadadhar Singha attempted to counteract the evils of non-flesh-eating and of Hindu orthodoxy. *Oppression of the Vaisnavas*, by S. K. Bhuyan, *Assam Bandhav*, vol. 1.

(8) *Assamese invincibility*. *The Religious history of Assam*; Calcutta Review, 1867, vol. XLVI, p. 78. The writer’s name is unknown.

tration of heroes who have been styled Conquerors of the World¹."

Ram Singha, in the thick of the battle of Saraighat, where his plans were frustrated by the forethought and strategy of the Assamese generals, exclaimed in a fit of rapture,—“Glory to the King! Glory to the Counsellors! Glory to the Commander! Glory to the country! One single individual leads all the forces! Even I, Ram Singha, being personally on the spot, do not find any loop-hole and opportunity.”

The conflicts of Assam with the Muhammadans have been recorded for all ages in Persian chronicles. The descriptions are made more valuable by the light they throw on the social and political condition of Assam in those days. The most comprehensive account of Assam is given in the *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah* compiled by Shahâb-ud-dîn Talish, who accompanied Mir Jumla's expedition. The book deals with the causes which led to the invasion, the route followed, the occupation of the country, the conclusion of peace, and return of the general and his death near Khizarpur. The second part contains a description of Assam and the Assamese, and of the aboriginal tribes in Eastern and Southern Assam. The author inserted in his chronicle some portion of a Persian *qasida* on Assam, composed by his companion, Mulla Darvesh, “who had explored the Persian tongue more than the Arabic tongue.”

The names of Persian chronicles which contain accounts of the wars between Assam and Muhammadan India can be mentioned in this connection. I have also noted the most important event or aspect of each book as far as Assam is concerned.

1. *Shah-nama by Firdausi*.—The contest between Shankaladideva, King of Kamarupa and Bahram Gaur, Sultan of Persia. English translations by Turner Macan, 1829; abridged, J. Atkinson, 1832; A. G. and E. Warner, 1905-1925.

2. *Tarikh-i-Farishta*.—by Muhammad Qâsim Hindu Shah. The war between Shankala, King of Kamarupa and Pecranweisa the general of Afrasiyab, King of Turan and Scythia, and with Afrasiyab himself. English translation by John Briggs, 1829, reprinted 1908.

(1) *Assam described in Alamgir-nama*. Henry Vansittart: *A Description of Assam from the Alamgir-nama, Asiatick Researches*, vol. 2, 1807, pp. 179-180.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.—by Minhâj-i-Sirâj Jurjâni. Bukhtiyar Khiliji's invasion of Kamarupa in 1198 A. D. The author was at Lakhnauti. English translation by H. G. Raverty, 1873-97, for the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

4. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*.—by Ghulam Husayn Salim. Invasion of Assam by Bukhtiyar Khiliji and Hussain Shah. English translation by Abdus Sallâm, 1902-1904, for the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

5. *Akbar-Namah*.—by Shaikh Abul Fazl. Man-Singha's intervention in Cooch Behar caused by the rivalries of Lakshminarayan and Raghudeva. English translation by H. Beveridge, 1897-1921, for the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

6. *Ain-i-Akbari*.—by Shaikh Abul Fazl, being the third volume of the *Akbar-namah*. Divisions of Kamarupa and the manners and habits of its inhabitants. English translation by H. Blochmann Vol. I, and H. S. Jarrett, Vols. II and III. 1868-1894 for the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; Francis Gladwin, 1800.

7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.—Memoirs by the Emperor himself up to the seventeenth year of his reign ; continued from the nineteenth year by Mut'amad Khan. The Koch prince Lakshminarayan solicits the patronage of Emperor Jahangir against his nephew Parikshit. English translation by W. H. Lowe, 1889, for the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

8. *Padishah Namah*.—by Muhammad Amin bin Abu'l-Hasan Qazwini. Invasion of Assam by Allah-Yar-Khan, during the reign of the Ahom King Pratap Singha and Emperor Shah Jahan.

9. *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah*.—also called *Tarikh-i-Ashân* and also *Tarikh-i-Mulk-i-Ashân*.—by Ibn Muhammad Wali Ahmad, surnamed Shahâb-ud-Dîn Talish. Mir Jumla's invasion and the condition of Assam and the Assamese. English translation by H. Blochmann, J.A.S.B., 1872 ; J. N. Sarkar, partly, J.B.O.R.S., 1915 ; Lt. James E. Alexander, 1827.

10. *Alamgir-Namah*.—by Munshi Muhammad Kâzim bin Muhammad Amin Munshi. Invasion of Assam by Mir Jumla and Ram Singha, etc., and the condition of Assam.

11. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*.—by Muhammad Saqin Musta'id Khan. Assam-Mogul conflicts of the Ramsingha and post-Ramsingha period.

12. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*.— or *Tarikh-i-Khafi Khan* by Hâshim Ali Khan, surnamed Khafi Khan. Mogul invasion of Cooch Behar and Assam.

13. *Hadiqat-us-Safa*.—By Yûsuf Ali Bin Ghulâm Ali Khan. Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam. English translation of the portion relating to Mir Jumla's invasion was reproduced in the *Calcutta Quarterly Journal* for June, 1825.

14. *Risalat-us-Shuhada*.—by Pîr Muhammad Shattari. War between Shah Ismaîl Ghâzi and Kameswar, King of Kamarupa. The original Persian text with synopsis in English was printed in the J. A. S. B. 1874, by G. H. Damant, I.C.S.

15. *Maasiru-l-Umara*.—Biographies of Muhammadan and Hindu officers of the Timurid Sovereigns of India from 1500 to about 1780 A.D. Life sketches of several Mogul commanders and generals who participated in the Assam wars, with narratives of their Assam careers. The original Persian is by Shah Nawâz Khan, translated into English, partly, by H. Beveridge, 1911-1914, for the A. S. Bengal.

One indirect result of Assam's contact with the Muhammadans through the medium of war was the expansion of her horizon of experiences and possibilities, though history affirms that she was not outside the pale of the formative influences which acted and re-acted in the civilisation of Aryavarta in the pre-Muhammadan period. There was frequent interchange of embassies between the Ahom and the Mogul courts. The Assamese government appointed very skilful Brahmans in their diplomatic service who were expected properly to safeguard the interests of their country. Though they were primarily political emissaries, they also served as the medium through which foreign customs were introduced into Assam. The Ahom King, Rudra Singha, accepted the present of a *Khelat* or robe which he wore himself, and urged his nobles to follow suit. The same King created two new orders in Assamese society, the Khounds and the Bairagis, whose chief function was to visit important centres in India, and import beneficent foreign customs into their own country. Ahom princesses flaunted along in the halls and corridors of the imperial palaces of Delhi and Agra, and the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* records the marriage of Rahmat Banu, the daughter of the King of Assam to Prince Muhammad Azam on May 2, 1668.

The Ahom monarch maintained in his court a large number of Muhammadan officials who deciphered Persian correspondence received from outside, and drafted letters to foreign sovereigns and potentates. The royal mint was under the superintendence of a Muhammadan officer, and several Assamese Kings and queens struck coins with Persian legends engraved thereon¹. The Persian or Urdu language had such a wide circulation among the mass of people that a witness in a criminal trial of about 1775 reproduced the exact words of the conversation which had been carried on by the accused in Persian. The nucleus of the present Muhammadan population of Assam was formed during the period of Muhammadan conflicts, the main stock being strengthened from time to time by fresh immigration and conversion.

The wars with the Moguls focussed the attention of the Assamese on the affairs of the capitals, Delhi and Agra; on the personages who were making and unmaking history in Northern India; on "the cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces" under whose roofs the Mogul Badshahs held their courts near the fountains of jasmine and of rose; on the Rajas, Mansabdars and Nawabs to whom only the waving of the imperial finger was necessary to march their redoubtable legionaries of Jat and Sawar cavalry against a frontier chieftain who had not yet sought the protection of the Chaghatai arms. Nor could they forget the rose-perfumed Begums in whose enviable companionship their own princesses were listening to the unpremeditated harmony of the bulbul which had been presented to some fortunate denizen of the imperial harem by the Sultan of Samarkand or Bokhara, in the neighbourhood of vine-groves which had been reared on soil transported in boatloads from Kashmir and Kabul.

Whether through the tales of Assamese sojourners at Delhi, or through visitors to Assam from Northern India, the Assamese were introduced to a world of splendour hitherto unknown, and the historical instinct which had distinguished them from other races of India led them to record their impressions and knowledge for the enlightenment of those who had not the opportunity of seeing themselves the magnificent towers and mausoleums of Delhi and

(1) *Moslem officers in the Ahom Court*. Mills' *Report on Assam*, 1854, Sibsagar, Appendix, p. 73. There were 12 Dewans, 1 Nawab Dekah, 2 Persian readers, 1 engraver. For Persian Coins of Ahom sovereigns, see J.A.S.B., Numismatic Supplement, 1904, pp. 113-114, and *Arunodoi*, January, 1853.

Agra. The spirit of enquiry thus kindled, moved apace, and we have in the picturesque words of our chroniclers the history of the rise and progress of Muhammadan power in India. Besides, as the Moguls were a constant menace to the solidarity and independence of Assam, an intimate knowledge of the history, customs and war-methods of the enemy was essential for success in military operations.

The Assamese sources from which we get glimpses of Mogul India can be divided into two distinct categories. We have accounts of the activities of Mogul generals as far as they have any bearing on the history of Assam ; they are interspersed in Assamese chronicles dealing with the events of the Ahom period, described as Class I above. We will cite a few instances of this source of information. Mir Jumla, during his march to Bengal in pursuit of Prince Shujâ' had not any official order to invade Assam, which was an after-thought caused by the Ahom King's aggressive raids in Mogul territories. The terms of the treaty between Allah Yar Khan and Momai Tamuli Barbarua were violated by the Ahoms, and Kamrup was wrested back by Jayadhawja Singha, who, according to Charles Stewart, "sent an army down the Brahmaputra which had plundered and laid waste the country as far as Dacca." Mir Jumla wrote to the Emperor from Dacca,—"Assam had occupied Kamrup, and is contemplating to invade us. My scheme of subduing the country of the Maghs cannot be completed within a short time. So in the meantime I propose to invade Cooch Behar and Assam. I am awaiting the orders of the Emperor." Aurangzeb replied as follows,—"I want you to invade Cooch Behar and Assam and to consolidate our supremacy there."

C. 1. This is supported by the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*.

During the campaigns of Ram Singha in Assam, there was a hitch between Nawab Rashîd Khan and the Rajput general. The Nawab was a commander of 5,000, and though officially subordinate to Ram Singha as far as that campaign was concerned, he refused to regard the Raja as his superior, at least in matters of precedence and formality. This is how the incident is recorded,—"Ram Singha blew his *Nahbat* five times a day¹. The same was done by

(1) *Nahbat*.—Beating the trumpet *Nahbat* or kettle-drum, five times a day was a mark of great dignity, assumed generally by independent sovereigns, see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 297. According to Ferish-tah, tr. Briggs, vol. 3, p. 328, "Sooltan Kooly Kooth Shah, the founder of Golconda, introduced the customs of Persia at his court, contrary to the practice of India : among which was that of beating the *nobat*, or imperial band, five times daily."

Rashîd Khan. Then Ram Singha said,—“Rashîd Khan’s *Nahbat* should not be beaten in the same manner as mine. If I blow it twice, he will blow it only once.” Rashîd Khan replied,—“I have been deputed by the Emperor as well as Ram Singha. Why should I not blow my *Nahbat* ? ” This is one cause of their misunderstanding. This incident is interesting as indicative of one of the reasons which led to the disastrous defeat of Ram Singha’s forces in Assam.

This is how the story of the renegade and iconoclast Kalapahar, who is known in Assamese Buranjis as Pora-Sultan, Pora-Kuthar, Kala-Sultan and Kala-Jaban, is recorded in an Assamese chronicle, C. 1.

A Brahman of pure descent living at Benares had a son born to him. The astrologers calculated his stars and made the following prediction,—“This boy will in future be fallen from his caste and religion by carrying on a liaison with a Jahani or Muhammadan woman, but he will be wealthy, virtuous and learned.” The boy, after attaining maturity and being fully cognizant of the ordinance of his stars, visited several places of pilgrimage and made offerings to the gods and did acts of piety to propitiate his stars. Ultimately he came to Gaur, where, as predestined, he saw the daughter of Hussain Shah Padshah of Gaur, and became mad with love for her. He forgot the prophecy, and became fallen by secretly gratifying his sexual instincts with the princess. The Begum reported the matter to her lord the Sultan, Hussain Shah, who was pleased to learn that the offender was a Brahman of pure blood, summoned him to his presence and said,—“Why did you commit this act. ? ”

The Brahmin,—“Thus it has been enscrolled in my book of fate : this has been caused by my pre-destination.”

Hussain Shah,—“Would you agree if I offer my daughter to you in marriage ? ”

The Brahman,—“Yes, I am willing.”

The marriage took place accordingly, whereupon the Sultan conferred on the Brahman a mansab of 10,000. After some time the Brahman became disgusted with himself and thought,—“I have not been able to avert the decree of my fate. So one’s destiny always reigns supreme. All our attempts to undo it are in vain.” Thus saying, he descended into the Ganges and solemnly discarded his penance, prayer, incantations, the Gayatri and his sacred thread.

After this he proceeded to destroy Hindu temples and domes ; some were demolished and others were burnt. He also destroyed the temple of Kamakya. He climbed to the summit of the Garurachal Hill (Poa-Makka Hill at Hazo), and surveyed therefrom his own land of Gaur, and he also saw Letai Dhubuni washing her clothes. Fearing that the enemies of Gaur might reconnoitre the land from that hill-top with hostile intentions, he kicked the earth thrice with his feet and depressed it by three fathoms. He died there and was buried according to Muhammadan rites. Shah Shujâ', son of Emperor Shah Jahan while at Rajmahal made endowment of paiks and lands for the maintenance of worship at his tomb, which is still continuing. This iconoclast is known as Pora-Sultan in view of his desecration and burning of Hindu temples and shrines.

S. K. BHUYAN.

(To be continued.)

WEALTH

Gaze on this earth, see Nature's boundless store ;
God gives it all to thee !
Gaze on the heavens, and let thy spirit soar
Into Infinity !

Such wealth is thine, O vainly longing heart !
Is there aught more to gain ?
Desire and hope and fear—let all depart,
For all their strife is vain.

One priceless boon does man's free soul require :
The godlike power to give
The best it has of love, and love's desire
In other souls to live.

What gifts are thine, by the Great Giver given,
All those love bids thee share
With all thy fellow-souls on earth, in heaven,
That claim the Maker's care.

Who gives, shall have ; the soul's pure gifts are won
Back in Eternity.
Love's gift is life below ; beyond the Sun
It shall abide with thee !

NIZAMAT JUNG.

IBNU'L-KIRRIYA, THE DESERT ORATOR¹

Abu-Suleymân Ayyûb al-Hilâli, Surnamed Ibn al-Kirriya, was the eldest son of Zaid ibn-Kais-ibn-Zurâra-ibn-Salâma-ibn-Jusham-ibn-Malik-ibn-Amr-ibn-Amir-ibn-Zaid Marrât-ibn-Aâmir-ibn-Saad-ibn-al-Khazraj-ibn-Taim Allah-ibn-an-Nimr-ibn-Kâsit-ibn-Himb-ibn-Adnân. *Al-Kirriya* was the surname of Jamâa, one of his female ancestors, who also was a descendant from the Khazraj of the above genealogy, her father, Jusham, being a son of Rabî'a-ibn-Zaid Marrât, mentioned above.

Ayyûb-ibn-al-Kirriya was an untutored Arab of the Desert, but the easy elegance and perfect precision of his language justly entitled him to the reputation of being one of the most distinguished orators of his race.

“The words came sweetly from his mouth,

As gentle zephyrs from the South.”

It so happened that there was a season of severe drought in the Desert, which compelled al-Kirriya to quit the same in search of a more fertile region. He accordingly went to 'Ain al-Tamar, which is situated at the edge of the Desert to the west of the river Euphrates, the Governor and Revenue Officer whereof was under the orders of al-Hajjâj-ibn-Yûsuf. This official was an extremely hospitable man, and kept open table each day, morning and evening, and Ibn-al-Kirriya, who had stopped at the door of the palace and noticed the people entering enquired where they were going, and on being informed that they were going to dine with the Amîr, he also went in, sat down, and dined along with them. He then asked his neighbour, who sat by his side, if such was the custom of the Amîr every day, and being answered in the affirmative, he went to the palace every day for morning and evening meals.

He had continued in this practice for about three weeks, when one day the Amîr, having received a letter from Al-Hajjâj, written in the purest Arabic of the Desert and full of uncommon expressions which he was quite unable

(1) In the compilation of this biography I have followed, in the main, but not by any means exclusively, the narrative of Ibn Khalikan, and have included several incidents not mentioned by him, but which are related by other writers. Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

to comprehend, caused the dinner to be delayed. Ibn-al-Kirriya, on his arrival, perceiving that the Amîr was not in his accustomed place, and that no dinner was being served as usual to the guests, asked the reason, and was informed that the Amîr had received a letter from his overlord, Al-Hajjâj, which he could not understand, as it was in the language of the Desert Arabs and couched in terms of rare occurrence. Hearing this, Ayyûb-ibn-al-Kirriya, who was an able orator and spoke the purest Arabic of the Desert with fluency and easy eloquence, said : " If the Amîr will have the letter read aloud to me, by the help of Allah, I will explain it to him ! "

The Amîr, being informed of his offer, gave orders for Ayyûb to be admitted to his presence, and had the letter read before him. While it was being thus read Ayyûb explained its contents, sentence by sentence, to the Amîr.

" Could you answer this letter ? " asked the Amîr.

" Alas, I cannot read, neither can I write," replied Ayyûb, " but I may sit by a person who can write down that which I dictate."

" Be it so," said the Amîr, and commanded one of the scribes of the palace to be brought. The answer to the letter was drawn up accordingly and sent to Al-Hajjâj who, on hearing it read, perceived that it was worded in the pure language of the Arabs, and that its expressions were of uncommon elegance. Knowing that such was not the ordinary style of scribes in the tax-office, he caused the previous letters of the governor of 'Aîn-at-Tamar to be brought to him, and at once perceived that their style, mode of expression, and language were unlike the epistle which he had just received. He therefore wrote to the governor in these terms :—" Your letter has come to hand, but I perceive it is widely different from your usual answers, and is couched in a language clearly not your own : therefore, on the perusal of this, lay it not out of your hand before you send me the man who dictated for you your letter. Adieu : "

On receipt of this epistle, the Amîr sent for Ayyûb-ibn-al-Kirriya, read the note to him and, having ordered him suitable apparel, a supply of money for travelling and other expenses, and a conveyance, bade him proceed at once to Al-Hajjâj.

Ayyûb-al-Kirriya, on his arrival, went to Al-Hajjâj and stated who he was and whence he came. Al-Hajjâj enquired his name and, on being informed that it was

Ayyûb, exclaimed, "That is the name of a great Prophet of ancient times, and yet I think that you are an untutored Arab of the Desert¹, one who meddles with eloquence and finds no difficulty in expressing his thoughts." "It is Allah (praise be to Him for all His mercies!) who holds the key to unloose the tongue of eloquence, so that the mouth drops pearls and nuggets of gold," replied Ayyûb.

This answer greatly pleased Al-Hajjâj, who gave Ayyûb a very hospitable reception, and took him into his service. His admiration for him increased to such an extent that he entrusted him with a mission to the Khalif, 'Abdul-Malik-ibn-Marwân², which he accomplished with singular success.

On the revolt of 'Abdur-Rahmân-ibn-Muhammad-ibn al-Ash'ath-ibn-Kais-al-Kindi, in the 80th year of the Hijrah (699 of the Christian era), in Sejestan, Al-Hajjâj despatched Ayyûb-ibn-al-Kirriya on a mission to the rebel. When he entered the mosque wherein Ibn-al-Ash'ath was waiting to receive him, that chieftain immediately said to him: "You must, at once, mount the minbar (pulpit) and recite the *Khutbah*, and therein you must pronounce the deposition of 'Abd-al-Malik-ibn-Marwân, and revile al-Hajjâj. If you refuse I shall, immediately, have your head struck off." Ayyûb replied, "I am here as an ambassador, and ought to be respected and not threatened or molested."

Ibn-al-Ash'ath answered: "You are here in my power and you either do as I command you, or you die."

Under this threat, Ayyûb reluctantly went into the minbar, pronounced the deposition of 'Abdul-Malik and denounced Al-Hajjâj.

He sought to return to Al-Hajjâj, so as to explain to him that what he had done was under compulsion, but Ibn-al-Ash'ath would not let him depart.

Three years later (A. H. 83=702 A. D.) on the defeat and repulse of Ibn-al-Ash'ath, Al-Hajjâj wrote to his agents at Rai, Isfahân and the neighbouring places, giving orders that all of the partisans of the defeated chieftain they could find should be arrested and sent to him as prisoners.

(1) The names of patriarchs and prophets were more frequently borne by the Arabs who were town-dwellers than those who resided in the Desert.

(2) One of the Abbasid Khalifs.

Ayyûb was among those who were so arrested, and on his being brought before Al-Hajjâj a most interesting dialogue ensued, which has been frequently cited by Arabic historians and philologists. It is remarkable as an encyclopedia of the knowledge possessed at that period by the Arabs who inhabited the Desert. It is frequently obscure, its style being singularly concise and ancient.

The following is the traditional account of that discussion as recorded by Ibn Khallikan :—

Al-Hajjâj :—" Answer what I ask thee."

Ibn-al-Kiriyya :—" Ask what thou wilt and I will give thee *jawab shafe* (a definite answer)."

H. :—" What sayest thou of the people of 'Irâq ? "

K. :—" They know the best of any the *farq* (difference) between true sights and vain pretensions."

H. :—" And what of the people of the Hijjâz ? "

K. :—" They are the most prompt of any to *fitnat* (sedition), and the feeblest when in it. "

H. :—" What of the people of Syria ? "

K. :—" The most submissive of any to their Khalifs?"

H. :—" And the people of Egypt ? "

K. :—" They are the slaves of him who conquers."

H. :—" Those of Bahrein ? "

K. :—" They are Nabateans become Arabs."

H. :—" What sayest thou of the people of Ammân ? "

K. :—" They are Arabs become Nabateans¹."

H. :—" The people of Môsul ? "

K. :—" The bravest of horsemen, and the most fatal to their foes."

H. :—" And those of Yemen ? "

K. :—" People who *istama'* (hear) and *ta'* (obey), and *lasak* (cling) to the strong side."

H. :—" Those of Yemama² ? "

K. :—" They are rude and fickle, yet most firm in fight."

H. :—" The people of Fars (the Arabic name of Persia)?

K. :—" They are mighty in their violence, and ready to work woe : their plains are extensive, their towns few."

H. :—" Now tell me of the Arabs."

K. :—" *Istafham* (ask) ! "

H. :—" The Quraish ? "

(1) The Arabs held the Nabateans in the utmost contempt.

(2) Yemâma is a district in Central Arabia, south of Najd, and west of El Haza. Its chief town is Salemiyah.

K. :—" The greatest in prudence, and the noblest in rank."

H. :—" The tribe of Aâmîr-ibn-Sasâ ' ? "

K. :—" They bear the longest spears, and are the bravest in making raids."

H. :—" The Banu Sulaim ? "

K. :—" The most *musahib* (sociable), and also the most generous in their gifts for the service of Allah ! "

H. :—" The tribe of Thakîf¹ ? "

K. :—" The noblest by their ancestry, and the most frequent by their deputations."

H. :—" And the Banu Zubaid ? "

K. :—" They are the most attached to their standards, and the most successful in their vengeance."

H. :—" What sayest thou of the tribe of Kudaa ? "

K. :—" The greatest in importance, the noblest in origin, and the widest in renown."

H. :—" What of the Ansârs ? "

K. :—" The best established in rank, the most sincere in their acceptance of Islâm, and the most illustrious in their combats."

H. :—" The tribe of Tamîm² ? "

K. :—" The most conspicuous for their *jasarat* (fortitude), and the greatest by their numbers."

H. :—" And the Bakr-ibn-Wail ? "

K. :—" The firmest in their ranks, the sharpest in their swords."

H. :—" And 'Abd-al-Kais ? "

K. :—" The first to reach *al-mahall al-maqsud* the (goal) and the best swordsmen under standards."

H. :—" What of the Banû Asad ? "

K. :—" A people great in number and fortitude ; difficult to overcome, and firm in resisting."

H. :—" The tribe of Lakhm³ ? "

K. :—" Princes but some of them fools."

H. :—" And Judam ? "

K. :—" They light up war and form it into a flame ; they make it fruitful and they reap the fruit⁴."

(1) This was the tribe to which the questioner, Al-Hajjâj, himself belonged.

(2) Tamim. An independent Arab tribe of Meccan origin who occupied the north-eastern desert of Najd. They fought by the side of the Prophet Muhammad (o. w.b.p.) at Mecca and at Hunain.

(3) It was to this tribe that the Mundirs of Hûa belonged.

(4) Literally " They impregnate it and milk it."

H. :—" Tell me now of the character of each Arabian tribe in the days of Ignorance ? "

K. :—" The Arabs used to say : " The Himyar are lords of the Kingdom ; the Kindah¹, are the pure race of kings ; Madhij are spearsmen (*ramih*) ; Hamdân, horsemen² ; and Azd, the lions of the human race."

H. :—" Tell me now about the countries of the earth ? "

K. :—" Atlab (ask)."

H. :—" What is India ? "

K. :—" Its seas are pearl ; its mountains, *yawaqit* (rubies) ; its trees, sweet smelling '*ud* (aloes) ; their leaves, perfumes ; its people, a multitude timorous as a flock of wild pigeons."

H. :—" The people of Khorasan ? "

K. :—" Their waters are frozen, and the enemy they must contend with is brave and obstinate³."

H. :—" What sayest thou of 'Omân ? "

K. :—" Its *hararat* (heat) is violent and intense, and its game ready to hand.

H. :—" Such then is 'Omân, but what of Bahrein ?

K. :—" It is a heap of refuse between the two cities⁴."

H. :—" What of Yemen ? "

K. :—" It is the stock from which the Arabs have sprung ; the people come of noble houses, and deservedly bear a high reputation."

H. :—" And Makkah ? "

K. :—" Its men are learned yet rude, and its women clothed yet naked."

H. :—" Madînah ? "

K. :—" It was there that learning took root and sprang up."

H. :—" Basrah ? "

K. :—" Its winters are frosty, its heats violent ; its waters salt, and its wars peace."

H. :—" And Kûfah ? "

(1) Kindah—A tribe of Al-Yaman, and the descendants of Himyar. They are admitted to be one of the noblest of the Arab tribes. One of the remarkable descendants of this tribe was the philosopher Al-Kindi, who flourished at the court of the Khalif Abdullah al-Ma'mûn, one of the sons of Hârûn al-Rashîd.

(2) Literally, *sarj*, a saddle, or saddle-cloth ; that is, always on horseback.

(3) The enemy here alluded to was probably the Turkish tribes.

(4) This allusion is obscure, but Kûfa and Basra were sometimes called " The Two Cities."

K. :—" It is so high that it feels not the heat of the seas, and so low that the cold of Syria does not reach it ; its nights are pleasant, and its good things abundant."

H. :—"What sayest thou of Wâsit¹ ?"

K. :—" It is a wife placed between a mother-in-law and a sister-in-law."

H. :—" And who are its mother-in-law and sister-in-law ? "

K. :—" Basrah and Kûfah² which are jealous of it ; but what harm can await it, since the Tigris and the Zab shed, as they flow, prosperity upon it ? "

H. :—" What of Syria ? "

K. :—" It is a fair bride, with maidens seated around her."

H. :—" The Arabs pretend that for each thing there is a cause of ruin. What then is the *takhrîb* (ruin) of *marhamat* (clemency) ? "

K. :—" *Ghadhab* (anger). And the worst and fiercest *ghadhab* is produced by the mischief of *al-Khannas*, the stealthily withdrawing whisperer, who whispereth in man's breast against men, and for protection against whose mischief, as thou knowest well, the true believer should repeat *Sûratu'n-Nâs*³."

H. :—" What is the ruin of a bright understanding ?"

K. :—" *Ananiyat* (Egotism)."

H. :—" What is the ruin of knowledge ?"

K. :—" *Nisyan* (Forgetfulness)."

(1) According to Abu'l Fida, Wâsit lay midway between Kûfah and Basrah, at the distance of fifty parasangs from each.

(2) Al-Kûfah. A city on the west bank of the river Euphrates, about four days march from Baghdad, which has now entirely disappeared. The city of Al-Kûfah was founded soon after the Arabs conquered Persia (A.H. 15=636 Christian era) and in the reign of the Khalif 'Omar. It was built opposite the ancient town of Madain, on the other side of the river. The first Abbasid Khalif, Abu'l-'Abbâs (A. H. 132-136=A. D. 749-754) made it his capital, and it was then a flourishing city, but when the Khalif Al-Mansûr built Baghdad, Al-Kûfah decreased in importance, and gradually fell into decay. It was greatly famed for its learned men, and especially for its grammarians. Two schools of rival grammarians were named respectively from Al-Basrah and Al-Kûfah and the more ancient characters of Arabic writing are called Kûfî or Kûfic, after this seat of learning. The Kûfic-Arabic letters resemble the Syriac, being square and heavy. The most ancient copies of the Qurân are written in Kûfic.

(3) *Suratu'n-nas* is the 114th and last Sûrah of the Qurân. *Al-Khannas* is mentioned in it.

H. :—" What ruins a reputation for liberality ? "

K. :—" To bestow on those who are in *Huzn* (affliction), and tell them that they are undeserving."

H. :—" What ruins the credit of the generous ? "

K. :—" To keep company with the base ! "

H. :—" What is the ruin of bravery ? "

K. :—" *Zulm* (Tyranny)."

H. :—" What is the ruin of piety ? "

K. :—" *Burudat* (Indifference—Lukewarmness)."

H. :—" And of genius ? "

K. :—" *Tama'* (Ambition)."

H. :—" And of Tradition ? "

K. :—" Falsehood."

H. :—" What is the ruin of property ? "

K. :—" Bad management."

H. :—" And of a State ? "

K. :—" Bad government."

H. :—" What is the ruin of the perfect man ? "

K. :—" Privation and the lack of the necessities of life."

H. :—" What is the ruin of Al-Hajjâj-ibn-Yûsuf ? "

K. :—" May Allah prosper the Amîr ! Nothing can ruin one whose reputation is noble, whose family is illustrious, and whose fortune is flourishing¹."

H. :—" May thy mother be bereft of thee, O Ibn-Kirriya ! it had been better for thee that thou hadst not followed the people of 'Irâq and adopted their hypocritical doctrines, after my telling thee to avoid them. The words that have just fallen from thy mouth are as '*asal musaffa* (purified honey), but they are only from the lips, thy heart is still full of *murayah* (hypocrisy). Woe unto thee, Ibn-al-Kirriya ! "

The Amîr then called the *Jallad* (executioner) and said to him : " Strike off his head : "

Ibn-al-Kirriya made a sign to the executioner to wait, and then said : " May Allah prosper the Amîr ! This would not have happened to me, had I not neglected this morning, before coming into the presence of your Highness, to repeat

(1) Literally " Whose branches (*aghshan*) are growing." (2) This great is not alluded to in the Khilafah. (3) Divided into three parts.

the *Tamjîd*¹. Yet, O Amîr ! Let me say three words, which shall become *amthal* (proverbs) after my death."

The Amîr—"Out with them, then !"

Kirriya—"The best horse may stumble : the best sword may rebound without cutting ; and the man of prudence may commit a fault."

H. :—"This is not the time for jesting. Executioner, off with his head :"

On this command, the executioner decapitated the unfortunate man.

"The tongue from which words flow'd like sparkling rill.

"Then silent came and was for ever still."

Ibn-al-Kirriya was put to death on the 12th Safar, in the 84th year of the Hijrah (703 A.D.).

When the Amîr, Al-Hajjâj-ibn-Yûsuf, saw the corpse of Ibn-al-Kirriya lying before him, he repented of his order and, saying "Would that I had repeated *Surat-un-Nas*, before I gave the order for his execution, for then Al-Khannâs would have had no power over me and al-Kirriya would have still been alive !" left the audience chamber and betook himself to his private apartment.

In a Turkish work, *Miri-kelam* ("The Orator"), which is practically a biography of Ibn-al-Kirriya, it is related that that night the Amîr had a fearsome dream, wherein Jabil, the angel of the mountains, appeared to him and said "From thee, O Al-Hajjâj-ibn Yûsuf ! is demanded the blood of Ibn-al-Kirriya, whom thou hast unjustly caused to be slain, and the blessing of soothing sleep shall no more visit thine eyes from this time forth until thou sleep in thy tomb !"

From that time the Amîr was troubled with *sahar* (insomnia), became worn and haggard, and died within six months of the day whereon Ibn-al-Kirriya was slain², namely on the 5th Sha'ban, 84 A.H.

"All human things are subject to decay,

And when Fate summons, monarchs must obey³."

(1) The *Tamjîd*. The expression "*La haula wa la quwwata illa bi-'llahi 'l'aliy'il-'azim* (There is no power and strength but in Allah, the High, the Great !). Abu Hurairah relates that the Prophet said, "Recite very frequently, 'There is no power and strength but in Allah,' for these words are one of the treasures of Paradise. For there is no escape from God, but with God. And Allah will open for the reciter thereof seventy doors of escape from evil, the least of which is poverty."

(2) This dream is not alluded to in Ibn Khalikan's biography.

(3) Dryden, *Fleeknor*.

In Ibn Khalikan's account of the request made by Ibn-al-Kirriya to say three words, the literal translation of the request is : " Let me utter just three words like a troop of travellers when halted." This is most probably an allusion to the third verse of Amru'l-Kais's *Mu'allaqah*, wherein the poet portrays his sorrow at the sight of the abandoned cottage where his mistress had dwelt, and relates that his two companions stopped their camels, and endeavoured to console him. Their troop was, therefore, composed of *three* persons, and it is to this number *three* that Ibn-al-Kirriya made allusion. He merely meant that the words he had to say were three in number, like the troop of Amru'l-Kais. Al-Hajjâj, possessing, as he did, a wide acquaintance with the language, customs, and poems of the Desert Arabs, must have immediately understood and appreciated the allusion.

Many sayings of Ibn-al-Kirriya have been preserved. To the demand of a learned man, who asked him to define " address " (meaning " tact " in the management of affairs) he replied : " To bear with vexations, and wait for opportunities." The following was his definition of *hirat* (embarrassment) : " Stammering not produced by a natural infirmity, hesitation without motive and not arising from doubt, and stumbling without cause." Another saying of his was : " To the miserable man it is a comfort to have companions in *zill* (misery), but it is only a *zalil* (miserable) comfort after all."

This last quoted utterance of Ibn-al-Kirriya finds its counterpart in the words put by Marlowe into the mouth of Faustus : " It is a comfort to the miserable to have companions in misfortune, but is a poor comfort after all." And also in Seneca's remark : " *Malevoli solatii genus est turba miserorum* " "(A crowd of fellow-sufferers is a miserable kind of comfort.)"

The subject of our sketch is the person meant by the early Arabian grammarians when, in citing their examples, they say " Ibn al-Kirriya in the time of Al-Hajjâj."

Abû'l-Faraj al-Isfahâni, in his work "*Kitab al-Aghani*," after giving a full account of Majnûn, the lover of Lailah, observes : " It has ever been said that there are three persons who had never any real existence, though their alleged adventures and names are well known ; these are

Majnûn, the lover of Lailah, Ibn-al-Kirriya, and Yahya-ibn-'Abd Allah-ibn-Abi'l-Akb, the putative author of the *Malahim*¹."

It is undoubtedly correct that quite a large number of legends have become current about Ibn-al-Kirriya, but as they do not appear well-founded, I have not included them. One of these is that when Al-Kirriya was decapitated his head rolled towards the feet of Al-Hajjâj, the face towards him, and that the mouth opened and uttered these words :—"Al-Hajjâj, I summon thee to appear before the bar of judgment in six months from now, and there and then to answer for my blood."

Another story runs that the cause of Al-Hajjâj's *sahar* (sleeplessness) was because a *Bum* (owl) used to come every night, and hoot near his palace, its cry seeming to him, to be always : "Al-Kirriya : Al-Kirriya !"

Ibn-al-Kirriya was so named after al-Kirriya, the mother of Jusham-ibn-Malik-ibn-Amr, one of his ancestors; who had been first married to Amr, and on his death became the wife of his son Malik, to whom she bore Jusham².

Kirriya, as an appellative noun, signifies "the crop of

(1) The *Malahim* ("prognostics") is a collection of predictions and alleged prophecies. There were a number of works which bore this title.

(2) Such incestuous marriages were common in Arabia in "the Days of Ignorance," before the advent of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. Incestuous marriages were not unknown among the ancient Hebrews. There is no lack of evidence as to this. Abraham, whose wife Sarah was also his half-sister, may be mentioned as an example of a marriage between brother and sister (Genesis, xx. 12). Even in the time of King David, although it is represented as unusual for a royal prince to marry his sister (II. Samuel, xiii, 13), it was still regarded as neither objectionable nor forbidden. It should be noticed that in both these cases the union was with a paternal half-sister; the husband and wife being of one father, but not of one mother. Jacob had to wife two sisters at the same time, and Moses was born of a marriage between nephew and aunt, (Numbers xxvi. 59). Marriage with a sister-in-law, or the widow of a deceased brother, is in certain cases a religious duty (see Leviticus). Only from the account of Judah and Tamar (Genesis, xxxviii; compare especially verse 26) is it to be concluded that in case of a lack of brothers the oldest custom obliged the father to marry his daughter-in-law. It has been contended that marriage with the father's wife (who was not the son's own mother) was not objectionable in olden times, among the Israelites. As an instance of this the union between Reuben and Billah is adduced (Genesis, xxxv. 22).

a bird " but it was bestowed on this woman as her personal name.

Some learned genealogists state, that Al-Kirriya's actual name was Jamâah, and that she had two sons by Malik : Jusham, ancestor of Ibn-al Kirriya, and Kulaib, the maternal grandfather of Al-'Abbâs-ibn Abdul-Muttalib, uncle of the Prophet of Allah ; for Nutaila, or Natla, mother of al-'Abbas, was the daughter of Hubab, son of Kulaib, son of Malik ; from this it would appear that Al-'Abbas was a descendant of Al-Kirriya. Ibn-Kutaiba in his work, *Kitab al-Maarif*, asserts that Ibn-al-Kirriya was surnamed " Hilâli " because he sprang from the tribe of Hilâl-ibn-Rabîa'-ibn-Zaid Marrât-ibn-A'âmir ; but Ibn-al-Kalbi states that he was descended from Malik-ibn-Amr-ibn-Manâb, and if such be the case then there is no Hilâl in Ibn-al-Kirriya's genealogy, and Hilâl and Malik are only related to each other through Zaid Marrât.

" Who shall decide when doctors disagree."

Perhaps it will be best in such a case piously to exclaim with Ibn-Khallikan—" Allah knoweth best ? "

" Hilâli " means descended from Hilâl-ibn-Rabîa'-ibn-Zaid-Marrât, a branch of the tribe of Nimr-ibn Kâsit : there was another Arabian tribe of the same name which was descended from A'âmir-ibn-Sasâ'. Ibn-al-Kalbi has noticed each of these two tribes in his *Jamharat-an-Nisab*, and pointed out the relationship by marriage which existed between them.

HARUN MUSTAFA LEON.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES OF INDIAN HISTORY

Being the English version of the first two lectures of a series delivered in Urdu before the Hindustani Academy of Allahabad in March, 1928.

I AM sensible of the honour done to me by The Hindustani Academy in asking me to inaugurate their course of lectures by speaking about the Middle Ages of Indian History. The birth of this Academy is itself a sign of the times. I have for many years been associated in these Provinces with the study and elucidation of the Urdu language and literature. When I was in Hyderabad, I had the privilege also of co-operating in the Urdu movement there, and the early efforts to set the Osmania University to work. They had and have a Translation Bureau, which aims at enriching our language by the translation and preparation of standard works suitable for university studies in Urdu. I wrote a note for them on Urdu orthography which was meant to systematise the writing, spelling and printing of Urdu. I was also interested, and am still interested, in the introduction of type-printing in Urdu. In common with most scholars of Urdu I am not satisfied with the existing Urdu type or the type-printed work which we see issued by the Government and other presses. The attempt to copy in movable type all the variations of Urdu letters as seen in manuscript calligraphy must be pronounced a failure. The essence of MS. calligraphy consists in varying the shapes and sizes of curves in different combinations and according to the position of given letters at the beginning, the middle, or the end of words. The essence of good printing is to have letters of uniform size and shape, to have the lines printed with mathematical precision, and to make rapid reading by the eye an everyday necessity as well as an artistic pleasure. If, by duplicating or triplicating the shapes of single letters, you make the fount unwieldy, you add to the difficulties and the expense of the compositors'

work. In modern commercial printing, cost is not a negligible quantity. With the initial prejudice against type printing you can never make type-printing a success unless it is cheaper and better than lithographic printing. It is not correct to say that type-printing cannot be artistic or beautiful. Its artistic quality or beauty will depend upon other considerations applying to it than those which apply to manuscript calligraphy or its product, the lithograph book. First let us produce reasonably good and cheap type-printing, and we shall gradually be able to evolve more and more artistic printing standards as time goes on. The great superiority of type-printing consists in its accuracy and clearness. No modern language can make progress, or even hold its own, which depends upon lithography and is not able to use the latest resources of the printing-press.

You have rightly called your Academy the Hindustani Academy, and thus accentuated the desire which all reasonable men feel to unify our language in these provinces and elsewhere as much as possible. I note that you have at the same time taken existing facts for granted, and are encouraging both forms of our common Hindustani language, namely those in Urdu and Hindi scripts. I cordially associate myself with the movement towards an approximation of the different forms of our language to a common and uniform standard. I think if we succeed in doing that in these Provinces, the effect will extend beyond the boundaries of the United Provinces¹. Hindustani of a sort is a *lingua franca* throughout India. If we can make it a medium for literary and business expression for the whole of India, it will go a long way towards a unification of our people in thought, speech and institutions, and thus help materially in the evolution of that national life which all true sons of India have at heart.

The location of the Academy in the capital of the United Provinces gives it a central position of great advantage. Although the chief centres of Urdu literature are considered to be Delhi, Lucknow and Hyderabad (Deccan), there are reasons which give the placid atmosphere of Allahabad a certain advantage. Delhi is now the political capital of India, and as such is a storm-centre for political movements. Lucknow is certainly a beautiful city, and may in respect of the history of Urdu literature claim a higher place than Allahabad. As a former

(1) Agra and Oudh. (E.I. "Islamic Culture.")

President of the Lucknow Urdu Association, I shall not be misunderstood to imply that I minimise the claims of Lucknow in any way. But I feel that the association of the Academy with the Government of the United Provinces makes its location in Allahabad a convenience. The association of the Academy with the Government will also make for its stability, and give it that stimulus which official countenance alone can give under present-day Indian conditions. I trust, however, that the five universities of these Provinces, and perhaps other universities as well as non-official bodies interested in the study of our language, will co-operate in the aims and objects of the Academy.

You have asked me to speak of the Middle Ages of Indian History. How shall we define these Middle Ages? In European History the Middle Ages, while not precisely defined, are roughly taken to extend from the extinction of the Western Roman Empire (476 A.D.) to the fall of Constantinople (1453 A.D.). This period of about a thousand years certainly marks a stage in the evolution of Europe, and indeed of human history as a whole. It is the period which is a bridge from the old classical ages of Europe to its modern history. It marks the passing of the political leadership from the races and cities which held sway under the classical influence of Greece and Rome. It is characterised by a regrouping of the European races, and the spread and transformation of Germanic, Gothic, and Scandinavian institutions under the subtle influence of the earlier classical cultures which had exhausted their force and vitality. It got a certain amount of unity by the organisation of the Roman Catholic Church and the Papacy and its universal dominion over the minds of Europe. It evolved the distinctive laws, usages, and codes of honour of feudalism, which ultimately decayed, and were extinguished in the formation of strong, specialised, national monarchies in the different countries of Europe. Add to these characteristics the fact that the history of those ages is known to us in a sort of twilight, as contrasted with the abundant light we get both in ancient and in modern history on the thoughts, habits, social institutions, and lives of men. Can we find any similar characteristics in Indian history, by which we can mark off a tolerably long period as our Middle Ages? I do not look upon the conventional division of history in the text-books into pre-Buddhist, Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim and British periods as either scientifically correct or practically use-

ful. We do not know how long the real Buddhist period lasted, and there is no reason to suppose that Brahmanism was extinct during the Buddhist period or that the word "Hindu" helps us in making an accurate differentiation between any well-marked periods. It is similarly difficult to define the Muslim and British Periods. It is reasonable to make three broad divisions of our history into Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern. There is a good deal of dateless information about India, before history in the ordinary sense of the term begins. We might well put this into a period and call it Pre-History. But the difficulty begins when we attempt a chronological definition of these periods. Perhaps pre-history might include the period before the life of Buddha Gauthama, and we might begin Ancient History from the preaching of Buddhism. How far shall we carry Ancient History in India? The Cambridge History of India takes Ancient India down to about the Christian era. Mr. K. de B. Codrington suggests that Ancient India comes down to the time of the Guptas, from which the Mediaeval Period begins. Mr. C. V. Vaidya, in his three-volume History of Mediaeval India, with a fourth volume still to come, begins our Middle Ages at 600 and carries them on to 1200 A.D. Mr. Ishwari Prasad, of your own University school of History begins his Mediaeval India in 647 A.D., the date of Harsha's death, and carries it on to the Mughal conquest. We shall see that there is much to recommend this definition.

If we could find some prominent features in Indian history to bridge the gulf between Ancient and Modern India, at all comparable with the features which we find in European History, we should be the better able to mark out a definite period and call it our Middle Ages. If we look to the inroads of barbarian races into India, we shall find that there is practically no period of Indian history until quite modern times when India was free from such invasions. We do not know what invasions there were before the Aryan invasions of India, but we have now definite evidence to connect the Indus basin with the civilisations of Mesopotamia. The Aryan invasions themselves covered a long period and implied the inroads of many tribes, which have left their marks on the linguistic development of India. After the Indo-Aryans had settled in the country and became practically absorbed in it, came the Persian and Greek invasions, followed by Turanian and mixed tribes from Central Asia. These continued for

some centuries after the Christian era. The settled and well-developed civilisation of the Gupta Period in its days of vigour (320-455 A.D.) was a sort of island in a sea of invasions that took place before and after. The period of Harsha (606-647 A.D.) may from a cultural point of view be looked upon as a sort of last flash of Gupta civilisation. After Harsha there were many invasions, the details of which are somewhat obscure to us. We know, however, that the four centuries after Harsha continued to introduce a large admixture of foreign blood. The scale on which this was done was now greater, and the Hûna-Gûjar-Jât predominance, the matrix of the Rajput clans, brought about a complete regrouping of the population. In truth these four centuries may be called the Rajput period. If we close the Rajput period with the death of Prithi Raj of Delhi (1193 A.D.), we have, I think, a definite epoch of twilight, to which we might reasonably assign the beginning of the Middle Ages.

But the Rajput regrouping did not result in a settled reassortment of the Indian population. The Muslim invasions, bringing in their wake various ethnical elements and a strong, well-defined set of institutions, laws, and social system, continued the radical churning process of Indian society. What is more, instead of being absorbed in Hinduism, it produced remarkable and permanent reactions. From about 1000 to about 1310 A.D. the Muslim power and Muslim culture came in waves of greater or less intensity, until, in the beginning of the 14th century, the whole of India, including the Deccan, may be said to have come under Muslim influence, and the greater part of it under direct Muslim rule. But there was still no social settlement, no room for a cultural and abiding evolution of society. The decline of the Delhi Sultanate from about 1310 to about 1526 meant the rise of a number of local kingdoms, still mostly Muslim, with no settled boundaries, and hardly able to work out a definite political system. With the coming of the Mughals, in 1526, the atmosphere underwent a transformation. There was now some stability, some order, some permanence, if not in political power, at least in the trend of social and political institutions.

To my mind, therefore, it is better to date the Indian Middle Ages from the age of Harsha (say, about the middle of the seventh century) to the establishment of the Mughal Empire (say, about the middle of the sixteenth century).

This long period of nine centuries can further be subdivided into three distinct sub-periods, namely, (1) the regrouping and reconstruction of Hindu society (647-1000 A.D.); (2) the further regrouping of Indian society by the gradual permeation, stage by stage, of Muslim influence (about 1000-1310 A.D.); and (3) the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate into numerous fragments without any Indian unity, leading up to the Mughal conquest (1310-1526). As we have to compress all this into three lectures following this introductory lecture, our best plan is to study each period by the documents which illustrated its commencement. One collateral advantage of this definition of our mediaeval period will be that it will correspond roughly to the period of the European Middle Ages and help us greatly in the study of comparative history. If this view is accepted, the modern period will include both the Mughal and the British periods, between which there was no sudden or abrupt break, but an easy transition. The Mughals themselves had dealings with European Powers after they were affected by modern movements. Indian economic life under the Mughals began to take more and more a modern shape, with the gradual growth of foreign maritime commerce through the expansion of European activities in the Eastern seas.

The Seventh Century.

Assuming our Middle Ages to begin in the middle of the 7th century and end about the middle of the 16th century, we might conveniently take three distinct points leading up to and ending that period, for the study of social and economic conditions. The first point I shall take will be the age of Harsha. Here we have abundant materials for study. We can reconstruct almost a complete picture of social life, although the data for economic facts are scanty. Social and economic conditions are however so inextricably mixed together that we can draw no hard and fast line between them. We shall review briefly the facts as they appear from a careful study of the documents of the period.

Authorities : (a) *Drama*—These documents may be divided into four groups. The first consists of the dramatic literature of the period, and finds a fit expression in the three dramas attributed to King Harsha himself. These are the *Priyadarshika*, the *Ratnavali*, and the *Nagananda*. The weight of opinion is in favour of a single

authorship of these plays. Even if they were not actually and entirely written by King Harsha, it is almost certain that they were produced in his time and under his patronage. For our purposes, all that we are concerned with is their approximate date, and as there is not the slightest doubt about it, we may accept the picture given in them as reflecting the true facts of the social life of the seventh century. It is true that the horizon of these plays is limited. They were produced merely for a court audience, and their plots do not go beyond depicting certain phases of palace intrigues of an amorous character. Even with these limitations, they are of the highest value in realising the actual life of the age in which they were written.

(b) *Bana's Panegyric and Romance*.—The second group of documents comprise two romances by Bana, who lived at the court of Harsha and has left marvellously vivid descriptions of contemporary life and manners. One is the *Harsha-Charita*, a romantic panegyric of the early part of Harsha's life and career, with a highly poetic account of the rise of his family; the second is the *Kadambari*, a remarkable example of Sanskrit prose, which has always been popular in India. It tells with charming meanderings the story of a wonderful parrot, in an atmosphere of elaborate realism, combined with stories of love and adventure (stories within stories) and supernatural transformations. The pictures which Bana draws of life in various phases are worked up in highly-coloured mosaics. His style of miniature descriptive pictures resembles that of Compton Mackenzie's novels in modern English literature. But Bana is to Mackenzie what an elaborate piece of Oriental filigree work is to the bolder strokes of the European goldsmith's art. We have to make large allowances for Bana's ornate and florid style, but, making all possible allowances, we yet get a graphic description and can realise the age in a way which is not open to us for much later centuries. Both these romances can be read in very good English translations, comprised in the Oriental Translation Fund Series. The *Kadambari* has been translated by Miss C. M. Ridding, and the *Harsha-Charitra* by Messrs. E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas. If the Hindustani Academy wishes to translate Sanskrit works into Urdu, these two books may be confidently recommended to their attention. The question whether they are translatable into Urdu must be solved by those who undertake the rash adventure.

(c) *Chinese Pilgrim*.—Our third set of authorities for the period is the account of the Chinese pilgrim Yang Chwang (also written “Hiuen Tsiang”) and his Life, written in Chinese. Both have been translated into English. The latest and best English translation of his Travels is that of Thomas Watters (Oriental Translation Fund of London) and the only English translation of his Life is by Mr. S. Beal, which was published a century ago, and is not very accurate. I have given a rapid sketch of the Pilgrim’s account of India in my little English book “Three Travellers to India,” which is being used by the Punjab University as a Reader in the Matriculation classes.

(d) *Inscriptions and Art*.—The fourth group of authorities are coins, inscriptions, and contemporary works of art in sculpture and painting. Of the coins of Harsha we have hardly any; and we are not surprised, for Yuan Chwang¹ notes the prevalence of barter in valuable goods from the seaports; and for inland trade, besides gold and silver coins, he notes the use of cowries and small pearls. Of inscriptions we have three, and two of them are copper-plate grants. They tell us a little of the dues usually collected in the villages. The sculptures and paintings of the period may be studied in Ajanta in the north of the Nizam’s dominions, and in Bagh in the south of the Gwalior State, some fifty miles west of Dhar. Selections of both of these have been published by the Indian Society of London, and a few more may be studied in Mr. Codrington’s *Ancient India. King, Minister, and Household*.

King Harsha himself was the hero of Bana’s panegyric, and we hear very little to his disadvantage, except in his imperious treatment of friends and allies². His strong and vigorous character, his toleration of different forms of faith, his love and devotion for his sister, his interest in literature, song, music and art are all attested by the Chinese pilgrim. While we may therefore look upon Harsha as an exceptional character, as indeed he was, the typical king as depicted in Harsha’s plays was soft and dissolute. His kingdom was kept together by the wisdom of a faithful Brahman minister, who, however, was not above the wiles of Kautilya’s political philosophy. The King usually had many wives, who performed *sati* at his death³. In addition he kept a numerous harem,

(1) Y. C. I. 178.

(2) T. T. 24.

(3) Pri. p. 17.

guarded by hunchbacks, dwarfs, and old men¹. Women guarded palace doors, and carried *chauris*, and the King often leaned on the arms of one of his female attendants. The senior queen was generally very jealous of young and pretty women in the *Zenàna*, but where one of them was proved of noble birth, the queen had to agree to receive her as a co-wife.

Women and their accomplishments.—The higher women observed a certain amount of seclusion. The queen's veil is mentioned², as also the fact that the king had the hall cleared of people before he invited the queen to come and witness a magician's show³. An elderly lady of rank, a companion of the queen, is mentioned as a blue-stockings, who wrote and arranged little plays or scenes for the amusement of royalty⁴. Noble damsels were taught singing, dancing, and instrumental music.

Brahman jester.—The king's love intrigues were usually promoted by the Vidushak or jester. Though a Brahman, he is usually made a very contemptible character. He is greedy and covetous, and the butt of laughter even for slaves. In one play⁵ a slave drags the Brahman Vidushak roughly, breaks his sacred thread, and addresses him opprobriously as "you tawny monkey!" Even the Brahman Bana speaks of "shrieking, quarrelsome Brahmans."⁶ they climbed to the tops of trees to see the king pass, and were roughly treated by the rods of chamberlains standing on the ground.

Royal hall, and King's habits.—The royal hall was hung with white silk tapestries. The floor was cooled with sandal water, to which was added fragrant musk. Aloe perfumes were freely used. There was an alcove with a white bed and a jewelled footstool. The king, after exercise and his mid-day bath, reclined there, while a maiden gently rubbed his feet "with a palm soft as the leaves of fresh lotuses." Here he received other kings, ministers, and friends, of sufficient rank to be received at that hour of comparative privacy⁷. Some of the palace rooms

(1) *Pri.* p. 75. Eunuchs must have been known, for they are mentioned in Manu and the Mahabharata.

(2) *Rat.* Act 3.

Nag. Act. 3.

(8) *Ratn.* Act. 4.

(4) *Pri.* p. 47.

(5) *Nag.* 44.

(6) *H. C.* 209.

(7) *Kad.* 15.

were adorned with wall paintings, and were called *chitra-shalas*¹. An accomplished king usually knew the magic arts, and was expert in the antidotes for poisons². But his relations to his subjects did not necessarily inspire national sentiments. Even at the beginning of an invasion by an enemy, the zamîndârs bowed temporarily to him, instead of resisting him. If the king had Buddhist inclinations, he became careless of his Kshatriya duties of defending his subjects by force of arms ; he only saw the cruelty of destroying life for the sake of a kingdom³.

Let us take Bana's word-picture of the capital city of Ujjain. It was a flourishing and happy city, commanding from its central position all the wealth of southern and western India. It was surrounded by a deep moat and defended by fenced walls, white with plaster. At various points we may suppose that there were elevated towers showing against the blue sky. The bazars were rich with merchandise. Pearls, corals and emeralds were objects of everyday traffic. The picture halls of the city had lively scenes painted on their walls. The subjects of these pictures we can well imagine from the remains which we still have in the caves of Ajanta and Bagh. The stories of gods, demons, Nagas (snake-gods) and other mythological beings were depicted in tempera or in frescoes, but not many incidents of daily life. The prevailing worship under Harsha was that of the god Shiva, whom we find prominent in the dramas and the romances. At the crossways were temples flying white banners. Honours were also paid to Kama, the god of love, whose banners bore the emblem of the fish. In the plays we find the celebration of special public festivals in spring and autumn. In these festivals there must have been a good deal of saturnalia or horseplay, comparable to that in the modern festival of Hôli. The sound of bells was heard ringing merrily, and special announcements such as the coming and going of the king were made with the sound of the conch-shell. The recitation and chant of sacred books was heard frequently. There were green gardens watered by means of buckets constantly at work. The wells were adorned with brick seats, and probably had staircases leading to subterranean chambers as in modern *baulis*. There were dark and shady groves in the suburbs around.

(1) *Pri.* p. 55.

(2) *Pri.* Act. 4.

(3) *Nag.* Act 3.

The river Sipra, a feeder of the Chambal, flowed past the town, and numerous lakes covered with lotus flowers were dotted about in the landscape¹.

The citizens of Ujjain were a merry, light-hearted people as befitted the inhabitants of such a wealthy city. They delighted in their public works, which included wells, bridges, temples and pleasure-grounds. There were way-side sheds for watering the cattle. There were hostels for religious students and halls of assembly for the people. The best treasures of the ocean were attracted to the city for them. In Bana's quaint words, though bold, they were courteous; though pleasant of speech, they were truthful; though handsome, they were chaste; though they welcomed strangers, they asked not for presents; though votaries of love and wealth, they were strictly just. They took a delight in the arts. Their conversation was full of humour, and they dressed elegantly and spotlessly. They were skilled in foreign languages and loved the recitation of stories and of the sacred Epics and Puranas. They were also inveterate gamblers². Parrots and talking starlings (*mainas*) were favourite cage-birds. Elephants, saddled and unsaddled, were to be seen everywhere, as well as horses. This word description of Bana is also borne out by the cave pictures.

The country could not have been very thickly inhabited. There is nothing to show that roads were well kept up. A good deal of the area must have been under forests haunted by elephants and "hundreds of lions³." Among the forests were found hermitages and penance groves, at which kings often alighted in the course of their hunting expeditions. The hermitages were not devoid of female interest. Many of the kings' intrigues in the dramas centre round some high-born maiden nurtured by the hermit as a daughter amongst many companions of her own sex. A curious barbarian settlement is described by Bana. It was a Chandala camp, "a very market-place of evil deeds." Boys were to be found engaged in the chase, unleashing their hounds, teaching their falcons, mending their snares, carrying weapons, and fishing. Their dwellings were hidden by thick growths of bamboos. The enclosures were made with skulls. The dustheaps of the roads were filled with bones. The yards of the huts were miry with blood, fat, and meat chopped up. Their

(1) *Kad.* 211.

(2) *Kad.* 211-12.

(3) *Kad.* 16.

garments were of coarse silk and their couches of dried skins. Their household attendants were dogs, and they rode on cows. This horrible word-picture is crowned by Bana in the terse sentence : " The place was the image of all hells¹." Perhaps these were the prototypes of some of the criminal tribes' encampments to be found in India even at the present day. Only those savages were not then kept under as they are now, and they seem to have been more prosperous. Perhaps they represented races, large portions of which have since been absorbed.

There is a very detailed description of the dress and appearance of a Shaiva ascetic in the *Harsha-Charita* which we might examine with profit. He was surrounded by a throng of devotees. He bathed early, presented the eight-fold offering of flowers, and attended to the sacrificial fire. The ground was smeared with fresh cowdung. The ascetic was seated on a tiger-skin, whose outline was marked by a ridge of ashes. He was wrapped in a black woollen cloak. His hair was knotted at the top, and showed the round shells of his rosary hanging from its braids. He was about five and fifty years of age, and had a few white hairs in his head. His skull showed signs of baldness. His ears were covered with hair. His forehead was broad and covered with a mark of smeared ashes. Occasionally he frowned. His long eyes were yellowish, with corners of red. The tip of his nose was curved, like the end of Garuda's beak. His teeth were in the process of going, but those that remained were still white, " like the crest of that Shiva who was ever treasured in his heart." His lip hung a little downwards. A pair of crystal ear-rings dangled from his pendulous ears. On one fore-arm he wore an iron bracelet and a charm-thread compounded of various herbs. His right hand worked at a rosary. His beard, dangling upon his breast, and somewhat tawny at the ends, " was like a broom sweeping away all the dust of passions contained therein." His loincloth was of pure white linen. The soles of his feet were tender and red, and always covered with a pair of pure white, water-washed slippers. At his side was a bamboo staff with a barb of iron inserted in the end. He spoke but rarely, slowly smiling. There was a look of beneficence and wisdom in his austere face. His kindly features betokened sincerity, purity, patience, constancy and inner pleasure or happiness. " Such was the holy Bhairavacharya, a very Shiva incarnate²."

(1) *Kad.* 204.

(2) *H. C.* 268-4.

There are many such word-pictures. We shall content ourselves with glancing at two more, namely his description of the birth ceremony in the King's household and his description of a remote village in the Vindhya.

When a son was born to the King, the joyful news was communicated to the city, which rejoiced exuberantly at this happy event. Even inanimate objects felt the thrill of delight ! Unblown horns rang out spontaneously loud and sweet. Unbeaten tabors and timbrels sounded aloud as if they rejoiced unbidden. The horses tossed their manes and neighed with joy. The elephants uplifted their trunks and joined in the merry chorus. Bonfires blazed. The white-clad Brahmans approached, reciting the Vedas to bless the newborn life. The elders of the family hastened to the Palace. Prisoners were released in honour of the event and ran about in disorderly crowds with their long matted beards. The order of the royal household was changed to disorder in this rush of joy. The crowd defied the macebearers. Even the women's quarters were invaded. Master and servants were reduced to a level ; young and old confounded ; learned and unlearned on one footing ; drunk and sober not to be distinguished ; noble maidens and women of the streets lost their balance ; the whole population of the capital danced in a wild orgy. Wives of the neighbouring kings could be observed in thousands approaching the Palace, with presents borne by servants behind them. The drink booths ran like showerbaths, and frolic and mirth of the coarsest kind were indulged in without restraint. The whole crowd ran mad as at a Bacchic festival, because a son was born to the King¹.

The forest village in the Vindhya was surrounded by woodland districts. Here might be seen huge banyan trees encircled with cowpens formed of dry branches. Tiger-traps were set in revenge for the slaughter of young calves. Here and there among the forests were parcels of rice land, threshing floors and cultivation. It was very thin cultivation, mainly with spade culture. Among the cultivated fields there were *machans* raised high, from which men could watch and frighten away wild beasts. Cool arbours made out of wayside trees, with water jars placed on wooden stands gave shelter from the heat of the sun. Here and there were blacksmiths, burning heaps of wood to produce charcoal. The villagers came to gather fuel, with strong axes on their shoulders and

(1) *H. C.* 110-12.

bundles of food slung round their necks. Sometimes teams of strong oxen marched in front of them. Hunters and fowlers roamed about with snares and cages, to ply their trade. All sorts of wild produce, such as honey, peacocks' tail-feathers, wax, etc., was gathered and taken to the village. The women carried on their heads baskets of forest fruits. There were sugarcane enclosures, carefully tended and properly fenced, and the ubiquitous, bounding black bucks. The dwellings of the villagers were thinly scattered amid bamboos and thorny bushes. Young calves were tied to stakes fixed in the ground. The sound of cockcrow indicated the position of the scattered houses. The walls were made of bamboo leaves, stalks and weeds, with a dash of colour here and there. Living pets such as wild cats, tame snakes, mongooses (*nevla*) and the like showed how closely these villagers lived at one with forest life¹.

Before we pass from these highly flavoured descriptions from the literary artist's pen to the more soberly told economic facts revealed in the Chinese pilgrim's account, we may note a few points revealed by the sculpture and paintings of the period. In Ajanta Cave I (6th to 7th century)² there is some beautiful carving on the corbels of the capitals, which are so high that the figures are missed by the ordinary visitor. The female figures are almost Greek in their character. There are also Persian head-dresses and faces elsewhere in the Cave paintings. Were they worked on Persian or Greek models? The fine drawing³ of the figure of Buddha or Bodhisatva or Indra, with a flower like a pink in his hand, shows the refinement to which the pictorial art was carried in that age. The picture of the Prince at his bath⁴, with his long black curls, sitting on a four-legged stool, while his men are pouring jars of water over him, admirably illustrates Bana's word-descriptions. At Bagh the two groups of female musicians⁵ show great powers of pictorial composition, a beautiful drawing of hands and faces, and altogether a remarkable standard of the graphic art. It may be noticed that the complexions of the faces vary from the lightest to the darkest hue, with all sorts of gradations between, and the features and head-dresses vary

(1) *H. C.* 225-29

(2) *Codr.* p. 1. 35.

(3) *Herr.* p1. 11.

(4) *Herr.* p1. 12.

(5) *Bagh.* p1. D and E.

in the same way. The amount of clothing on the figures also varies from the almost complete nude to completely clothed figures like those of the centres of the musical groups. Evidently the racial mixture in the Indian population had not yet stabilised itself, and this we should also conclude from other evidence coming to us in a literary or traditional form.

As for economic facts, they may be briefly noted, in addition to those already referred to. The copper-plate grant of Madhuban (District Azamgarh) mentions¹ five kinds of dues which the holder of land in a village had to render. They were: (1) the *Tula-Maya*, (2) a share in the produce, (3) money payment, (4) services in kind, and (5) other dues. What was the *Tula-Maya*? It may have been something akin to weighment dues (*tulai*) still levied in old-fashioned village marts. Whether the share of the produce, the money payment, and the services in kind were concurrent dues, or alternative dues on different kinds of land, we are not in a position to say. The probability is that one or other of these was leviable from any given holding, but that all these were known in the village or villages taken as a whole. The comprehensive term "other dues" may have included cesses of the various kinds that are still levied in villages.

Compared with China, Yuang Chwang found India lightly taxed, and the Government mild, and yet he would not change his country for India. Families were not registered in India, and individuals were not subject to forced labour. He evidently did not consider service tenures or part-service tenures as implying forced labour. The royal domain was divided into four parts: one for the expenses of government and State worship; one for the endowment of great public servants; one to reward high intellectual eminence; and one for gifts to the various sects. The rent taken from the king's tenants was one-sixth of the produce. Land grants were freely made, and assignments to public servants were common in lieu of salaries².

There was *octroi*, and there were light duties on trade at the ferries. Much rice and wheat were produced in the fields, besides ginger, mustard, melons, and pumpkins. The common food was milk, *ghi*, sugar, cakes and parched grain, with mustard oil. Fish, mutton and venison were

(1) Ett. 149.

(2) Y. C. I. 176-7.

also eaten as dainties. The different castes had distinctive drinks special to them ; the Vaishyas drank a strong distilled spirit. They ate with their hands, and not like the Chinese, with spoons and chop-sticks. In cases of illness, copper spoons were used¹.

In illness the food of the patient was cut off for seven days. If the fast did not cure him, medicine was administered. Probably then, as now, those who were well-off ate too much, and those on the margin of subsistence had too little to eat. The disposal of the dead was in one of three ways : by fire, or by floating the body into a stream, or by being cast away to feed wild animals. The Brahmanists wailed aloud for their dead, but not so the Buddhists². The proportion of those who professed the two religions varied from place to place ; often they were half and half.

The punishments for crime were severe, but crime was not common. The criminal was outcasted and imprisoned for life. For offences against social morality, or disloyalty to the State or to the offender's father, a limb was cut off—*e.g.*, the nose, an ear, a hand, or a foot—or the offender was banished. Some offences could be compounded for by a fine. There were ordeals by water, by fire, by weighing, or by poison³. Besides the four classical castes, there were innumerable mixed castes⁴.

These details are not very precise, but they record the Chinese Pilgrim's impressions, and we are grateful for them. He also formed a very kindly estimate of the Indian character. The evidence of the Indian literature of the period on these points is both fuller and more precise, as coming from within.

A. YUSUF ALI.

(1) *Y. C. I.* 176-8.

(2) *Y. C. I.* 174-5.

(3) *Y. C. I.* 171-2.

(4) *Y. C. I.* 168.

THE MOGHUL MESSAGE OF BEAUTY

NOTHING in François Bernier's famous book throws a stronger light on his character than the passage in which he expresses his admiration for the Tâj Mahall and the naivety of this declaration of artistic faith.

"I was in the company of a French merchant," he explains, "who, as well as myself, thought that this extraordinary fabric could not be sufficiently admired. I did not venture to express an opinion, fearing that my state might have become corrupted by my long residence in the Indies; and as my companion was come recently from France it was quite a relief to my mind to hear him say that he had seen nothing in Europe so bold and majestic."

Thus supported, Monsieur Francois takes heart to talk, (and he talks well) about the Tâj; until near the end of the discourse another cold fit seizes him, and he adroitly postulates,—“It is possible I may have imbibed an Indian taste; but I decidedly think that this monument deserves much more to be numbered among the wonders of the world than the pyramids of Egypt¹.”

The clever Paris doctor had made his point, one notes,—and without the possibility of giving serious offence to his fellow subjects of King Louis. Bernier at the Tâj was a man under the spell of a revelation, and the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, was inevitably drawn from this canny foreigner. His tribute is worth reams of the facile admiration of people who have nothing to lose by praising a work that has now long been proclaimed *hors concours* by the general voice.

To say that the Tâj is beyond criticism is not to say that it has no critics, and one meets people—architects sometimes—who will explain entertainingly how (architecturally) wrong Shâh Jehân was to allow the two lateral domes to nestle so close under the central canopy (like three leaves on the pîpal tree), how mistaken he was in

(1) Constable and Smith's edition of Bernier; p. 299.

checking the minarets with black ; how much better indeed the whole would look if the minarets were away ; how 'Itimâd-ud-Daulah's tomb was in better proportion, and so forth.

But the Frenchman's modest statements are as epoch-making as the cry of Archimedes : "Eureka !—I have found it !"

It is so much simpler to criticise than to create ; and, while the modern world has grasped that comforting truth and broadcasted it "not wisely but too well," the secret of the Moghul's Art sleeps—like Hermann Melville's *Bartleby*—"with Kings and Counsellors." Its like is not among us today ; no Architect of this critical Age would dare to write over the lintel of his buildings the vaunt which Shâh Jehân blazoned on the walls of his Hall of Audience in the fairest palace in the world,—"If there be a Heaven upon Earth it is this, it is this."

A great commentator—Fergusson—has said : "The Tâj may challenge comparison with any creation of the same sort in the whole world. Its beauty may not be of the highest class, but in its class it is unsurpassed¹." But we should like to have heard Shâh Jehân's rejoinder to this. It would, I am sure, have been at least as interesting as was Whistler's when that painter conveyed to the Judging Committee in Munich, which had awarded him a second-class medal, his complete appreciation of the second-hand compliment ! Again Fergusson writes (and let us not forget that he felt and wrote as one illumined by the Moghul Message of Beauty) : "Though of course not to be compared with the intellectual beauty of Greek ornament, it (*i.e.*, the decoration of inlaid precious stones) certainly stands first among the purely decorative forms of architectural design." We may think with Horatio that to reason thus were to reason too curiously. One cannot classify in the cosmos of Art the exact comparative values of those atoms of taste which carbonised the Moghul stones and marbles so that they blazed with an even greater effulgence than the Moghul diamonds ! Who can tread the old Palace at Delhi without feeling acutely conscious that a unique point of view has been lost ; without asking despairingly with the poet :

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam ?

Where is it now, the glory and the dream ?"

It may bluntly be said that all Moghul Art is decorative,

(1) *History of India and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II. Page 317.

and in this respect its architectural triumphs possess a consistency which even "the intellectual beauty of Greek ornament" did not always achieve. In the Moghul masterpieces a scheme of beauty is presented in which the component parts are so marvellously subordinated to the general weal that no single item is allowed to draw the spectator away from his contemplation of the whole building.

I well remember how, when I first saw the Erechtheum on the Acropolis at Athens, I received one of those galvanic shocks of artistic realisation which, being so rare in the course of a life-time, are to be ardently remembered. But this came—I feel assured—not from my first contemplation of the Erechtheum as a whole, but from the contemplation of its ornamental feature, the *Caryatides*. The magnificence of these statues of resplendent women supporting the cornice of the porch cannot be adequately described. They must be seen; but, once seen, who can think of the Temple which it is their business to uphold on their noble heads? Here at least, clearly, the phonetic art of the sculptor, though part of the building, makes a greater appeal to man than the purely technic parts of the structure; it is a war of the members in the body corporate of beauty; and in so far as there is strife for preeminence in the parts there must be unrest—even if it be a divine unrest—in the whole.

Who has not sympathised with the judge in the first of the world's chronicled beauty competitions? Paris had to choose between the three goddesses,—Hera, Queen of Heaven, Athene, Queen of Wisdom, and Aphrodite, Queen of Love. What a bevy of immortal beauty, but how distracting! And we cannot even now affirm unanimously that he chose the right one. In the Parthenon it is easy to feel a repetition of this rivalry of two at least of the immortal three. Aphrodite, as we may term Painting, would be there too, today, but she—the loveliest—is ever a fugitive, according to the laws of Art and Love. Were the halls of Delphi acclaimed for any architectural merits that could rival in public esteem their mural paintings by Polygnotus?

We should not forget, moreover, that in discussing Greek decoration we do not properly know what we are discussing. There are comparatively few people who remember that the Frieze of the Parthenon was *painted*; fewer still who like the idea. In fact the Greek decoration which we see today, which enshrines for us the Hellenic

ideal, is—quite apart from the fragmentariness of the legacy—*not* the Greek decoration which Pericles and Phidias spread,—gorgeous and glowing with colours—before the enchanted eyes of the Athenians. The *forms* of decoration (though mutilated) are there, but where are the hues of life? And if we prefer (as many must) these pallid marbles to the lavish colours of ancient Athens, that taste is our own, but most emphatically not Hellenic.

Moghul Art on the other hand has survived for us in its entirety; we behold it, and see that in spite of—shall we say, *because* of its very limitations—there exists no strife of beauty in the component parts. A man may mentally visualise (as I do) the Erechtheum as a triumphal representation of “the human form divine;” he may recall the Parthenon by the vivid remembrance of those prancing horses¹ and the grand athletes that ride them; the whole of ruined Olympia may be to him succinctly summarised in his reminiscence of Praxiteles’ Hermes; but when one thinks of the Tâj, it is the Tâj, and the Tâj only, that one remembers.

These distinctions are deeper than Moghul and Greek conceptions of ornament; they extend indeed to all the differences in all the ramifications of Indian and European Art.

In Indian Art, there was never any controversy between the three goddesses, for all three were united. I do not say that Paris was wrong to make a choice, or in the choice that he made; but once he did so he separated the Fine Arts of the West for all time.

Henceforth all combinations of the three have been (though ever so well disguised) in effect a competition, and the reason that this is not perceived is that very few people in the West have seen Indian Art in the only place in which it can be seen in its state of triple oneness—namely, in India itself. Still fewer have cared to follow up the Moghul message of beauty to the laws which have made it the simplest and most happily read artistic message in the world.

It was Diogenes who taught that happiness lay in learning to do without things, and himself learned to do without his last possession, which was a drinking bowl. The Moghuls did not drive the wedge so far home as this; but it was no common genius who restricted the marble

(1) The Frieze of the Parthenaic Procession, the slabs of which are partly in the British Museum.

sculpture—and what sculpture!—on the walls of the Tâj to flowers and arabesques only. When one begins to reflect on what those artists *might* have put in, one can grasp the greatness of restraint which had taught the lavish East *what to leave out*—ever the acid test for the artist. There was taste, but also scientific knowledge in these and many similar omissions by the Moghuls. They saw their objective steadily, and saw it whole. They are not to be deflected from their direct march to the goal by all the wealth of beauty that cried aloud to the Moghul artists.

Shâh Jehân and his sculptors saw around them on every side the decorative elephants they understood so well; the oxen with their wonderful dewlaps; the buffaloes with their curving horns. They saw, in troops, the exquisite women of one of the most exquisite periods Art has ever known, in all the panoply of gorgeous robes, Dakka muslins, and kinkob. The Peacock Throne itself was worth (says Tavernier who saw it) over twelve million pounds¹.

Shâh Jehân—Artist and Emperor—was responsive to all this to his finger tips—and yet he passed it over. He plucked a few flowers from the garden and these he gave to the sculptors to transmute into marble, or to serve as models for the inlaid jewels of the shrine. “A hint to the wise is sufficient,” and the Indian Artist of today should not repine unduly at the difficulty of finding models! No doubt this is all far removed from the great Greek friezes and façades, those fighting reliefs of Amazons, Centaurs, and demi-gods. But all the same I know of no Art other than Moghul Art that has been able to achieve such sublime decoration by such simplicity of design. The calligraphist for the great inscriptions, the lover of gardens for the floral panels—that was all! And yet nowhere does the grandeur of the conception waver a hair’s breadth towards the puerile or the small. This reticence was of course far removed from the barrenness of our modern building in India. The stark white walls which we are erecting on every side are not *reticent*, though they are naked; or if reticence they have, it is that of the man, who we all know so well, who has acquired some reputation for gravity simply because he has nothing to utter!

If only Shâh Jehân could enter the Cowasji Jehangir Hall in Bombay, or the boundless buildings of New Delhi,

(1) See foot note (p. 473) in Constable and Smith’s Edition of Bernier.

would not the blank, empty walls rejoice like the desert and blossom like the rose !

No ; the Moghul message has failed to percolate through to New Delhi.

There is a corner in Shâh Jehân's Palace in the old Fort that I would advise the visitor to the new city to seek, after he has done his homage to the originality and independence of our modern builders in India. I would *strongly* advise him to hark back then to the Garden of the King ! The spot I have in mind is at the Eastern end of the Diwân-i-Khâs, or private Hall of Audience. Here, seated on a camp-stool by the edge of the marble bed of the "Stream of Paradise," which flowed sparkling through the centre of these Apartments, with one's back to the exquisite screen beneath which the translucent waters passed on their cooling mission, one has before one the bejewelled columns and arches of the Hall. Beyond and between these glow the coppery tints of the red creeper-clad wall of the little Pearl Mosque, the domes of which can be seen, showing between the distant foliage and the near angle of the Imperial Saloon. Right above, in front of us, the broad eaves of marble bathe the tops of the delicate arches in liquid shadows ; all above and beneath is the play of blazing sunlight over the white and gilt and inlaid surface.

From the angle at which we are viewing the building, the Kiosk at the South East corner of the roof appears in delicious perspective, its interior full of mellow shadows, its dome and finial sparkling like silver and gold against the immensity of the Indian Blue. How well the Moghul understood how to use that colour—the favoured hue which sweetens and dominates our lives—as the all pervading background for the intensely characteristic Moghul pattern ! It is all, you will perceive, a pattern—painted, as it were, against that background of celestial blue ; a picture of beautiful shapes in the first place, and these shapes filled, in their turn, with patterns of equal beauty, in gold and precious stones. It is a picture in two dimensions ; the third disappears as we look at the pieces of this intricate and lovely decoration. Blue, silver, gold, and copper, against the jade greens of the garden, and the whole united by the soft tints of the sharply drawn shadows : that is Shâh Jehân's colour scheme. The secret, though based upon a lowly view-point, is a mighty triumph of scientific artistry. Let us reverently peep into the workings of the Moghul mind.

There is nothing fortuitous in this majestic pattern of architectural design decorated with colours, chaste and rich. Every effect has been foreseen. The designers—the men who could humbly study flowers, and loved to reproduce their leaves and tender petals in jade, jasper, onyx, carnelian, or lapis lazuli—were of course worshippers of Nature, watched her every gesture, and learned to anticipate her every mood. They made this a place apart in which she would walk with them; and so she touches the palace walls with the illuminating points of her fingers, till they shine like burnished gold; she drapes them with the shadows of her veil, till they glimmer like a pale mirage. Everywhere the artists have *expected* Nature's co-operation and nowhere does she disappoint them. For the only way to build in India is to build with India; such was the message, such the secret of Moghul Art.

Once this perception has been fully realised the student, will begin to appreciate the basic qualities of Moghul Painting, for these differ in degree rather than in fundamentals from the Architecture and Sculpture of the period. We shall no longer be much disturbed by the human—one might say frankly, the “worldly” – limitations often attributed to Moghul Painting, and its want of imagination, of which we have heard so much. To lovers of Nature, like the Moghuls, it was natural to find in the features of the men and women around them all the aesthetic satisfaction they desired; and, living in an environment that they had converted into a Dream, they did not desire their artists (as a general rule) to attempt to depict one more ethereal.

Probably they would think that, if the Palace that has just been described and many other beautiful buildings were not sufficient to stimulate the artist's pencil to activity, the unseen mansions of the next world could scarcely suffice to do so; or would it be truer to say that the splendour of the Moghul environment symbolised for them *all* Beauty whether sacred or profane? I can imagine that genial, art-loving patron, Jehângîr, with his Empress Nûr-Jahân, and their superb retinue, saying to the artists, —“Here we are: paint *us*!” Remember that such pageantry was the kind of thing which the painters of that western city “that held the gorgeous East in fee,” were always endeavouring to project upon their glowing canvases, whether it was a Veronese painting “The Marriage in Cana of Gallilee,” or a Tintoret portraying “Paradise.”

The themes—religious or ethereal—of the Venetians were vehicles for the pageant of riotous colour, of fine women, and fine fabrics, of Palladian palaces, of knights be-furred or glittering in armour, of pawing chargers, and black slaves, which their imagination had delighted in ; but which, magnificent though Venice was in that age, their eyes could never have seen in full Moghul opulence. When Titian painted Saint Mary Magdalene, he certainly painted no saint ; and Paul Veronese, or Palma Vecchio are decidedly more convincing when they paint the all-triumphant Venus in her own alluring image than when they “camouflage” the eternal charmer under the guise of a Christian martyr. One may make a journey to Parma to prostrate oneself before Correggio’s Madonnas—but it is not to Correggio’s portrayal of the Virgin Mary that we bend but to his triumphant painting of erring humanity. Let us be perfectly frank, and realise how rarely it has been given to the greatest artist to paint with sincerity the superhuman, and then do justice to the honesty of the Moghuls (surrounded in actuality by the splendours which the brilliant Venetians saw only with the eye of imagination) in painting—*themselves*.

But I cannot consider that for this the Moghul message of beauty was wholly “of the Earth, earthy.” Does not the symbolism pervading the sensuous Art of the period give such an idea the lie ?

The streams of rose water that perfumed Shâh Jehân’s palaces were as those other streams that irrigated the Paradise of Milton’s sumptuous imagination when he wrote:

“How from the sapphire font the crisped brooks,
Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
With mazy error under pendant shades,
Ran nectar.”

And what is there of difference between the Elysian streams of the Grand Moghul and the Puritan poet, except the difference between the tangible, and the word image ?

I am of course dealing here with Art, not with ethics, and am merely concerned to show that the limitations of Moghul Art were pretty wide. Moghul Painting, which comprises “the abstracts and brief chronicles of the time,” cannot be understood properly if divorced from its association with Architecture and Calligraphy. The eclectic influences which were absorbed by this art need not

trouble us here ; and to realise its healthy, wholesome joyousness, its frank delight in all the good gifts of Providence, we must learn to know the Moghuls.

Well ! if one would breakfast with Akbar and sup with Shâh Jehân, one will hardly find them in books !
“ By their works shall ye know them.”

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

MACHIAVELLI—A STUDY

As we are receding further and further from the age when the Florentine Secretary, Niccolò Machiavelli, lived and worked the world is gaining a clearer insight into the life and times of this great originator of Political Philosophy. Biassed and influenced by everyday surroundings, a contemporary writer is invariably unable to handle his subject in a just and impartial manner. He is swayed by personal likes and dislikes or hearsay, which discolour his historical or biographical accounts, in the majority of cases unintentionally. Hence we find a mass of contemporary literature in which Machiavelli is either praised as a good and conscientious patriot or abused as a veritable incarnation of the spirit of evil. It is, therefore, left for later generations—the further they are removed the better—carefully to study and sift these widely conflicting opinions, and endeavour to arrive at an impartial estimation of the private and public worth of the first serious student of statecraft to arise in Europe.

To understand the tremendous divergence of views caused by his apparently irreconcilable principles embodied in the "Prince" and "Discourses," we must consider the misfortunes and vicissitudes of Italy at the time the great Florentine was born and brought up. This period, which heralded the birth of a new era, is known in history as the Renaissance. It linked the Middle Ages with the modern times. We discern in it vast and varied activities in every human undertaking. It revolutionized literature and the fine arts for the better information of the human mind. The Italians, so superbly rich in thought and so intelligently industrious, captivated the imagination of the rest of Europe. They were admired and followed with great awe and respect. Machiavelli and Guicciardini became the pioneers of political science. Natural science and classical learning began to flourish. Commerce and industry advanced by leaps. But in the midst of this sudden advance in knowledge and culture it is strange to say that the nation showed no sign

of moral improvement. The Popes were responsible for the continuance of moral decay. Their ambition caused them to go beyond their legitimate province of religion and aspire to the temporal domination of Europe ; and with that end in view they, first secretly and then openly, encouraged disunion which became synonymous with treachery and instability. Foreign interference, encouraged by the political and moral starvation of the country and instigated by the Popes, became more frequent and bold. The Republicans and the Tyrants who constantly indulged in internecine warfare enfeebled the peninsula to such a degree that it was unable to withstand the shock of foreign ambition. The republican form of government of Venice, Florence and other cities was based on the ancient principles of the Greek City States, which was perhaps an ideal form of rule when the State remained confined within the four walls of the city and which, according to a great lawgiver of Greece, should not extend beyond the range of ordinary human vision when viewed from the highest tower. Those living within this limit only were to be considered as true and free citizens, all outsiders and the subdued were treated worse than slaves. Clearly this idea of government had become unsuitable when all States were enlarging and extending their territories in all directions. Florence and Venice had considerably increased their importance by acquiring fresh dominion. The latter even looked with covetous eyes on other, fairer portions of the mainland. As this conquest mania increased the territorial proportions of these republics, it correspondingly augmented the number of the oppressed. But in spite of this increase in the number of the governed, the number of the rulers remained stationary and confined within the walls of the central capital city. Society lost its cohesion, and disintegration set in. Under the auspices of the Papacy many associations, antagonistic to each other, were formed. No wonder new monarchies under upstart tyrants sprang up on all sides, which in the beginning treated their subjects impartially. Every subject became a citizen of the monarchy under which he lived, enjoyed equal privileges and protection and saw the reestablishment of some local independence. Consequently the much harassed and divided nation preferred to live under a monarchy than under the pseudo-popular rule of the republics. But while securing a respite from everyday annoyance to their immediate subjects, these tyrant-adventurers continued to wage war against each other, with the result that their

subjects were the chief sufferers. To preserve their kingdom all sense of remorse was lost; treason and bloodshed and violence of the most degraded sort were resorted to, the closest of family ties were no protection against revenge and greed for power.

It was Machiavelli's lot to witness this miserable condition of affairs. The atmosphere of remorseless rapine suffocated him and, knowing that the eyes of the whole of Europe were turned in the direction of Italy, he felt exceedingly grieved and humiliated. His sole aim in life was to see Italy emerge from all this chaos, rejuvenated, united, commanding the respect and homage of Europe. Being born a Florentine and having devoted the best portion of his life to the political service of his country, Machiavelli was at first a great partisan of the republican form of government. He had indeed drawn up a constitution for a great and united Italy when his co-worker and admirer Guicciardini remarked that "such a form of Government would be to the advantage of a single city and the ruin of all others, since a republic never grants the benefits of its liberty to any but its own subjects, while monarchy is impartial to all." Guicciardini was right in his estimate of the proposed reform. Machiavelli's own Government of Florence, which boasted of a very liberal and democratic constitution, controlled the destinies of almost a hundred thousand souls, of whom only about three thousand were proper citizens, who looked upon the rest of their fellow subjects as their bond men. And later on Machiavelli's general survey of Italy's political plight also demonstrated the soundness of his friend's advice. He saw with pain that republics were the most formidable enemies of liberty and refused to tolerate any encroachment on the power of the few. Then another paradox confronted him, which removed much of his dislike for the monarchical system of government. He detected some good in the very evil which he had so much dreaded, *i.e.*, absolute centralisation and concentration of all authority in a single individual. The majority of the tyrants saw that, to consolidate their kingdom, military efficiency, personal courage, ignorance of remorse and great cunning alone were insufficient and some nobler and higher qualities were required. It was necessary to prove personal merit, to gain public confidence, to have a deep insight into human character, to respect the sentiments of their own subjects, to raise the social, political and economic status of their respective countries. Where

narrow-minded democrats failed, liberal and broad-minded tyrants succeeded. In the midst of plots, feuds and bloodshed the tyrants manifested an inclination to become patrons of knowledge and culture, arts and industries. Moved by selfish aims no doubt, none the less did they help the future regeneration of their country. Thus it was that, side by side with the vilest forms of corruption, "intellectual and artistic pre-eminence was allowed to exist and gradually paved the way for the finishing touches of Raphael and Michel Angelo. Niccolò Machiavelli with a heavy sigh, resembling the last sigh of the Moor, gave up all hope of seeing Italy united and governed by a great, prosperous and popular Republic." Experience taught him to devise a more practical scheme which would help at least to remove corruption and improve the contradictory systems of government for the benefit of both the rulers and the ruled. The "Prince" and the "Discourses" were the result of his patriotic meditations. The one dealt with despotism and the other with republicanism. But his labours which had for their inspiration unalloyed love for his country were doomed to immediate failure. The times were full of difficulties and contradictions, and although it was Machiavelli's desire to reconcile the thousand and one conflicting interests and produce harmony, his works called forth wild and continual dissensions. Both sides looked upon him as something more than a mischief-maker and an enemy of Italy—a devil in human form. They wanted to know whether these books were written by a dishonest republican or a dishonest courtier. They were bewildered to find the same man advocating liberty and all the best principles of republicanism and also despotism mingled with treachery and deceit—an extremely bitter fruit of his impassioned contemplation. Whatever his secret inclinations might have been, it was false to say that in writing these books he was governed by iconoclastic tendencies. And as mentioned above, he knew that destructive attempts would only lead to deeper chaos and unhappiness which might smother and destroy for ever all signs of awakening. Failing to construct a single popular authority which would be capable of uniting the Peninsula into one solid whole, he decided, for the sake of seeing some improvement in the lot of his wearied fellow-countrymen, to allow the monarchies and the republics to exist side by side, only hoping to induce them to control their wrong ambitions, and rectify and refine their State machinery.

Even now, in spite of every facility in research and the production of innumerable essays on the subject, we have not been able totally to dispel the mystery surrounding the name of Machiavelli. A student of Machiavelli's life, if he desires to arrive at a correct estimate of his character, must, while indulging in a philosophical consideration of his works, keep in mind the abnormal conditions of his age, the influence they had on his mental activities, his virtues and his vices. He must carefully study the history of the Italian Renaissance, the works of Guicciardini, the important portion of Machiavelli's political documents written by himself, and the history of the Florentine Republic. The learned author of the latter work depicts the deplorable character of the age and the hopelessness it produced in the bosoms of the chief actors in the following words, describing the temperament of Guicciardini :—

*Malignant of Heart, Malignant of Mind,
His soul corrupted by Despair of Good.*

Forgetful of the various reasons and necessities which forced Machiavelli to adopt apparently contradictory and dangerous political doctrines, even now we are accustomed in our political parlance to use the word Machiavellism as a synonym for something degradingly cunning and politically immoral.

It was only when students of politics living in the sober and quiet atmosphere of modern times studied the original doctrines of the great master that the world realised the marvellous success of his stupendous labours. His language and the manner in which he gave expression to his ideas were modern to such an extent that he was acclaimed as "contemporary of all times and citizen of all countries." He proved no exception to the rule that great men are seldom appreciated in their land of birth. Gifted with inexhaustible patience, he applied himself to diagnose the disease which was drying up the life-blood of a nation, and, despite the extreme gravity of the situation and the dangers surrounding him, with unflinching determination plunged into open warfare with received opinions. The Italians were utterly incapable of understanding a nature so remarkably different from the ordinary type. Thus when Machiavelli advised the application of his new principles and theories to the crude, in fact, pernicious political conditions then prevalent, and endeavoured to mitigate the vices in general vogue, he was looked upon with unsurmountable antipathy.

But the meaning of the words "vice" and "virtue," as understood by him, needs a careful explanation, lest we too should fall into the common error and eye him with the usual aversion and distrust. Indeed he has given no formal definition of these words, but if we peruse his works with diligence we shall find that there is a distinction—natural to one habituated to the idea that politics are quite outside the purview of religion, which was the view of Christendom as against that of the Islamic world, in which religion was all-inclusive—between their political and theological sense. With the latter he has no concern. Although the great reformation in Christendom had powerfully affected the spiritual side of human nature, Machiavelli remained quite free from superstitious fetters. In the absence of public opinion the enormity of the misdeeds of the Papacy and its minions continued to increase unchecked. Private and public scandals had become the order of the day. Sacred offices, high and low, were sold and resold to the highest bidder and these ill-gotten accessions to the Papal coffers were lavishly devoted to the perpetration of further iniquities. The climax appears to have been reached under Pope Alexander VI, the greatest libertine and conscienceless monster of his day¹.

No nation could plead extenuating circumstances in self-defence which not only tolerated the existence of these voluptuous degenerates but had become so mentally and morally diseased as to allow them to become sovereign Pontiffs, and Vicars of Christ on earth, despotic rulers of the Christian Church. It is no surprise then that the best human instincts of Machiavelli revolted against the very thought of handing over his conscience into the charge of such reprobates. This extreme hatred and repugnance towards the Papacy made him, like many of his learned contemporaries, incline towards Paganism. He longed to see Pagan Rome re-established in all her past splendour, when the highest ideals of political freedom and patriotism and a simple, Spartan mode of life had infused such courage and energy into the Romans that they became a nation of heroes. He wished men to adopt as their creed the following immortal words of Gino Capponi which he was never tired of repeating :—

(1) Whose son, no less a monster, won Machiavelli's reluctant admiration by his utter ruthlessness when "pacifying" the Abruzzi, and is said to have been the original or inspiration of *Il Principe* the "Prince." Editor, "I. C."

Those who loved their country better than the safety of their souls.

If Machiavelli had been a good Christian and had been given his choice between individual salvation in the future life or the material welfare and greatness of his country, he would have unhesitatingly chosen the latter. According to him, man may have many attributes, be just and virtuous or the reverse, but the sole object for which he was born was political, his other qualities being subservient to this. The words virtue and vice used by him, divested of their popular meaning, bear a political significance. For instance, political virtue, as opposed to Christian virtue, is held by him to denote untiring fortitude and courage in both the good and the evil sense. Anything that helps individual selfishness or personal aggrandisement without any regard to public safety or the political progress of the people he condemns in the severest language, but if any action of a sovereign political authority, be it a single tyrant or a body of republican rulers, whether theologically right or wrong, is productive of general advancement and fruitful of glory and happiness both to the rulers and ruled, he would hail it with acclamation. If a ruler by temperament is good and just, so much the better; if not, Machiavelli would seriously advise him at least to appear before his subjects as a virtuous Christian, just and tender-hearted. For, he says, the masses always follow with pride and pleasure the example of their rulers. They are mirrors reflecting truthfully the qualities of their masters. But the ruler should never allow himself to be guided by any of the so-called finer sentiments or by remorse in his political actions. Such actions might be regarded as unclean from custom or belief; nevertheless, if they resulted in good to the country, they were much superior to Christian goodness. A ruler, according to Machiavelli, should never for a moment hesitate, for example, to tell a lie or indulge in any other condemned vice if by so doing he can benefit his people and his country. But this action will always be considered ignoble and should be severely reprimanded if done for purely personal ends. His own words, to be found in the "Discourses," illustrate this doctrine admirably :—

"Many will deem it a most pernicious example that one who, like Romulus, was the founder of a civil community, should first have killed his own brother

and then consented to the death of Titus Tatius Sabinus, his chosen companion.....when his deeds accuse, him, he shall be justified by their results. The deed itself is sufficient justification, since he who commits violence for the purpose of destruction does verily deserve censure but not he who commits violence in order to establish security."

The above quotation proves in a striking and conclusive manner that in his new and practical science of politics, founded upon human, historical activities and experience, all good and evil actions were to be judged from the results accruing from them, either in establishing or demolishing general peace and good order. He not only forgives, but strongly commends all Roman and Greek political assassinations for the results that flowed from them in enhancing the glory and prosperity of those political societies. In other words, the end achieved justified the means.

The only resemblance to be found between his writings and those of Aristotle is, perhaps, the application of the historical method. He very curtly sets aside all culture and knowledge, arts and religion. The State must only concern itself with political and military activity and the rulers must only be imbued with political ambition, otherwise they will be incapable of guarding the very existence of the State. The highest ambition of a political thinker should be to study the actual existing conditions of mankind, how things were managed and what might be done. He has no patience with ancient and contemporary idealists who wasted their mental energy in looking for that which should be done. Thus we find that Machiavelli, although a pagan and a vehement antagonist of the Papacy, was not blind to the great political utility of a religious belief in uniting and consolidating the State. He considers that "the sagacious politician will always respect religion, even if he has no belief in it, since there have been frequent proofs that through inculcating it even by craft much valour has been roused for the defence of the country." His painful contemplation of the chaotic condition of religious affairs in Italy finds expression in the following words :—

Had the Christian religion been maintained as it was instituted by its founder, things would have gone differently, and men would have been greatly happier. How much on the contrary, it has been changed and corrupted, is proved by this, that people nearest to

Rome have least faith in it. And whoever considers the use made of religion by the Church of Rome and the nature of its manners must deem its hour of flagellation and destruction to be near at hand. But inasmuch as there are some who believe that the welfare of Italy depends upon the Church of Rome, I will allege two very weighty reasons against her. The first, by the infamous example of that court this land has lost all devotion and all religion. We Italians, then, are first indebted to the Church and the clergy for the loss of our faith and the gain of wickedness.

Then again, while holding those in authority to be responsible for the deplorable mismanagement of religious affairs, he compares the pagan form with Christianity, to the advantage of the latter :—

The latter (Christianity) makes us hold of small account the love of this world, and therefore renders us more gentle. It has placed the supreme good in humility and poorness of spirit, and in contempt of worldly things ; whereas the other (pagan) placed it in greatness of mind, in bodily strength and in all that gives men daring. Our religion bids them to be strong in endurance rather than strong in deeds. Thus the world has fallen a prey to the wicked, who have found men readier, for the sake of going to paradise, to submit to blows than to resent them. If the world has grown thus effeminate and heaven disarmed, it comes rather from the cowardice of those who have interpreted religion than from the religion itself, which, in reality, insists on the defence of the country, and should, therefore, render men capable of defending it.

Here, by the way, it is interesting to note that Machiavelli's views are strangely similar to those held by the great Arabian-Spanish philosopher Averroes (Ibn Rushd). The latter, a freethinking Muslim, a disciple and admirer of ancient Greek Philosophers, used openly to say that no man could be a good and sincere Muslim and a self-respecting human being if he acknowledged Islam for the sake of going to paradise or from fear of punishment after death. But a more interesting comparison would be with the views and theories of Ibn Khaldûn, of all old Muslim historians the most "modern" in his mode of thought and expression, who had to face similar political evils. He regards politics rather as a natural science,

and, like all the Muslim writers, admires private virtues particularly when displayed in public life.

The foregoing extracts from Machiavelli's own writings will, I am sure, be sufficient to remove all doubts regarding his "good faith." Circumstances had compelled him outwardly to renounce Christianity, but for a noble aim—the greatness and prosperity of his beloved country. Earnestly believing the then existing condition of the Church of Rome to be subversive of all peace and good order and actively hostile to spiritual and temporal liberty and the establishment of a single and a united central Government, he, with a single-minded devotion to his ever cherished ideal, relentlessly opposed and endeavoured to destroy the chief supporters of disorder and confusion. Disdaining the well-intentioned advice of his friends not to think aloud, at the cost of his own reputation and personal welfare, he proclaimed boldly :

“Where it is an absolute question of the welfare of our country, we must admit of no consideration of justice or injustice, of mercy or cruelty, of praise or ignominy ; but, putting all these aside, we must adopt whatever cause will save its existence and preserve liberty.”

It is a true saying that history repeats itself. The task of a true political patriot becomes infinitely greater when he is confronted by a general disruption of society, caused by cruelty, discord and sedition, in fact corruption in every shape and form, the result of selfish and short-sighted policy. Being an eye-witness of all this chaos, Machiavelli, who was never adverse to Christian virtue and freedom of religious thought, was compelled by force of events to preach “public necessity.”

Machiavelli is wonderfully “modern” in the manner in which he handles his intricate subject. He traces step by step the gradual evolution and development of the State and halts at a mixed form of government. It is either a unique coincidence or the modern political statesmanship has built on his ideas, but the fact cannot be denied that the European and American constitutional systems of our own times are on the lines indicated by him in the following fragment :—

“At first men lived like brutes. Then they thought of choosing a chief for their better protection, and elected the strongest man amongst them. Thus the first communities arose ; the sentiments

of justice and honesty came into being ; the first laws were made, and punishments were inflicted on transgressors. Afterwards they no longer chose the strongest, but the wisest and most prudent man to hold rule ; this man then transmitted his power to his heirs and thus rose monarchy which was the primary form of government. But owing to the innate tendency of mankind to abuse all things, directly the monarch was assured of his power, he was sooner or later transformed into a tyrant. Thereupon, either in their own defence or that of the people whose leaders they became, the patricians came to the front, and thus arose the aristocratic government, which in its turn, running to excess as soon as it was firmly established, was converted into oligarchy. Finally the people rose, and founded the democratic Government ; and this also, and for the same reasons, proceeding to excess, sank into democracy. This in its turn made princely power a necessity, and human society again trod the same road from the beginning, with infinite turns and deviations, unless, as frequently happened, it was checked half way by falling a prey to neighbouring States. To avoid the dangers caused by these continual changes and revolutions, prudent men invented the mixed form of Government—composed of all the three forms—judging it to be safer and more stable, because sovereign, patricians, and popular government being united in the same city, all kept one another in check. . . . ”

This is the briefest but most didactic summary of the conception of polity from the earliest times down to our present age. The modern State is ruled by a mixed form as the last and the best step in the evolution of political statesmanship. Our limited monarchies and republics are governed by kings or presidents and the two chambers. The popular element undoubtedly dominates the whole administration, but all three orders, the king or the president, the aristocracy and the people, should be considered jointly as repositories of sovereign political authority, holding one another in check. The chief distinction between Machiavelli's and the modern system is that, as the former was merely concerned with the political and military activities, the latter besides these is also responsible for the mental and moral progress of the nation in the most complex modern sense.

Ibn Khaldûn had written : " The State rests on two absolutely indispensable foundations : first, material resources and communal sense which reveal themselves in its military strength ; and, secondly, financial administration, whereby the army is kept up and the requirements of the State are met.... Know that the foundation and consolidation of the Empire depend on communal sense, nay, on that peculiar, unconditional, higher type of communal sense which unites and quickens individual efforts into one indivisible whole. It is nothing but a complete identification of the interests of the people with those of the Sovereign."

Machiavelli's oversincerity of purpose undoubtedly led him into indiscretion, inasmuch as he impatiently sought to remove the long established abuses of power in a day, when, considering the situation, it would have required years for the desired reformation. His whole-hearted desire to share the joys and sorrows of his down-trodden compatriots, his benevolence and his genius which anticipated the birth of a perfect political humanity, failed to disillusion the world, which, always superficial in its vision, vehemently disapproved of his wild, and, as they were then considered, unpractical political speculations. " The Prince" and the incomplete " Discourses " were looked upon as mad and revolutionary ravings, and entailed unpleasant consequences for their author. But undeterred by the fear of personal hurt, he persevered in the pursuit of truth. His unbounded confidence in himself, his deep and abiding love of liberty, his hatred of intolerance and his implacable antagonism to such political abuses as, hoary with age, assume the garb of conventions, would not allow the dangers which beset his age to overawe him. He hurled defiance in the face of the despoilers of his fellow-creatures and his country, and assaulted the citadel of despotism, giving no quarter.

He endeavoured by advice and precept to form statesmen and politicians who would mature their schemes calmly and silently and learn to become astute dissemblers, not for personal aggrandisement but for the public good.

Considering the mass of contradictions surrounding the personality of the master, it is difficult for his biographer to trace with accuracy his principal characteristics. I have, however, to the best of my ability, attempted to give a fairly presentable picture of his life and work in this short essay. There is one point which, although it has been touched upon, needs amplifying. Was Machiavelli

a Pagan, as his writings would declare him to be, or did he in the innermost recesses of his heart continue to adhere to Christianity ? The great pleasure with which he lingers in his defence of real Christianity and his justified wrath against its detractors, priests and tyrants, plainly demonstrate his natural inclination towards the religion of his birth. His ever irrepressible love of freedom, both temporal and religious, and the disastrous use of religion by the Papacy, kings and republicans for the enslavement of the Italians, had augmented his antagonism for the prevailing form of Christianity, rendering him incapable of practising the very principles he so much sought to impress on others, and making him proclaim himself a pagan. The best translation of Machiavelli's sentiments is to be found in the following words in which Shelley's reasons for forsaking Christianity are given :—

*To express his abhorrence of superstition ;
He took it up as a Knight took up
a Gauntlet,
In Defiance of injustice*

and in so doing, he became the apostle of the Modern State, with its theories of irresponsible government and "my country right or wrong," the destroyer of National Honour which in Christendom had been so great a factor in the days of chivalry. He theorised from what he saw around him in his day, with no wider object than the creation of a strong State capable of holding its own against others. In Christendom religion was apart from politics ; there was no religious sanction behind the political institutions which he saw, nor any general and effective recognition of a Higher Law to which every king and every people alike owed obedience; nor did the idea of the need of such sanctions or of such a law ever enter his head. His ideal never rose above the nation, whereas in the Muslim world our Prophet's saying : "He is not of us who sides with his tribe in injustice" has always elevated the ideal of human brotherhood in theory. Consequently, Machiavelli's success is to be found in the Modern Constitutional State, his failure in the tragic consequences of unbridled nationalism which have forced his latter-day disciples to admit the pitiful necessity of a League of Nations to restrain it.

THE PLACE OF ORIENTAL THOUGHT IN THE FIELD OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

It is greatly to be regretted that while the average Indian student of Political Science knows all about the theories of Plato and Aristotle, Aquinas and Dante, Bodin and Hobbes, Rousseau and Green, he is generally ignorant of the great political thinkers of the East, thinkers who not merely propounded theories for the school-room or the college hall but who actually advised monarchs as to the best way of carrying on the government of their country. It is noticeable that modern histories of various sciences are as a rule silent about the development of those sciences in the East, and almost invariably begin the story with Greece and Rome, passing, after a slight reference to Arabian thought on the subject, on to the Medieval period of European History. A student with even ordinary sense of perspective and vision is perplexed at this quaint phenomenon, and wishes to know whether the millennia which passed between the rise of the different cultures of the East and the commencement of classical Greek History, and the centuries which elapsed between the fall of Rome and the renaissance of Europe were really so utterly devoid of all progressive thought. China, India, Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, such is the wonderful array of some of the countries which developed their own civilizations long before the advent of Greece on the stage of human History; moreover the great rise of learning which was the predominant factor of the era after the Arabian Prophet's demise has also to be reckoned with. It is evident that humanity could not have been so barren during all these centuries as to be devoid of all political thought, and it is the object of the present paper to discuss some of the most important material before us to a certain extent, and to allot it a place in the field of Political Philosophy.

Here it will not be out of place to say a word about the general trend of the history of the Eastern nations as compared with the West. When we read a book on the

constitutional history of a Western country, we are struck by the great interminable struggles between the ruler and the ruled. Take the case of the more familiar history of England ; it strikes an impartial onlooker that this history is full of rebellions and revolts, of Magna Charta and Grand Remonstrances of Petitioners and Abhorrrers, and one is surprised at the utter lack of confidence evinced both by the rulers and the subjects, which has finally developed that curious permanent institution called His Majesty's Opposition. No such antithesis existed between the ruler and the ruled in Eastern countries in the heyday of their glory. The sovereign there was the embodiment of the State, the shadow of God, the father and patron of his subjects and the protector of their rights. These are not mere idle words, for even to-day, in the only Asiatic country which can vie in power and progress with any nation of the West (Japan), the sovereign is regarded not only as the earthly embodiment of the whole nation but as a very god on earth, an entity to be revered and worshipped. Potentates, instead of higgling with the representatives of their subjects over "grants" and "redress of grievances," have always vied with each other in doing good to their fellow-countrymen. Who can ever forget how during the last floods of the Musi, his late Highness, the father of our present ruler, threw open the gates of his palaces for the relief of the poor, and who is not aware of the tremendous strides which these Dominions¹ have taken in the matter of public works and education during the rule of our benign sovereign. Let us also remember how quite recently the present Emperor of Japan, while he was still Crown Prince, made a gift of nearly fifteen crores for the relief of the sufferers from the terrible earthquake of 1925. The modern Eastern potentates are only treading in the footsteps of their ancestors in title, and are giving additional proof, if it be needed, of the basic difference between the monarchy of the East and the monarchy of the West. Absolutism is sometimes regarded as an Oriental institution *par excellence*, but Oriental absolutism seldom takes sides against the people of the land and is nearly always benevolent—benevolent of a type hardly known to the nations of the West.

It was necessary to dilate, however briefly, on this peculiarity of Eastern politics, for otherwise it would have been difficult to understand the theses of oriental political writers. While political philosophers of the West

(1) H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions—Ed., "Islamic Culture."

content themselves with logical and psychological factors in the body-politic and deduce conclusions from these factors, Eastern political philosophers are more practical in their method, and their treatises are mostly booklets on the art of government rather than mere sets of theories of a student of political philosophy. In reading them one is struck by the great respect and veneration shown to them by the potentate as well as by the courage and daring with which they, so to speak, gave lessons in the art of government to those who had the reins of power in their hands. We shall here pick out a few representative political thinkers from Eastern Asia, Middle Asia, Western Asia and Northern Africa and then try to explain their importance, pointing out at the same time any points of contact that may be discernible.

Confucius (circa 550-470 B.C.) is the first writer with whom we have to deal. Pre-eminent in the whole range of political thinkers on account of the great hold his thought still has over his people after the lapse of more than two thousand years, is Ku'ng-Fu-Tze, whose name was later on Latinised as Confucius. He was born about the year 550 B.C., when China was passing through a period of interregnum, and feudal lords, with almost regal rights and privileges, were making themselves independent masters of their little bits of territory owing to the want of any proper controlling authority. He himself was a native of one of these semi-independent tracts, the State of Lu, towards the south of the modern peninsula of Shantung. At the commencement of his career he kept entirely aloof from politics and became deeply absorbed in the history of his country, trying to determine the causes of the anarchy which then prevailed in it. He was at last appointed magistrate in the district of Chung-Tu, and then Minister of Justice. He had therefore ample opportunity for putting his ideas into practice. His whole theory of government was based upon a strict, prescribed ceremonial and routine, and principally consisted of interference in the everyday life of the individual; for it was only thus that he thought he could redress the great wrong done to the land by the licentious acts of individuals. He maintained that Society was made up of five elements of at least two interrelated factors each, that is to say, Ruler and Subject, Husband and Wife, Father and Son, elder brother and younger brother, and mutual friends. It has been so ordained by Providence that the first factor in the first four groups rules the second factor, which should submit

to the dictates of the first, and while the first factor should be righteous and benevolent, the conduct of the second should be marked by sincerity and truthfulness. So far as friends are concerned, says Confucius, they should contrive towards the mutual promotion of virtue. Such are the distinguishing marks of a well-ordered society, and whenever these principles are violated by passion on either side, the Society immediately tends to become anarchical.

We notice that among the five groups enumerated by the sage, the foremost is that of ruler and subject, and Confucius says that while the ruler should be righteous and just, the subjects should submit to his orders with sincerity. Filial love is to him the keynote of all politics, and the people should obey the government in the same way as the son obeys the dictates of wise parents. But an oppressive government he could never tolerate, and there is a story of a woman of Ch'i whom he saw weeping at a tomb; he sent one of his disciples to enquire the cause of her sorrow, and was told that her husband as well as her father-in-law had been killed by a tiger on that very spot. When asked why, in that case, she remained there, she said that she did not go because at least that place was free from an oppressive government. Confucius thereupon turned to his disciples and remarked that evidently oppressive government was more to be feared than a beast of prey.

Confucius died in 478 B. C. with his mission partly successful. The Imperial State of Ch'on as well as the feudal system subsisted for another two centuries, when both were swept away by the first historical dynasty of China, the dynasty of Ts'in. It was his grief that what was wanted was a model ruler who could act according to his precepts, and such a ruler was not to be found anywhere. He was, however, a great believer in his own ideas as well as in the preponderating goodness of human nature, and he has left an indelible mark on the innermost recesses of Chinese family life and politics, which has subsisted to our own day. It is perhaps only when mere names have replaced realities and the interrelationship between the government and the people has disappeared that China has re-entered an era of interregnum from which Confucius wished to extricate her so much.

We cannot, however, fully understand Confucius's mission till we have studied the works of one of his followers, namely Mong-Tze or Mencius, who was born in

372 B. C. and died in 287 B. C. Interregnum was still the order of the day in China which was rent asunder by the internecine feuds of the Seven Monarchies into which the Empire was split up. Mencius grieved that while on the one hand the royal ordinances were systematically violated, on the other the people were labouring under continuous oppression from above. He was utterly hopeless about the future of Ch'on and his idea was to go about from State to State till he found a ruler who could listen to his counsel.

It was under such unsettled conditions that he propounded his theory of government. He says that kingship is no doubt a Divine institution, but the question remains as to who is the favoured one of the Almighty. Mencius answers this quite logically that only he is fit to ascend the throne and remain there whom God has made capable of shouldering this burden, that is to say, one who is a man of character and is fit to carry on the government properly. No doubt government is from God, but governors must be discovered by the people. He goes so far as to say that the monarch whose rule is injurious and who is deaf to all remonstrances is unfit to hold the reins of government and should be set aside either by a member of his own household or by a worthy minister, or else by a "minister of Heaven," by which he means a person of character who can fulfil the responsibilities of State better. A good king, says Mencius, must be benevolent and righteous, for benevolence and righteousness have no enemies, and no purely selfish man should remain a sovereign, who could be happy while others were miserable.

Mencius's word was prophetic, and Imperial Ch'on continued its path of decadence till a very short time afterwards it was finally annexed by Ts'in in 222 B. C. His theory of the Divinity of Kingship coupled with the right of the people to select the sovereign is perhaps unique in the annals of Political Philosophy. He was, like Confucius, an idealist, and was looking for a prince after his own heart, whom he could not discover. The first period of the history of China closes about this time, and with the supremacy of Ts'in begins a new epoch which lasted right up to our own day, when the last Emperor was dethroned and the Republic proclaimed in 1911.

We now traverse the road from the Far East to the Middle East, from China to our own country, India. It was a period of great turmoil in the politics of the Middle East, for Alexander the Macedonian had overrun practically

all the world known to him and had subdued not only Greece and Egypt but Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan and the Panjab. It was in India that he first met with opposition of a considerable extent, and not only had he to retrace his footsteps back from the banks of the Satlej, but those whom he had left behind were finally forced to evacuate the Panjab by the Maurya Emperor, Chandragupta. We have here to deal with the Prime Minister of this Indian potentate, who is variously named Chanakey, Kautilya and Vishnugupta. We know nothing about the date of his birth or of his death, but internal evidence goes to prove that he must have compiled his remarkable work, the Arthashastra, some time between 321 and 300 B. C.

The author says at the outset that the compilation "is made as a compendium of almost all the Arthashastras, which, in view of acquisition and maintenance of dominion have been composed by ancient teachers." In fact it contains both a *resume* and a *critique* of the ancient Indian authors on Political Philosophy and a correct account of the administration of the vast Maurya Empire. The author shows his intensely practical nature, and instead of beating about the bush, theorising about the outward phenomena of the State, goes immediately into the inner working of its machinery. It is remarkable how this old author and statesman forestalls the state of nature depicted by the English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, nearly two thousand years later, and says that the condition of affairs before the formation of the State was that of *Matsya-nyaya* or the "logic of the Fish" that is to say, just as in the wide ocean large fishes feed on smaller ones, so in the epoch of the pre-State, everyone was on the look-out to prey upon the weak and the helpless and thus to increase his own authority and prosperity. There is, however, no express contract either as between the sovereign and the others, or among the individuals themselves, but Kautilya has no doubt that a condition of tacit contract existed as between the King and his subjects. It would be proper here to quote Kautilya's very words in this connection: "People suffering from anarchy, as illustrated by the proverbial tendency of a large fish to swallow a small one, first elected Manu the Vaivasvata to be their king, and allotted one-sixth of the grain grown and one-tenth of the merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment, Kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of

their subjects and of being answerable for the sins of their subjects when the principle of levying just punishments and taxes has been instated."

According to Kautilya, the king should avoid injuring women, be truthful, and shun all haughtiness and evil ways. This can only be the outcome of a grounding in the arts and sciences useful to their responsible position, so that in order to become good kings in later life, princes of the blood should be given a thorough intellectual training. Kings should not covet the lands, riches, sons and wives of the slain, nor should they annex the territories of those whom they have subdued in war, but should set the son of the slain prince on the throne. He goes on to mention the three Shaktis or powers of the King which are described by earlier authors, *i.e.*, the *Mantra-Shakti* or power of taking counsel, the *Prabhu-Shakti* Majesty of the Royal person and the *Utsaha-Shakti* or energy, and says that these Shaktis are supported respectively by knowledge, army and treasury, and the personal courage of the sovereign. Kautilya quotes the ancient acharyas who held that the *Utsaha-Shakti* or personal energy of the sovereign was more important than his *Prabhu-Shakti* and thus forestalls Walter Bagehot's famous theory of the dignified and efficient elements of government by thousands of years.

Kautilya is less a political theorist than a practical counsellor in the art of government, and it is not a mere coincidence that he has been compared by some, chiefly by the Italian Botazzi, to Machiavelli. But it is noticeable that he is far less Machiavellian and more straightforward than the Florentine, and dilates on the art of government in fairly comprehensible terms. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to discuss his diplomatic theories, but in order to provide a correct perspective for the method of his argument, it will not be out of place to mention some of his elements of statecraft. He says that Dominion may be acquired in three ways; a country may be newly conquered, recovered from a usurper or inherited. When a king subdues another he should put the virtues of the overpowered monarch entirely in the shade, should favour the learned, the charitable and the brave, and should relieve the helpless and the miserable from their unfortunate plight. Moreover, in order to conciliate the native population, the conquering potentate should respect the established customs as much as possible. No doubt the king may have to follow some unscrupulous

means in order to bring the people to his side ; for instance, says Kautilya, a conqueror should forthwith proclaim his own association with the gods and thus keep the subdued people from turning away. But we find this method applied only to very few cases, and, generally speaking, Kautilya is more straightforward than would at first sight appear.

Before passing on to our next author, mention should be made of Kautilya's theory of punishment. He says that one who inflicts too severe a punishment becomes oppressive, while one whose decrees are too mild is easily overpowered, and only he is respected by all whose judgment is according to the crime committed, neither more nor less. Punishment is a sure guarantee of social order, for without it the State would lapse into the condition of *Matsya-Nyaya* and the strong begin to overpower the weak. All this shows that Kautilya wishes the punishment to fit the crime thus to preserve the equilibrium of the State, and the importance of this principle becomes the more apparent when we perceive that it was not till very late in history that it was finally accepted in Europe, after Montesquieu had traced the line of reform in the matter of trial and punishment in his *Esprit des Lois* (lib. vi & vii) and Beccaria had forcefully put forth the more human point of view in his *Dei delitti e delle pene* about the middle of the last century. Kautilya's work remains as the first complete description of constitutional, political and legal conditions of a vast Empire, and if we exclude the book named *Constitution of Athens* which is attributed to his contemporary, Aristotle, it is the first systematic work on the constitution of any country available.

Turning still further to the West, we come to the rich land of Persia, a land which was once the home of some of the mightiest Empires of the world. The ancient dynasty of the Sassanians was shattered by the Muslim Arabs at the battles of Kadisia in 637 A. C. and Nehawand in 641 A.C. and thenceforward Persia became an appanage of the Empire of the Khalifa of Islam, which extended from the Oxus and the Indus right up to the Atlantic Ocean. After the battle of Sifin in 657 and the death of the fourth Khalifa, Ali in 661, the Muslim Empire became a hereditary State of the type of the Persian or the Greek monarchy, and was gradually split up into a number of principalities. With the waning of the Abbasid dynasty about the middle of the ninth century A. C., a

race arose in the heart of the Islamic State which was to supplant even the Arabs in orthodoxy and the defence of their faith and patrimony. These were the Turks. The descendants of the Khalifa Harûn-al-Rashîd soon became impotent in the hands of some Turkish leader, and the centre of gravity continuously shifted from capital to capital and principality to principality. Such a principality was that of the Seljûqs, who carved a State towards the East of the lands of the Khilafat. Toghral Beg the Seljûq extended his sway over Mesopotamia and Armenia, while his nephew Alp Arslan routed the Greek Emperor Diogenes, subdued the Georgians in the West and carried his banner right into Turkistan in the East. The climax of the Empire of the Seljûqs was reached during the Sultanate of his son Malik Shah who reigned from 1072 to 1092 A. C. In the words of the French historian Sedillot (*Histoire des Arabes*), his name was uttered in prayers from Mecca to Baghdad and from Ispâhân to Kashghar, and he ultimately became master of the whole of Asia Minor.

Here we are not so much concerned with the territorial expansion of Alp Arslan and Malik Shah as with the literary and political efforts of their minister Khawâja Hassan, surnamed Nizâm-ul-Mulk Tûsi. As has been mentioned above, it is the glory of the East that it has produced men who were both political theorists and active diplomats and ministers, and made their mark by practising their own theories in actual politics. Nizâm-ul-Mulk was one of these, and had it been only for his public work he would have been claimed as one of the greatest administrators of the world. But he was much more than that; in his *Siasat-namah* and his political testament, the *Adab-ul-Wuzara*, we see the *litterateur* and the savant pondering over the vast area of administration with all his practical experience and learning behind him, and trying to solve some of the most difficult and knotty riddles in the science of administration. The first book, *Siasat-Namah*, is addressed to his august patron, while the second consists of a series of advices to his eldest son Fakhr-ul-Mulk.

Both the *Siasat-Namah* and the *Adab-ul-Wuzara* are, marked by an extraordinary wealth of learning and thought. The author was well-versed in the sacred Traditions and jurisprudence, and was, besides, a poet of some note; but what interests us most is his great historical learning and acumen. No point does he raise, no principles does

he develop, no idea does he propound, without a wealth of illustrations from the history of the East and West. Sometimes an excursion is made into the history of Ghazni and Khorasan, at other times the author leads us into the annals of Baghdad, Cairo and Mecca, and there is hardly a page which does not bristle with efficiency and erudition. With the cares of a State almost co-extensive with the civilized Middle East, he found time to make himself master of all that was useful and interesting in the history of the surrounding lands, and lived to apply its lessons to his pet theories of government barely a year before his death which occurred at the hands of an assassin in 1092.

Looking into the contents of these two works, we are struck by the learned author's power of analysis. He begins with the duties of the sovereign and his subjects and says that, although monarchy is a divine institution and a monarch is God's own choice, still only such potentates have been successful whose period of office has been marked by rule of law and correct principles of administration. Kings should seek the good-will of the Almighty, which is only possible when they are just and benevolent to their subjects. Not only should they themselves be just but they should take care that their servants and representatives should also follow in their steps, and if a complaint be made against them, the sovereign should hold a secret enquiry into their conduct. He admonishes his master that, once a charge against a subordinate is definitely proved, he should be punished forthwith, in order to inculcate a sense of awe in the minds of other civil servants. Nizâm-ul-Mulk rightly lays great stress on the office of the Qadi or judge, and says that only those should be appointed to this important post who are honest and well-versed in law, and that they should be well paid ; for, says he, this is an office the discharge of which is perhaps the most difficult of all, in that it is the judge who is, in a way, the real ruler over the lives and property of the subjects of the realm.

Nizâm-ul-Mulk passes the whole machinery of administration under review, dealing with such varied subjects as the preparation of the Budget, the influence of women over government, the post-office, foreign embassies, regulation of weights and measures, entourage of the sovereign, grants of titles, etc. As is usual with all the savants of the age, he extols knowledge and learned men

and quotes a passage from the Muslim saint, Sufiân-i-Sûri, that the best King is one who keeps company with the learned, and the worst man of learning one who keeps company with Kings. Nizâm-ul-Mulk himself was a great patron of learning, and it is said that the most acceptable present which could be offered to him was a book. He was the founder of the famous Nizâmiah University at Baghdad which opened its gates in September 1067 and which had its branches in such far off centres as Ispahan, Nishapur, Merv, Môsul, Basrah, Herat, Tûs and other important cities of the Empire.

The theme of his second great work on Politics, the *Adab-ul-Wuzara*, is admonition to his son never to accept the office of Vizier, for it is fraught with great difficulties and pitfalls. The limited nature of this paper prevents me from discussing these salutary admonitions, but it would be interesting and instructive to deal with the second part of the treatise where he enumerates the duties and functions of a Minister. He says that a minister should defend the dictates of God, act in accordance with the order of the sovereign, have due regard for those who are in daily communion with his master as well as for the people of the kingdom. He advises the future minister to test even the smallest action of his on the touchstone of his own common-sense and ever to remain a man of strong character, just conscience and truth, for without these noble qualities he will never prove to be a real well-wisher of his master and his country. In dealing with the desiderata of a minister, Nizâm-ul-Mulk lays great stress on the science of which he was himself a master, the science of history, and makes it perfectly clear that it has a close relation to the acts of Statecraft. He puts the whole philosophy of history in a nutshell when he says that in this world of causes and consequences, facts are ever repeating themselves, so that when we know that a particular set of facts was followed once upon a time by a particular consequence, we shall be right in surmising that if the same set of circumstances recurs the same consequences will follow. Finally, he advises the future minister to have especial regard for the men of the sword, without whom no throne can be stable, and the men of the pen, without whom no ministry can be successful.

Such was the thought of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, the savant founder of seats of learning, minister of one of the most powerful States of his time, a man who made his own life a model for others to follow. We now pass on in our

survey to lands further west, which are by reason of their geographical position in close relation with the Western countries of Europe, namely Northern Africa and Southern Spain. In the middle of the fourteenth century A. C., Spain was in a bad way, for the beneficent culture of the Muslims, which had made Spain what it was, was being eradicated by the conquering arm of the Christians. It was yet a hundred and fifty years before the Muslims were either expelled from the country or forced to forsake the religion of their ancestors at the point of the sword of Fernando the Catholic and his consort Isabella of Castille. when there arose from the town of Tunis a man of remarkable knowledge and industry as well as of historical and political acumen, perhaps the first scientific historian of the modern world, one who has left an indelible mark on the annals of the science of history, Ibn Khaldûn.

Ibn Khaldûn was born in Tunis in 1322 and lived on to the hoary age of 84, dying at Cairo in 1406. Northern Africa was then split up into a number of petty dynasties, while three-fourths of Spain had fallen under the supremacy of Christian States. We see Ibn Khaldûn going from one African capital to another, now at Fez and Granada, then at Tlemcen and Tunis; invited by the Christian Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, King of Castille, to take possession of his ancestral estate at Seville; taking part along with the ruler of Egypt in a Syrian campaign against Timûr; and finally serving as a judge at Cairo. He lived and wrote at the time of the general dissolution of the Arab States, which had to face the onslaught of the Christians from the North-West and the Mughals from the North-East. The Muslim East was in a turmoil and the ideal of nationality was at loggerheads with the old bond of religious unity. Ibn Khaldûn noticed all this, and coupling this with his native thoroughness and erudition, produced the remarkable book called the "History of the Arabs, Berbers and Other Neighbouring Nations."

Time does not permit me to do justice to all the principles propounded by this author, so I shall confine myself to some of his theories. Ibn Khaldûn laid great stress on the comparative method of politics, which is a method whereby one set of facts is compared to another set of facts and conclusions derived therefrom. It was only natural that with this point of view he should consider the Science of History to be not only allied to Political Philosophy, but Political Philosophy to be a part of History, so much so that he has prefaced to his great

work a detailed dissertation on the rise and fall of States which forms his main contribution to Political Science.

At the outset of his *Prolegomena* he describes the importance of the Science of History and says that it is this science whereby we get to know the ways of the ancients, the moral condition of ages gone by, the teachings of Divine Messengers and the politics and diplomacy of states which have passed away, and with the help of facts thus collected, we can choose the path best suited to us. But in order to be useful to posterity History should deal with the social and political development of a people, and not merely with the actions of a few individuals. Man is distinguished from other animals by his power of reflection, his tendency towards association and the need of a controlling authority, but these very facts are at the bottom of the difference between the various groups of human beings, and this difference is vastly intensified by the effect of climate and the geographical position of different countries. We must notice here that it was not till Bodin reinitiated and Montesquieu developed this theory of the physical background of politics that Europe first began to think of these problems, finally leading to the extravagant generalizations of certain modern geographers who say that every thing, from human physiognomy and the shape of human hair down to the social, political and religious conditions of different human groups, depends to a very large extent on the configuration of the soil and the climatic conditions of the locality.

Ibn Khaldûn's theory of the effect of geographical and climatic conditions on the social structure of human beings is interspersed with illustrations from the animal world as well as from the history of various human races. He says that it is obvious that those living near the equator must be exposed to excessive heat and thus be handicapped in general progress. On the contrary it is those nations which live in temperate climates, such as the Arabs, the Romans, the Persians and the Greeks, who have most contributed to the history of civilization and culture. In the same way nomadic tribes depend for their food on fresh milk and fresh meat, and are therefore much more powerful and hardy, both physically and spiritually, than their urban brethren; for, says Ibn Khaldûn, are not the gazelle, the wild cow and the wild ass far healthier and stronger than their tamer kin?

Ibn Khaldûn maintains that the State has its foundation on one of two great moral principles, the sense of

one-ness and religion. If we were to analyse the basis of the formation of nations and try to discover some uniformity in this analysis, we should come to the conclusion that it is the sense of unity and the resolve to work together which alone makes strong and independent nations; and it is only this phenomenon which can explain the successful formation of such heterogeneous nations as Switzerland, Belgium, Canada and the United States of America. Ibn Khaldûn attacks the problem slightly differently. He says that the sense of one-ness may be traced back to tribal consanguinity. With the extension of the tribal territory and the genesis of the State it was found that, instead of their being only one aggregate of Unity, the group consisted of a number of such aggregates; and the State really comes into being after the final victory of one element over all others, so that its special power of co-action subdues all other powers and thus becomes sovereign in relation to all other entities within its purview.

The last point to be touched in this connection is Ibn Khaldûn's analysis of the history of mankind and of the successive stages in the development of the State. He says that the natural life of an empire is limited to a century and a quarter, or nearly three human generations. The group idea begins in tribal nomadic peoples when men lead healthy open-air lives, respect women and keep their neighbours in awe by their valour and hardihood till they overpower their enemies and begin to rule as an imperial nation. Where formerly the tribe led a strenuous life, now it begins to lead a life of opulence, and all real authority begins to be centred in its leader, while the populace becomes lazy and indolent. Communal spirit is now gone and no feeling but that of submission to the commands of the ruler is either known or tolerated. People become more and more effete and effeminate till the ruler is obliged to surround himself with mercenaries, slaves and freedmen, in order to save the State from foreign domination. The end soon comes, and the State which was once a source of terror to its neighbours finally falls a prey to one of them.

Looking back on the past history of the nations, we find that this analysis is not without a good deal of truth. The history of the great empires of the world may be divided into a number of distinct periods, namely, the foundation of the State with all the might of the component population, the leadership of a chief or King followed by

absolutism in government. Autocracy has a curious result ; as all the responsibility of government rests on the shoulders of a single person, the subjects either begin to lead a life of carelessness and ease or else begin to agitate for popular rights. In the former case the prediction of Ibn Khaldûn generally comes to pass and the State dies a natural death, while in the case of the second alternative and the success of the popular experiment a new State in effect takes the place of the first and the cycle begins to work over again.

We have traced to some extent the political principles of five remarkable personalities of the East, namely Confucius and Mencius, Kautilya, Nizâm-ul-Mulk Tûsi and Ibn Khaldûn. It will easily be gathered from this what an important place they hold not only in Oriental political thought but in political thought in general. Confucius, who flourished long before the birth of Plato, may be said to be father of all political philosophy, and although he could not stem the baneful tide of degeneration and degradation in the Imperial State of Ch'ou, his principles were accepted and adopted by his countrymen to a great extent, with the remarkable result that to-day China is the only existing State which has lived an independent life from time immemorial. Kautilya was a contemporary of Aristotle, but in contrast to the Western sage, he actually shouldered the burden of the Empire to which he belonged. The great difference between the method of Aristotle and that of Kautilya is to be seen in the fact that while Aristotle harped on an out-of-date tune and dealt with the city-state and its constitution, when it had already passed from actuality to past history, Kautilya describes an organism still with a throbbing pulse. When Aristotle talks of Athenian democracy and Spartan aristocracy, he knows that these entities have really been swept away by the might of the Macedonian arms ; on the other hand, Kautilya bases his principles on what he actually saw and experienced, and he was perhaps himself responsible for the great organization which is so amply described in his work.

Coming to Nizâm-ul-Mulk, we see the statesman and the political philosopher again merged into one, and it was perhaps due to this happy aggregation of his natural capacities that we see him withstanding the onslaughts of his famous school-mate and adversary, Hassan ibn Sabbah the leader of the sect of the Assassins ; wielding authority on the huge Empire of Alp Arslan and Malik

Shah, and then sitting down in his study and writing one book of political precepts for his sovereign lord and another for his son. It is more or less the same story retold in the case of Ibn Khaldûn and it is no wonder that men of such world-wide experience and remarkable calibre should have forestalled later European writers in their breadth of vision, inventive mind, and power of analysis.

HAROON KHAN SHERWANI.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM*

5. SHI'AH.

In the 4th/10 Century the oldest counterpart of the official Caliphate, Khârijism, had lost its importance¹. As small theological Separatists, Khârijis were found scattered over the centre of the Empire. At the beginning of the century they caused in Eastern Mesopotamia a few disturbances.² Only on the frontiers they still maintained their strength,—right back in Afghanistan³, and in the West where the Berbers on either side of the Straits of Gibraltar cast in their lot with them⁴.

The Mahdite Shî'ahs, the Karmathians and the Fati-mids, however, continued the Khârijite struggle against the Caliphate, an indication that the old Islamic regime was at an end. The revival of the essentially old oriental ideas in Shîa'ism at the expense of Islam constitutes the distinguishing feature of the spiritual movements of the 4th/10th century. Wellhausen's researches have shown that Shîa'ism was not, as it was formerly believed to be, a reaction of the Iranian spirit against Islam⁵. Of this view the geographical expansion of the sect in the 4th century affords strong confirmation. Already at the end of this century Khawârizimi called Babylonia the classic soil of Shîa'ism⁶ and Kufa, with the grave of 'Ali, its head-quarters.

“He who craves the martyr's crown need only go to the *Dar-al-bittish* at Kufa and say: May God have Mercy on

* Continued from “*Islamic Culture*,” Vol. 11. No. 2. pp. 286—Ed., “I. C.”

(1) For Khârijism, see Brünnow's Monograph translated by Khuda Bukhsh under the title of *Kharijites Under The First Omayyads*, Muslim Review, 1927. Tr. (2) Masudi, V. 320. (3) Muq., 323. (4) Goldziher. They were Ibadites, specially Makkarites, Z. D. M. G. 41, 31 Sqq. The Eastern section adhered to the stricter Sufrite views. About 400/1,000 all other parties of the Khârijites had died out. To-day the Arabs of Oman and the countries in East Africa, under their sphere of influence, are the only important remnants of the Khârijites.

(5) *Oppositionsparteien*, 91. (6) *Rasa'il*, ed. Constant., 49.

‘Othmân Ibn ‘Affân.¹’

In the course of the 4th/10th century the new teaching laid its hold upon Kufa's old rival city, the city of Basra. It was said of the latter in the 3rd/9th Century : ‘ Basra is for Othman ; Kufa for Ali ², where Suli (d. 330/942) took shelter when persecuted for a declaration in favour of Ali³. Already in the 5th/12th century Basra had no less⁴ than thirteen places of worship dedicated to the memory of ‘Ali. There, even in the great mosque, a relic of Ali was exhibited : a piece of wood 60 feet in length, 5 spans in breadth and four inches thick which he is said to have brought from India⁵.

From the earliest times Syria, indeed, had been an unfavourable soil for the Alid propaganda. Even at the beginning of the 4th/10th century Nasa‘i was trampled to death in the mosque at Damascus for not citing any tradition of the Prophet in praise of Muawiya and for giving Ali precedence over him⁶. I do not know how, but only in Tiberias Shi‘ahs were found ; half of Nablus and Kades as also the major portion of Transjordanian were Shi‘ite⁷. Despite the Fatimid rule this sect made no appreciable advance. That Nasir-i Khusru found Tripoli in the year 428/1037 Shi‘ite⁸ is explained by the fact that the *Banu Ammar* there, one of the many small frontier dynasties, were Shi‘ites and, apparently, put into practice the barbarous principle *Cujus regio, ejus religio* ; a principle which never found favour in Islam, much less legal acceptance. With the exception of the towns, Arabia was positively Shi‘ite, and even among the towns Oman, Hajar, and Sa‘dah were predominantly Shi‘ite⁹. In the Province of Khuzistan, lying next to Babylonia, Ahwaz, the capital, at least was half Shi‘ite, and in Persia, it was only near the coast-tracts, lying close to Babylonia and in intimate touch with Shi‘ite Arabia that Shi‘ism itound its adherents¹⁰.

In the entire East, however, the Sunnah absolutely reigned supreme ; only the inhabitants of Qumm were extreme Shi‘ites’ who had separated from the Community¹¹, and avoided the mosque until Rukn-ud-Dawlah

(1) *Tarikh Baghdad*, Paris, fol. 14b. Only the suburb of Kunash was Sunnite. (2) Jahiz, *opuscula*, 9. (3) Muq., 126. (4) Nasir-i-Khusru 87. (5) Nasir-i-Khusru. (6) Muq., 179. (7) Ibn Khall., Wüstenfeld 1, 87, Subki, *Tabaqat* II, 84. (8) p. 42. (9) Muq., 96. (10) Muq., 415. (11) Muq., 395. A Shi‘ite woman from Qumm represents Shi‘ism in a poem in *Yatimah*, IV, 135. The Shi‘ites also, dominated in the small Quhastanian town of Raqqah (Muq., 323). Already in the 3rd century the Qummites paid 30,000 dirhams for a linen sleeve of an Alid's coat.

compelled them to attend service there. The fact that Qumm was once occupied by the partisans of the rebel Ibn Al-Ash'ath accounts for this curious position of affairs there. In Kufa Ibn Al-Ash'ath's son was brought up. The Sunnites made fun of the fanaticism of the Qummites. Once a zealous Sunni was appointed Governor over them. He heard that by reason of their hatred to the Companions of the Prophet no one named Abu Bakr or Omar could be found there. Lo! he summoned the people one day and thus spoke to their chief: 'I swear by the Mighty God that unless you produce before me a man among you named Abu Bakr or Omar I will deal severely with you. They asked for three days' time. They zealously ransacked the town and spared themselves no pains. At last they found one bearing the name of Abu Bakr, a poor wretch, bare-footed, naked, squint-eyed, the most hideous of God's creatures. His father was a foreigner who had settled down at Qumm, and hence the name. When they appeared before the Governor with him, he reprimanded them. You bring the most hideous of God's creatures, said he, to me and thus trifle with me. And forthwith he ordered them to be beaten. Thereupon a wit among them thus addressed the Governor: "Do what you please, Amîr, but the air of Qumm will not produce an Abu Bakr of more comely appearance than the one before you." The Governor laughed and pardoned them¹.

At Qumm the fanatical party of the Ghurabiyyah² were powerful. In honour of Fâtima, daughters inherited, to the exclusion of sons, among them³. In the year 201/816 another Fâtima, daughter of the eighth Imam, al-Ridha, was buried there. Thus Qumm, next to Meshed, is the most coveted burial place of the Persians. Isfahân⁴ on the contrary, was still, when Muqaddasi passed through it, so fanatically prepossessed in favour of Muawiya that he almost came to grief there. It was the very reverse of Qumm. In the year 345/956 there was a great uproar at Isfahân because a member of the garrison, a Qummite, had insulted a name held sacred by the Sunnites. People attacked each other and fell, and shops of the Qummite merchants settled there were looted⁵. Towards the end of the century Hamadâni ascribes the decay of Nisabur and the misfortune of the Province of Quhistan to the diffusion of the Shi'ite doctrines there. At Herat

(1) Yâqût, IV, 176. (2) On Ghurabiyyah, see Friedlander, *On the Heterodoxies of the Shi'ites*; pp.56 Sq. Tr. (3) Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 194. (4) Muq., p. 899. (5) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 888.

one already heard a boy say at the market-place that Mohamed and 'Ali cursed the Taim, to whom Abu Bakr, and the Adi, to whom 'Omar' belonged¹.

So far indeed Shîa'ism had not conquered the lands which it owns to-day, but it was well on the way towards that consummation. Even persecution helped its cause forward. Theologically the Shîa's are the heirs of the Mut'azilâhs whose lack of tradition-mindedness was particularly helpful to them. In the 4th/10th century there was actually no real system of Shi'ite theology. The Shi'ite Amîr 'Adad-ud-Daulah merely adapted himself to the views of the Mut'azalites. Only the Fatimids had a regular Shi'ite system which, as Muqaddasi expressly points out, agreed in many points with the Mut'azalites². Except on the question of Imâmat, on all fundamental doctrines the Zaidites are in perfect agreement with the Mut'azalites³. Moreover, an edict of the Caliph, dated 408/1017, assumes close connexion between the Shi'ites and the Mut'azalites. Among other things it forbids the Shi'ite doctrine of *Rifd* to the Mut'azalites⁴.

The method of Ibn Babuyah al-Qummi, chief exponent of the Shi'ite learning in the 4th/10th century, in his *Kitab-al-ilal*, recalls to our mind that of the Mut'azalites, who claimed absolute omniscience for themselves. Like Mut'azalism, Shîa'ism possessed ample scope for all manner of heresies. Already the Shi'ite leader Ibn Muawiya (2nd/8th century) gathered round him heretics of all shades of opinion. One of these was later executed for denying the resurrection and maintaining that human beings were not unlike vegetables⁵. In the year 341/952 Muizz-ad-Daulah set at liberty some preachers of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. Of these one asserted that he harboured the spirit of 'Ali; another the spirit of Fâtima and the third the spirit of the angel Gabriel⁶. These doctrines, notably those of rebirth and the transmigration of souls, are found alike in Shîa'ism, Mut'azalism and Sûfism. Their common source is the Christian Gnosis⁷. In Babylonia, about 300/900, we encounter the view that 'Ali was a second Christ. In 420/1029 the Shi'ite preacher at Baghdad prayed first for the Prophet, and then

(1) *Rasâ'il*, 424 sqq. Ibn Haukal, 268. (2) Ahmed ibn Yahya, ed. Arnold, p. 5. (3) Maqrizi, *Khîtat*. II, 352. (4) Ibn al-Jauzi, 166b. (5) Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 99. (6) Abul Mahâsin. II. 388. (7) It is not necessary to ascribe the specific idea of the Messiah to the South Arabian Jews who are set down as the authors of this doctrine. Friedlander Z.A. 23 24.

for 'Ali who had 'conversed with a skull;' a story based upon the legend of Christ having brought the dead back to life. In Islam for long continued the idea that Christ was at once human and divine¹. Many of the pathetic incidents of Passion Friday are introduced into the 'Ashûra feast. Qummi (d. 355/966) states: Every time a man sees the heaven red like fresh blood or the sun on the wall like a red mantle he is to recall the death of Husain. Fâtima upon the same analogy became the 'Blessed Virgin,' (*Batul*)². And finally there were Shi'ites who taught that Husain was not really killed but, like Jesus, appeared so to men³. Possibly even the dress of the Shi'ahs has some connexion with the white vesture of the Gnostic sect. Originally the Shi'ahs too wore a white dress. 'White dress and black heart,' tauntingly exclaims Ibn Sakkarah. One of their cranks wore a black dress, saying that the heart only need be white⁴. The Karmathians had white banners. The Fatimid Caliphs and preachers wore white dresses⁵. The green colour, the distinguishing token of the Alids to-day, was decreed by the Egyptian Sultan Shaban ibn Husain (d. 778/1376)⁶.

The only new feature of the Shi'ite theology of that time was the attempt to shape traditions to suit 'Ali and his house⁷. This naturally provoked the hearty contempt of the Sunnite savants. Someone, about the year 300/912, cited a tradition of the Prophet upon the authority of 'Ali and his family. What kind of a chain of tradition is that? contemptuously questioned Ibn Raha-waihi. Both parties freely invented traditions and such, indeed, had been conspicuously the case since the earliest times. Already Ibn Ishâq, the biographer of the Prophet, is said to have interspersed his book with Shi'ite poems. On the other hand Urwanah (d. 147/764) forged stories favourable to Muawiya which have found a place in the historical work of Madaini⁸. And if a poet⁹ about the year 300/900 ascribes the learned fables of the Shi'ahs to their lack of traditions, Muqaddasi, at the chief

(1) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 178 a. (2) Qummi, Berlin, *Kit. al-Ilal*, fol. 77b. Fâtima is called so because she never had her period. (3) al-Qummi, *Kit. al-Ilal*, Berlin, fol. 135a. (4) Yat., II. 206. (5) Al-Qummi, *Kit-al-Ilal*, Berlin, fol. 131a. Ali Dede (*Kit al-Awail Wal Awakhir*) cites poetical quotations in proof of this fact. In 204 from Khorasan Mamûn entered Baghdad wearing green dress and carrying green banners (Ibn Tafur, ed. Keller, fol. 2a). Green banners floated on the occasion of the *Naubahar* at Balkh (Mas, IV, 43). Perhaps this was the distinctive colour of Khorasan. (6) Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 35a. (7) E. g. Nasir-i-Khusru, p. 48; Abul Mahâsin, II. 408. (8) Goldziher in *Kultur der Gegenwart*; Wuz., 170; *Irshad*, VI, 400, 94. (9) Mas'ûdi, VIII, 874.

mosque at Wâsit, hears a saying of the Prophet set in proper theological form : God on the Day of Resurrection will seat Muawiya by his side, perfume him with His own hand and then present the creation as a bride to him. I asked why, says Muqaddisi. The lecturer replied : Because he fought 'Ali. I called out : You have lied, you false believer. Whereupon said the lecturer : Seize this Shî'ah ! The people rushed upon me but an officer, recognising me, drove them away¹. At Isfahân the same traveller had to combat the statement of a spiritual chief that Muawiya was a Prophet and, in doing so, once more ran into danger². But in truth 'Ali was no more the apple of discord at the time of Muqaddasi. Long past were the days when an Abbasid Caliph, like al-Mutawakkil, associated only with those that hated 'Ali. Of these one used to insert a cushion inside his dress, uncover his bald head, dance and sing : Here comes the bald, big bellied Caliph, *i.e.*, 'Ali³. On the whole the Sunnites treated 'Ali with great courtesy and consideration⁴. They were anything but hostile to him. Hamadâni (d. 398/1008), who has some very harsh things to say against the Shi'ites and who defends 'Omar against the vituperations of the Khawârizimi,⁵ has himself composed a sort of elegy on 'Ali and Husain⁶.

The wild cursing of the first three Caliphs such as was indulged in by the Shi'ites, was most abhorrent to the Sunnites. In 402/1011 there died at Baghdad a Sunnite savant who had heard at Karkh, the Shi'ite quarter of the town, the Companions of the Prophet reviled and abused. He vowed that never would he set his foot there again, and never indeed did he go beyond the Qantarrah al-Serât⁷. When a Shi'ite was punished as such, the judgment never referred to 'Ali, the reason stated always being : He has slandered Abu Bakr and 'Omar⁸.

When in 351/962 Muizz-ad-Daulah adorned the mosques of Baghdad with the usual Shi'ite inscriptions of curses and imprecations and when these were blotted out overnight, his clever Wazîr el-Muhallabi counselled him to let Muawiya's name alone remain in the new inscriptions

(1) p. 126. Through a spirit of sheer opposition Muawiya was made into a saint ; " Even today (in the year 332) M's. grave, at the small gate at Damascus, is an object of Pilgrimage. A house is built upon it and every Monday and Thursday it is decorated " (Mas., V. 14)
 (2) p. 399 Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 60b ; Abulfeda *Annales*, year 236
 (3) Sarasin, *Das Bild 'Alies bei dem Historikern der Sunnah*. (4) *Rasa'il* 424 ff. (5) *Diwan*, Paris, pp. 90 ff. (6) *Rasa'il*, 58. (7) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 29b. (8) Abulfeda, year 351.

omitting those of the others¹. Many Alids had made their way to Egypt which was but rarely connected by a firm bond with the throne of Baghdad. In 236/850 the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, who had interned the Arab Alids at Samarra, caused the Egyptian branch of the family to be collected and sent to Iraq, each male obtaining 30 dinars and each female 15 dinars from the Governor. Thence they were banished to Medina². Many Alids managed, however, to evade this measure and soon after rebelled, with the result that the successor of Mutawakkil was constrained to write to Egypt that no Alid was to have any land in fief or to be permitted to use a horse or to leave the capital or to own more than one slave. In case of a law suit, it was further ordained, he was disqualified as a witness³. No wonder then that, in the fifties, Egypt witnessed one Alid insurrection after another. In the 4th/10th century the Shi'ite unrest manifests itself in Egypt and the cause of the Alid nobles becomes the cause of the Shi'ites. On the Ashura Day of the year 350/961 feelings became so strained that an actual fight took place between the Shi'ahs and the Sunnite military, consisting mostly of Sudanese and Turks. Of every one the soldiers enquired: Who is thy uncle? and attacked every one who did not answer: "Muawiya"⁴. One of the excited Sudanese roamed about the streets shouting: 'Muawiya is the uncle of 'Ali'—a saying which became the anti-Shi'ite war-cry of the Egyptians. The Government maintained order as best it could. In the year 353/964, however, a well-known Shi'ah was scourged and detained in custody, where he died.

Over his grave a fight took place between the troops and his supporters. But when with Gawher⁵ power passed to the Shi'ites, upon the slightest provocation the people raised the anti-Shi'ite cry: 'Muawiya is the uncle of 'Ali'! For instance when in 361/972 a blind woman, who used to go about reciting in the streets, was imprisoned, a crowd forthwith began invoking the names of the Companions of the Prophet odious to the Shi'ahs and calling out: 'Muawiya is the uncle of the faithful and of 'Ali.' The Governor gave in, announced in the mosque

(1) Aghani, XIX, 141. (2) Kindi, 198. (3) Kindi, 204. (4) This seems to have been a common Sunnite confession of faith. Naftawaihi (d. 323) relates a witticism:—They said to a Shi'ah: Thy mother's brother (khâl) is Muawiya! Upon which he rejoined: That I do not know. My mother is a Christian and that is her business. (Yâqût, *Irshad* I, 313.)

(5) Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, 99 et 599 Tr.

that the woman was arrested only for her own safety and instantly released her¹. Even an insurrection of the Sunni money-changers, the most docile of political elements, is reported².

On the whole the Fatimid Government acted with wisdom and moderation. The only thing it did was to give all good appointments of judges and jurists to the Shî'ahs. They even allowed the public celebration of the anti-Shi'ite festival, started by the Sunnites in 362/973, in commemoration of the day when the Prophet and Abu Bakr, taking shelter in the cave, evaded and escaped the enemy. Canopies were put up on the streets and bonfires lighted.

Here too Hâkim constitutes an exception. In the year 393/1002 his Governor at Damascus had a Maghrabite taken round the town on a donkey to the place of execution with a crier proclaiming in front of him : This is the reward of him who loves Abu Bakr and 'Omar. In the year 395/1005 Hâkim's reforming rage reached its height. Along with other things he enjoined curses on Abu Bakr, 'Othmân, Muawiya, etc., even upon the Abbassids, to be inscribed outside the mosques, walls of houses and archways. This was most offensive to his Sunni subjects³. In 396/1005 he interdicted lamentation and recitation in streets on the Ashura day on the pretence that people stood before shops and exacted money. He permitted lamentations, however, in the desert⁴. In 399/1099 came the usual reaction and Hâkim forbade imprecations of those old, honoured men of Islam⁵. The Shî'ahs could not, however, make much headway in conversion. Muqaddasi found Shî'ahs in the city only, and at one spot in the Delta⁶. In the West the town of Naftah on the Algerian-Tunis frontier acquired the reputation of being the stronghold of Shîa'ism and was accordingly named the smaller Kufa⁷. The political decline of the Fatimids caused an ebb in the tide of Shîa'ism.

In all intellectual movements Baghdad signalized itself as the real capital of the Islamic world, for here all sects and doctrinal opinions found a shelter and a home.⁸

(1) Maqrizi, *Itti'az*, 87. (2) Maqrizi, *Khîtat*, 389 Sqq. (8) Ibn Taghribardi, 91; Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 126. According to the former he was executed; according to the latter only banished from the town.

(4) Yahya ibn Sa'id, fol. 116a. In the same year the pilgrim-caravan is said to have been called upon to revile the first three Caliphs. This of course was not done, but it caused a great scandal. Maqrizi, *Khîtat*, I, 342. (5) Maqrizi, *Khîtat*, 431; Kindi, supplement, 600. (6) Ibn Sa'id, fol. 199a. (7) p. 202. (8) Bakri 75.

But in the 4th/10th century the two chief camps there were those of the Hanbalities and the Shi'ites¹. The Shi'ites specially had their supporters in the bazar quarters of Karkh. Not until the end of the 4th/10th century did they extend beyond the great Bridge and occupy the quarter round the Bâb-al-Tâq². Towards the Western side of the town for long they could not spread. There the Hashimids³, notably in the quarter near the Basra Gate, formed a close community. They were zealous opponents of the Shi'ahs. Even Yâqût found the Sunnites there and the Shi'ites in Karkh⁴. Despite the energetic persecutions of Mutawakkil, so powerful were the Shi'ites in Babylon, about the end of the 3rd/9th century, that the Wazîr⁵ in 284/897 advised the Caliph, who wanted the Omayyads publicly reviled from the pulpits—the edict has come down to us—that such a measure would merely benefit the Alids, who were scattered all over the country and found much favour with the people⁶. In 313/925 the Baratha Mosque is for the first time mentioned as the meeting-place of the Baghdad Shi'ites⁷. The Caliph ordered their removal, but only 30 persons were found at prayer who were compelled to hand over seals of white clay which were surreptitiously distributed by Fatimid emissaries to people with Shi'ite leanings⁸. The mosque was eventually levelled to the ground, and, to leave no trace behind, the land on which it stood was annexed to the adjacent grave-yard⁹. The year 321/923 witnessed a significant event. The North-Persian courtier Yalbaq desired the renewal of the imprecations on Muawiya from the pulpits, but the Hanbalites incited the people against it with the result that there was unrest and excitement¹⁰. In 323/935 it was promulgated that no two Hanbalites should meet in the streets as they always stirred up strife. The Caliph issued an edict against these

(1) Muq., 126. According to Muq., the chief fault of the Hanbalites was the hatred of the Alids. (2) Wuz, 37. (3) Ibn al-Athîr, IV, 146. (4) Under Karkh, Baghdad; Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 95 Tr.

(5) Wuz, 483.

(6) Tabari, III, 2164 Sqq.

(7) Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 95, 154 Tr.

(8) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 29b. There were sharpeners at Baghdad who lived by selling rosaries and clay-plates to the Shi'ahs which they passed off as coming from the grave of Husain (yat. III). The clay plates are even sold today (called *Tabaq*, vulgarly *Taboq*). The Shi'ahs put these in front of them when at prayer, so that their brows may touch them each time they prostrate themselves. (9) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 67a. (10) Misk. gives it in details, V. 413; Ibn al-Athîr mentions it briefly, VIII, 204; Abul Mahâsin II, 259.

unruly subjects and the edict has come down to us¹. He reproaches them for regarding the Shi'ahs as 'unfaithful'; for attacking them in streets and elsewhere; for bidding them to make pilgrimage to the graves of the Imams; and for reviling the pilgrims as heretics, while they themselves make pilgrimage to the grave of one who was of the people without a noble lineage or connexion with the Prophet, prostrate themselves before his monument and pray at his grave. Unless they desist from their wicked ways he will proceed against them with fire and sword². In 328/940, at the instance of the Amîr Begkem, the Baratha Mosque was rebuilt for the Sunnites, bearing on the porch the name of the Caliph Al-Radhi. His successor Al-Muttaqi had the pulpit of the Mansûrah Mosque (which had hitherto been preserved in the treasury which bore the name of Harûn-al-Rashîd) brought to the new mosque, which was consecrated in 329/941³.

The Hamadanids were the first Shi'ite dynasty to meddle in the affairs of Baghdad. At first this interference was of a kind to draw upon them the scorn of all the world. The Shi'ite Hamadanid helped Prince Ibn al-Mut'azz, well-known for his pronounced anti-Shi'ite tendencies, to the throne⁴. Things however, changed when, after a short time, the Dailamites, who had been converted to Islam by an Alid, became rulers of Baghdad. Shortly after his arrival Mu'izz-ad-Daulah ignominiously deposed the Caliph, assigning this, among other reasons, that the Caliph had imprisoned the chief of the Shi'ites⁵. In 349/960 the Shi'ites were able to close their mosques against the Sunnites with the result that the latter had no other place of worship left to them except the Baratha Mosque⁶. In 351 Mu'izz-ud-Daulah caused the Shi'ite inscriptions to be put upon the walls of the mosques, but they were removed by the people at night. In the following year he introduced solemn wailings and lamentations for Husain on the 10th of Moharram, Ashura Day, the chief festival of the Shi'ahs. The bazars were closed; the butchers suspended their business; the cooks ceased cooking; the cisterns were emptied of their contents;

(1) Misk V. 495 *sqq.*

(2) Later some theological colouring was given to this edict. Abulfeda, *Annales*, year 323.

(3) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 67a; Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 278; Misk., VI, 37 only reports the completion of the mosque without any details.

(4) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 13.

(5) Misk., VI, 123.

(6) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 397.

pitchers were placed with felt coverings on the streets ; women walked about with fallen tresses, blackened faces, torn dresses, striking their faces and wailing for Husain. Also pilgrimages were made to Karbala¹. On this day, says Bîrûni, common people have an aversion to renewing the vessels and utensils of the household². In the same year, on the 18th of Dhulhijjah, the celebration of the day of the ' Pond of Khumm ' (the day on which the Prophet is said to have nominated 'Ali as his successor) was officially introduced at Baghdad³. On this day, on the other hand, Mu'izz-ud-Daulah ordered the usual accompaniments of a festive celebration. Tents were pitched ; carpets were laid down ; valuable things were exhibited ; with blowing of trumpets and beating of drums a huge bonfire was lighted in front of the office of the Chief of Police. On the following morning camels were slaughtered and pilgrimages were made to the graves of the Quraishites. The Sunnites returned the compliment by celebrating the day of the death of Husain as a day of rejoicing. They dressed themselves up on this day in new garments with various kinds of ornaments, and painted their eyes with stibium ; they celebrated a feast and gave banquets and parties, eating sweetmeats and sprinkling scent on each other. Even traditions were made to dwell upon the felicitous character of this day. They believed that one who painted antimony round his or her eyes on this day would be spared running eyes throughout the year⁴.

Thus does Qummi (d. 355/966) frequently urge: He who mourns on the 'Ashûra Day will be happy on the Day of Resurrection. He who calls it a day of blessing (yaum barakah) and gathers anything into his house that day will derive no good from it. Such an one will rise on the

(1) Wuz., 483 ; Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 93b ; Ibn al-Athîr VIII, 403, 407 ; Abul Mahâsin, II, 364. The usual Passion play of modern times is nowhere mentioned. *Rasa'il*, Constant., p. 37.

(2) Al-Beruni, (Sachau's tr., p. 326 tr.) (3) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 95b ; Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 407 ; according to Abul Mahâsin (II, 427) erroneously in the year 360.

(4) Qazwini, *Cosmogr.* I, 68. Bîrûni further adds : Such was the custom in the nation during the rule of the Banu Umayya, and so it has remained also after the downfall of this dynasty (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 326). On the Ashûra day Bîrûni (p. 327) says : Some people say that Ashura is an Arabicised Hebrew word, *viz.*, Ashur, *i.e.*, the 10th of the Jewish Month Tishri, in which falls the fasting Kipur ; that the date of this fasting was compared with the months of the Arabs, and that it was fixed on the 10th of their *first* month, as it, with the Jews, falls on the 10th of their *first* month.

Day of Resurrection with Yazîd and find his way to the lowest depths of Hell¹. After the fall of the Fatimids the Sunnite Ayyubids converted according to the Syrian custom the 'Ashûra Day, hitherto regarded as an official day of mourning, into one of rejoicing and festivity². The Sunnites even invented a direct counter celebration. Eight days after the Shi'ite mourning for Husain they mourned, on their part, for Mus'ab ibn Zubair and visited his grave at Maskin on the Dujail, just as the Shi'ites visited the Kerbala. And, indeed, eight days after the 'Feast of the Pond' the Sunnites set up a counter-feast, the celebration of the day on which the Prophet and Abu Bakr concealed themselves in a cave. They celebrated this feast in precisely the same way as did the Shi'ites their "Feast of the Pond". On Friday the 25th Dhul Hijjah, 389/999 this celebration took place for the first time³. During these celebrations there was the usual friction between the two parties, and some strong rulers therefore prohibited both these celebrations⁴. On one such celebration, even at the residence of the Caliph, the cry was heard: 'Hâkim ya Mansûr', referring to the hereditary enemy at Cairo. This was a trifle too much for the Caliph. He sent his palace-guards to the help of the Sunnites and the Alids came thereupon begging for pardon for the insult so offered to him. In 420/1029 the Shi'ite preacher of the Baratha Mosque was arrested for heretical teachings. In his place a Sunnite was sent, who ascended the pulpit with a sword in conformity with the Sunnite and not the Shi'ite practice. The people greeted him with a shower of bricks. His shoulder and nose were fractured and his face was covered with blood. This angered the Caliph and he wrote an indignant letter. In the end the chief of the Shi'ahs apologised and appointed another in his place with necessary instructions⁵.

It is significant of the sudden and rapid rise of the Shi'ahs in the 4/10th century that then, for the first time, their two great sanctuaries were definitely located in Babylonia. Hitherto there was an uncertainty about the grave of 'Ali. Even in 332/994 Mas'ûdi thus writes; "Some look for the grave of 'Ali in the mosque at Kufa⁶, others in the citadel there, and yet others by the side of

(1) *Kit. al-Ilal*, fol. 99b. (2) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 490.

(3) Wuz., 371; Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 143.

(4) Thus by Muallim in 382 (Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 134a) and by Amid al-Juyush in 392 and 406 (Wuz., 482 f; Ibn al-Jauzi, 147b; Ibn al-Athir, IX, 184).

(5) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 178a. (6) So also Ibn Haukal, 168.

Fâtima's grave at Medina". According to others the camel which carried the coffin went astray and 'Ali found his final resting-place somewhere in the territory of the tribe of Tai¹. The Shi'ite Hamadanid Abul Haija (d. 317/929) adorned the place at Meshed 'Ali--which today passes for the grave of 'Ali, with a huge domed mausoleum resting on a number of quadrangular columns, with doors on each side. The Wazîr ibn Sahlan vowed, during an illness, that should he recover he would encircle the mausoleum with a wall, and this vow he fulfilled in the year 401/1041. The first great man, to my knowledge, buried there at his request, was a high officer from Basra who died in 342/953³. Of the rulers, 'Adad-ud-Daulah was the first to be buried by the side of 'Ali's grave, he having been interred at first at the Dâr-ul-mulk at Baghdad⁴. This very 'Adad-ad-Dawlah⁵ had the grave of Husain at Karbala, which had been destroyed, ploughed over and sown at the instance of the Caliph Mutawakkil, adorned with a monument⁶. In the 4th/10th century a monastery near Merv⁷ boasted of being the proud possessor of the head of the Prince of Martyrs; this head was said to have been taken in 548/1153 from Ascalon to Cairo⁸. Ibn Taimiyya (d. 728/1328) declares it to be a fiction of fools⁹. Already in 399/1009 a Wazîr at Rai had given directions for his dead body to be taken to Karbala for burial. His son enquired of the Alids whether he could purchase land for 500 dinars by the side of Husain's grave for his father's burial. The Alid replied that he would accept no money from those who take shelter in the neighbourhood of his ancestor. Thus the son secured a place without payment¹⁰. The interior of the sanctuary at Karbala has been for the first time described by Ibn Batûta in the 8/14th century. Of the old times we only hear that the sarcophagus was covered with a piece of cloth and that candles were kept burning around it¹¹. The piety of another Buwayyid Prince built a mosque over the grave of Rida at Tûs, the most beautiful in Khorasan¹².

(1) Masûdi, IV, 289, V, 68. (2) Ibn Haukal, 163. (3) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 380. (4) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 18. (5) Tabari, III, 1407. Satires regarding this by Ibn Bessan have come down to us. Ibn Bessan died 302 A. H.

(6) He also renovated the grave of Fâtima al-Qummi. Hamadani, *Rasa'il*, 435.

(7) Muq., 46, 333. (8) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 427.

(9) Schreiner, Z. D. M. G., Vol 53, p. 81. (10) Yâqût, *Irshad*, 1, 68.

(11) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 203, Ibn Taghribardi, p. 123.

(12) Muq., 333.

NOTES.

(1) For a brief account of Shiahism, see Johannes Hauri's *Islam* (pp. 89 et Sqq.).

(2) For more detailed information, see Goldziher's *Mohammed and Islam*.

On p. 222 Goldziher says: 'It is an elementary fact that Islam appears in two forms; Sunnite and Shi'ite. This division, as we have already seen, arose through the question of succession. The party, which even during the first three caliphates secretly recognized the rights of the Prophet's family, without, however, entering upon an open conflict, protested, after the fall of their pretenders, against the usurpers of the later non-Aliite dynasties. Their opposition was first directed against the Omayyads, later, however, against all succeeding dynasties who did not tally with their legitimistic ideas. To all their disqualifications they oppose the divine right of the descendants of the Prophet through the children of Ali and Fatima. Thus, as they condemn the three caliphs who preceded Ali as impious usurpers and oppressors, they also oppose secretly, or, if the opportunity for strife offers, openly, the actual formation of the Moslem State in all times to come.

The very nature of this protest easily led to a form in which religious factors were predominant. In place of a caliph raised to the supreme rule by human device, they recognized the Imam as the only justifiable worldly and spiritual leader of Islam, divinely called and appointed to this office. They give the preference to the designation Imam as more in accord with the religious dignity of the chief recognized as such by virtue of his direct descent from the prophet.

On p. 230, he discusses the inherent difference between the theocratic rule of the caliph in Sunnism and of the legitimate Imam in Shiahism.

For Sunnite Islam the caliph exists in order to insure the carrying out of the tasks of Islam, in order to demonstrate and concentrate in his person the duties of the Moslem community. "At the head of the Moslems"—I quote the words of a Moslem theologian—"there must stand a man who sees that its laws are carried out, that its boundaries are kept, and defended, that its armies are equipped, that its obligatory taxes are raised, that the violent thieves and street robbers are suppressed, that assemblies for worship are instituted, that the booties of war are justly divided, and other such legal necessities, which an individual in the community cannot attend to." In a word, he is the representative of the judicial, administrative and military power of the State. As ruler, he is none other than the successor of his predecessor, chosen by human act (choice or nomination by his predecessor), not through special qualities of his person. The caliph of the Sunnites is in no sense an authority in doctrine.

"The Imam of the Shi'ites on the contrary is the leader and teacher of Islam by right of personal qualities given to him by God, he is the Heir of the Prophet's Ministry. He rules and teaches in the name of God. Just as Moses could hear the call from the burning bush: "I am Allah, the Lord of the worlds" (Sura 28, v. 30), so it is the direct message of God which is given to the Imam of each age. The Imam possesses not only the character of a representative of a rule sanctioned by God, but also supernatural qualities, raising him above ordinary men and this in consequence of a dignity not accorded to him, but by virtue of his birth and rather a consequence of his substance.

"Ever since the creation of Adam a divine substance of light has passed from one chosen successor of Adam to the next, until it reached the loins of the grandfather of Mohammed and 'Ali. Here this divine light divided itself, and passed in part to 'Abdallah, the father of the prophet, and in part to his brother Abu Talib, the father of 'Ali. From the latter this divine light has passed from generation to generation, to the present Imam. The presence of the pre-existent divine light in the substance of his soul makes him the Imam of his age and gives him extraordinary spiritual powers far surpassing human abilities. His soul-substance is purer than that of ordinary mortals, "free from evil impulses, and adorned with sacred forms". This is more or less the idea which moderate Shi'ism has of the character of its Imam. In its extreme form (as we shall see) 'Ali and the Imam are raised into the vicinity of the divine sphere, aye into its very midst. Although this transcendental theory is not clothed in definite, uniform, dogmatic terms it may be regarded as the generally recognised Shi'ite view of the character of the Imams".

On p. 254 et sqq he calls attention to some erroneous views about Shiahism still widely prevalent.

(a) The mistaken view that the main difference between Sunni and Shi'ite Islam lies in the fact that the former recognizes, in addition to the Koran, the Sunna of the Prophet as a source of religious belief and life, whereas the Shi'ites limit themselves to the Koran and reject the Sunna.

This is a fundamental error involving a complete misunderstanding of Shi'ism, and has arisen largely from the antithesis in the nomenclature between Sunna and Shia. No Shi'ite would allow himself to be regarded as an opponent of the principle of Sunna. Rather is he the representative of the true Sunna, of the sacred tradition handed down by the members of the prophet's family, while the opponents base their Sunna on the authority of usurping "Companions" whose reliability the Shi'ites reject.

It very frequently happens that a great number of traditions are common to both groups; differing only in the authorities for their authenticity. In cases where the Hadiths of the Sunnites favor the tendencies of the Shi'ites, or at least are not opposed to them, Shi'ite theologians do not hesitate to refer to the canonical collections of their opponents. As an example we may instance the circumstance that the collections of Bukhari and of Muslim, as well as of other collectors of Hadiths were used at the court of a fanatical Shi'ite vizier (Tala' ibn Ruzzik) as subjects for pious reading at the sacred Friday gatherings.

Tradition is therefore an integral source of religious life among the Shi'ites. How vital a role it plays in Shi'ite teachings may be inferred from the circumstance that 'Ali's teaching about the Koran and Sunna, as above set forth (page 43), is taken from a collection of solemn speeches and sayings of 'Ali, handed down by the Shi'ites. Reverence for the Sunna is therefore as much of a requirement for the Shi'ites as for the Sunnites. This is illustrated also in the abundant sunnite literature of the Shi'ites, and the discussions attached thereto, as well as in the great zeal with which the Shi'ite scholars fabricated Hadiths, or propagated earlier fabrications which were to serve the interests of Shi'ism. We must therefore reject the supposition that the Shi'ites in principle are opposed to Sunna. It is not as rejecters of the Sunna

that they oppose its adherents, but rather as those faithful to the family of the Prophet and its followers—that is the meaning of the word Shi'ite—or as the elite (al-khassa) as opposed to the common people (al-amma) sunk in error and blindness.

(b) It is also an erroneous view which traces the origin and development of Shi'ism to the modifications of the ideas in Islam, brought about by the conquest of and spread among Iranic nations.

This widespread view is based on an historical misunderstanding, which Wellhausen has overthrown conclusively in his essay on the "*Religios-politischen Oppositionen-Parteien im alten Islam.*" The Alite movement started on genuine Arabian soil. It was not till the uprising of al-Mukhtâr that it spread among the non-Semitic element of Islam. The origins of the Imam theory, involving the theocratic opposition against the worldly conception of the State; the doctrine of the Messiah into which the Imam theory merges and the belief in the parousia in which it finds an expression, as we have seen, can be traced back to Jewish-Christian influences. Even the exaggerated deification of 'Ali was first proclaimed by 'Abdullah ibn Saba, before there could possibly have been a question of the influence of such ideas from Aryan circles, and Arabs joined this movement in great numbers. Even the most marked consequences of the anthropomorphic doctrine of in-carnation (see above page 238) owe their origin in part to those who are of indisputable Arabian descent.

Shai'ism as a sectarian doctrine was seized upon as eagerly by orthodox and theocratically minded Arabs as by Iranians. To be sure, the Shi'ite form of opposition was decidedly welcome to the latter, and they readily indentified themselves with this form of Moslem thought, on whose further development their old inherited ideas of a divine kingship exercised a direct influence. But the primary origins of these ideas within Islam do not depend on such influence; Shi'ism is, in its roots, as genuinely Arabic as Islam itself.

(c) It is likewise a mistaken view that Shi'ism represents the reaction of independent thought against Sunnitic incrustation.

Quite recently Carra de Vaux has advocated the view that the opposition of Shi'ism against Sunnitic Islam is to be regarded as "the reaction of free and liberal thought against narrow and unbending orthodoxy."

This view cannot be accepted as correct by any student of Shi'itic doctrines. To be sure, it might be urged that the cult of 'Ali forms to such an extent the centre of religious life among the Shi'ites as to remove all other elements into the background. (See above page 231). This feature cannot, however, be regarded as characteristic of the principles underlying Shi'itic doctrines, which in no respect are less strict than those of the Sunnites. Nor should we be led astray in the historical appreciation of the principle of Shi'ism by an increasing lack of regard among the Shi'ite Mohammedans of Persia for certain restrictions demanded by the ritual. "In giving the preference to infallible personal authority as against the force of general public sentiment, the Shi'ites set aside those potential elements of liberal thought, which manifest themselves in the Sunnitic form of Islam". It is the spirit of absolutism rather which permeates the Shi'itic conception of religion.

On the Shiahs and the Mutazalites, Goldziher (pp. 249-250) says :—

The connection between the prevailing dogmatism of the Shi'ites and the doctrines of the Mutazilites seems to be maintained as a definite fact and finds an unmistakable expression in the declaration of the Shi'ite authority, that the doctrine of the hidden Imam is a part of the teachings of those who accept the *adl* and *tauhiid* which represent the Mutazilite teachings. It is in particular a branch of the Shi'ites known as the Zeiditic which is even more closely and more consistently related to the Mutazilite doctrines than is the Imamitic.

The Mutazilite influence has maintained its hold on the Shi'itic literature up to the present time. It is a serious error to declare that after the decisive victory of the Ash'arite theology the Mutazilite doctrine ceased to play any active part in the religion or the literature. The rich dogmatic literature of the Shi'ites extending into our own days refutes such an assertion. The dogmatic works of the Shi'ites reveal themselves as Mutazilite expositions by their division into two parts, one embracing the chapters on "the unity of God" and the other the chapter on "justice" (above, page 110). Naturally the presentation of the Imam doctrines, of the infallibility of the Imam are also included. But even in regard to this latter point it is not without significance that one of the most radical of the Mutazilites, al Nazzâm, agrees with the Shi'ites. And it is especially characteristic of the Shi'itic theology that their proofs for the theory of the Imamate are based entirely on Mutazilite foundations. The absolute necessity of the presence of an Imam in every age and the infallible character of his person are brought into connection with the doctrine, peculiar to the Mutazilites, of an absolutely necessary guidance through divine wisdom and justice (page 111). God must grant to each age a leader not exposed to error. In this way Shi'itic theology fortifies its fundamental point of view with the theories of Mutazilite doctrine.

I will conclude this note with the words with which Goldziher closes the chapter on Asceticism and Sufiism (p. 197) :

" Ghazzâlî's writings are constantly belittling all dogmatic formulas and hair-splittings which set up the claim of having the only means of salvation. His dry, academic speech rises to the heights of eloquent pathos when he takes the field against such claims. He has championed the cause of tolerance in a special work entitled "Criterion of the Differences between Islam and Heresy". In it he declares to the Moslem world : that harmony in the fundamentals of religion should be the basis of recognition as a believer, and that the deviation in dogmatic and ritualistic peculiarities, even if it extends to the rejection of the Caliphate recognized by Sunni Islam, which would therefore include the Shi'ite schism—should offer no ground for heresy. "Check your tongue in regard to people who turn to the Kiblah".

Words which inspired the Islamic world with large liberalism in the past and which will assuredly uplift it in the future. !

6. THE ADMINISTRATION.

Within the Caliphate the Provinces formed more or less a loose confederation. The central authority dealt with them not through departmental ministries, but every Province had its own Board (Diwan) at Baghdad which managed its own affairs. And every such Board consisted of two sections: the general (Asl) which concerned itself with the assessment and collection of taxes¹ and with the problem of husbanding and augmenting the taxable resources of the people, *i. e.*, the administration; and secondly the purely financial section (Zimam)². The Caliph Mutadid (279-289/892-902), the ablest ruler of the 3rd/9th century³, incorporated the Provincial Boards into one Central Board (Diwan-ad-Dar)⁴, with three branches: the Eastern Board (Diwan al-Mashriq); the Western Board (Diwan al-Maghrib); and the Board for Babylon (Diwan al-Sawad). And the Caliph, at the same time, placed the finance Boards of the three branches under one chief⁶; with the result that the new century witnessed the division of the administration into two departmental ministries: the Ministry of the Interior (Usûl) and the Ministry of Finances (Azimmah). A number of offices (also called Diwan) were placed under these great ministries, for every Province had its own office. But as the Chancellor of the Empire (Wazîr), President of the Central Board, personally administered the Province of Babylon, some of the Babylonian provincial offices were treated as Imperial offices. No sharp line of division between the Central and Provincial offices was ever drawn.

The different Boards may thus be summarised:—

(1) The War-Office (Diwân al-Jaish). It consisted of two branches: the department of pay (Majlis al-Taqrîr) and the recruiting department (Majlis al-Muqâbalah).

(1) Qodamah (d. 337/948), Paris, *Arabe* 5907, fol. 10. "Asl" has this very sense in the document in Wuz., 11.

(2) On this see Amedroz, J. R. A. S., 1913, 829 ff. See also Misk., VI, 338. At the head of this Board a financier was generally placed. Even small Boards such as the Board for the administration of the property of a Caliph's wife, had these two sections, with a Superintendent at the head of each. Misk., V. 390.

(3) Never did the highest offices of the Empire—those of the Caliph, the Wazir, the Minister (Sahib Diwan) and the Commander-in-Chief—work so harmoniously together as they did under this Caliph. Wuz., 189.

(4) The great Court-Diwan was also called Diwân ad-Dâr al-Kabîr, Wuz., 262. (5) Wuz., 77. (6) Wuz., 271, 124, Misk., V., 324.

Individual corps, such as Life-guards and various provincial levies, were specially dealt with¹.

(2) The Board of Expenditure (Diwân an-Nafaqât) at Baghdad, chiefly busied itself with the requirements of the Court. As the largest part of Babylonia was leased out, the tax-farmers had to meet the necessary expenses. This board consisted of :—

(a) The office dealing with pay and salary (Majlis al-Ghori), chiefly the salaries of Court-Officials (Hasham) ;

(b) The office dealing with provisions (Majlis al-Anzâl). It settled accounts with suppliers of bread, flesh, animals for purposes of food, sweets, eggs, fruit, fuel, etc.

(c) Office of Camp-followers. It dealt with fodder for horses, wild animals maintained at State expense, with the *personnel* of the stable and other attendants. Finally it dealt with building accounts, surveyors, architects ; with dealers of gypsum, bricks, lime and clay, with teak-wood sellers and teak-wood cutters, carpenters, painters and gilders.

(d) Office for contingencies (Majlis al-Hawâdith)

(e) The Drafting office.

(f) The Copying-department².

3. The office of the State-treasury (Diwân Bait al-Mâl). At Baghdad it was the controlling authority between the Board of Expenditure and the Ministry of the Interior. The statement of revenues came in here before it went to the Ministry. All orders of the Board of Expenditure had to be countersigned by the head of the State-treasury³. In 314/926 it was ordered that the daily account (Rûz-nâmeghât) of the Baghdad treasury should be submitted to the Wazîr week by week. Hitherto the practice had been to submit monthly accounts in the middle of the following month⁴.

4. The Comparing Board (Diwân al-Musâdarin)⁵ : orders for payments were drawn up here in duplicate—one remained in this office, and the other was forwarded to the Wazîr.

5. The Despatch Board was called Diwân er-Rasâ'il in the East and Diwân el-Inshâ in Fatimid Egypt⁶.

(1) Qodamah, Paris, fol. 2b.

(2) *Ibid.*, fol. 8a-9b.

(3) Qodamah, fol. 8. (4) Misk., 5,257. (5) Wuz., 303, 306. (6) 'Insha' is used in the East for the drafting office. *Mafatih el-ulum*, ed. Van Vloten, 78 ; Wuz., 151, 216.

At the beginning of the Vth century the head of this Board at Baghdad drew an annual salary of 3000 dinars (about 30,000 marks), besides fees which came to him from the numerous documents and letters of appointment which were drawn up here along with the correspondence of the Prince, which was the main business of the Board¹.

6. The General Post Office (Diwân al-Barîd)². Its chief supervised the officers of the post-roads and was in charge of their salaries. He had to have intimate knowledge of the roads, for he had to advise the Caliph regarding his tours and the despatch of his troops. Above everything he must needs enjoy the confidence of the Caliph, for reports from all quarters came to him and it was his duty to send them on to their proper destination and to see that reports of post-masters and other reports were laid before the Caliph³.

Highly developed was the news service of the Empire. The ruler at Baghdad once sent a shoe to Ibn Tulûn in Egypt which came from the house of his mistress, the very existence of whom none but intimate friends knew. With such a system no life was quite safe⁴. The Post-master was chiefly the official reporter (Sâhib al-Khabar); his spies ('aîn) supplied him with information. This system is a Byzantine legacy. Already under the Emperor Constantine the Great, his colleagues, who bore the very same name of *Veredarii*, acted as informers⁵. And just as reporters today, the literati then took to reporting as a means of livelihood⁶. In the appointment-letter of a postmaster, dated 315 A.H., one of the duties assigned to him was to report in detail on tax-collectors, the cultivation of land, the position of the subjects, the way in which judicial officers lived, the working of the mint and the office dealing with Government pensioners. He was

(1) Yâqût, *Irshad*, 1,242. (2) Qodamah (writes about 315-927) VI, 184 (de Goeje's ed.). (3) Maqrizi, *Khîtat*, II., 180. (4) Maqrizi, *Khîtat*, 180. (5) J. Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constants des grossen*. 3rd, p. 70. In the first century of the Muslim rule an Egyptian Post-master acts as an official reporter of the acts of the Prefect. ZA, XX, 196. (6) In the 3rd/9th century the evil tongue of the poet Ibn Bassam was silenced by making him a post-master (Masudi, VIII, 271); Yaqut, *Irshad*, V, 322 ff. As a reward they allowed another poet to choose a post-mastership among the post-masterships of Khorasan (*Yatimah*, IV, 62). The post-master of Nisabur possessed the largest number of books even in that learned town (Ibn Haukal, 320). The Maghribi Ibn Khal-dûn, on the other hand, regards the post-mastership as part of the military system (*Muqaddamah*, I, 195).

further to keep an account of the couriers within his jurisdiction, their number, their names, their salaries, and also of the roads, the mileages and the stations thereon, and to see that the postal bags were speedily despatched. The reports of each individual department, such as the judiciary, police, taxation, were to be kept separate¹. Not only was it his duty to report matters of political importance but also matters of interest. In 300/912 the Post-master of Dinawar reported, on the information of a confidant in another town, that the mule of such and such a person had given birth to a young one which was a wonder to all² the world. "I sent for the mule and the young one, and found the mule of light brown colour and the young one well-developed with perfect limbs and a hanging tail."

7. The Caliph's Cabinet (Diwân at-Tauqi)³. To it came the petitions directed to the ruler after they had been enquired into at the office of the Royal Household (D. ad-Dar). After disposal they were returned to the Diwân ad-Dâr, which referred them to their respective departments⁴. The order was written on the petition itself and was a triumph of concentrated brevity on the part of the ruler or of his secretary. The marginal notes of the Barmecide Ja'far, who administered this cabinet for the Caliph Harûn, are said to have been collected by collectors who paid a dinar apiece for them⁵.

8. The Diwân al-Khatam (The Board of Signet)⁶ where the orders of the Caliph were sealed after they had been compared in different Boards and offices⁷.

9. The Diwân al-Fadd (The Board for breaking the seals). Here the official correspondence of the Caliph was opened. Formerly all correspondence went straight to the Caliph, but later it came to the Wazîr who passed it on to the respective ministries. Thus the Diwân al-Fadd became the Wazîr's Board, with a Secretary as the chief of the office. In the ministry for Babylonia this office apparently retained its earlier name: Majlis al-Askudar⁸. These two offices were placed under a single

(1) Qodamah, Paris, fol. 15 ff. (2) *Arib*. 39.

(3) Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, 286 Tr.

(4) Qodamah, Paris, fol. 20a.

(5) Ibn Khaldûn, *Kit. al-Ibar*, 1,206.

(6) *Orient under the Caliphs*, p 237. (7) Qodamah, fol. 20b.

(8) Qodamah, fol. 21b.

chief, who drew a monthly salary of 401 dinars (about 400 marks)¹.

10. The Imperial Bank (Diwan al-Ġhabedeh)*. Into this Imperial Bank flowed the commission for changing smaller into bigger coins, the exchange commission, the interest on advances, fines for non-payment in due time and other items. Private persons paid in large sums for managing provincial banks which they exploited and robbed².

11. The Board of Charity (Diwân al-Birr was-Sadaqah)³. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century the ministers (Sâhib diwân) were of three different grades⁴. The minister for Babylon drew the largest salary, 500 dinars (circa 500 marks) per month⁵; others drew a third of his salary. Under the Caliph al-Mutadid (279-289/892-902), 4,700 dinars a month (circa 50,000 marks) were allotted in the budget for all the various employees of the ministries, from the heads of departments down to door-keepers and gatherers of rags and waste-paper. To this amount was to be added the pay of the Wazîrs, the clerks of the pay-offices, and the treasury-staff. These salaries were met from fines and retrenchments, and therefore the amount of their salaries depended upon their care and vigilance in the discharge of their duties⁶. The salaries were paid in the first week of the month⁷. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century the practice,—later very much in favour—was introduced of paying less than the whole of the twelve months' salary. In 314/926 most of the officers received only ten months' pay and, as generally happens, officers on the lowest rung

(1) Wuz., 178. This passage is somewhat obscure. It appears to me that formerly all correspondence addressed to the Caliph went straight to the palace and was opened there. Later this system was done away with and the practice came into vogue for the Wazîr to deal with all correspondence and distribute it to the respective ministries. While the former arrangement lasted, an official in the palace presumably opened the correspondence and placed it before the Caliph. This official, who was directly responsible to the Caliph, must have had his bureau (Diwân al-Fadd) at the Palace. Later when the Wazîr took charge of correspondence, the Diwân al-Fadd became the Wazîr's Cabinet, with his secretary in charge thereof. This apparently was additional work imposed upon the secretary. Being thus added to the office of the Secretary the Diwan al-Fadd formed part of the general Secretariat under the charge of the Secretary. No other explanation suggests itself to me. Tr.

(2) Qodamah, fol. 20b. (3) Misk., V, 257. (4) Wuz., 156. (5) Wuz., 314. (6) Wuz., 20. (7) Wuz., 81.

* ? *Ghibtah*—Ed. "Islamic Culture."

of the ladder suffered the most. Post-masters and pay-officers received only eight month's pay¹. On the other hand, by multiplication of offices in the same hand an attempt was made to compensate for the loss. About the year 300/912 one and the same officer held the Ministry of the Interior, the Presidentship of the *Diwân at-Tauqi* and of the *Bait-al-Mâl*².

At the head of the Provinces the *Amîr* (Commander of the army), and the '*Aâmil* (chief of the civil administration) stood side by side. The '*Aâmil* really was the tax-gatherer, for it was his main duty to remit the contribution of the province to the State-Treasury. He also had to defray the necessary expenses of administration. The central treasury merely concerned itself with the Court, the Ministries, and matters connected with Baghdad³. The two heads of the Province shared the same ceremonial privileges⁴ at court functions, and the general orders of the *Wazîr* came simultaneously to both⁵. In rank, however, the Commander was higher, in the sense that to him fell the privilege of leading the people at prayer—a privilege which always marked him out as the foremost Muslim in his own jurisdiction⁶. If the two got on well together, they could do anything they pleased,—as did for instance the *Amîr* and '*Aâmil* of *Faris* and *Kirman* in 319/931. They remitted for a considerable length of time no revenues to Baghdad⁷. But where these posts were held by one man he was as good as an independent ruler of the province. For this very reason the high-spirited Turkish general *Begkem* would not proceed to *Khuzistan* in 325/937 unless they put him in charge at once of the 'army and taxes'⁸. Officially the position of *Ahmed ibn Tulûn* and of *Ikhshid* was that of the *Amîr*, but in reality they were independent rulers of Egypt.

At the end of his chronicle *Dionysius V Tellmachre* (d. 229/834) complains of the crowd of officers who in every way devour the bread of the poor⁹. For instance, in the small town of *Raqqah* on the *Euphrates*, there were (a) a *qadhi*, (b) a taxing-officer, (c) a commander of the garrison, (d) a post-master to report the affairs of the town (e) an administrator of the Crown-lands (*Sawâfi*), (f) a Police-officer¹⁰. This full complement of local function-

(1) *Wuz.*, 314; *Misk.*, V. 257. (2) *Wuz.*, 77. (3) *Wuz.*, 11 ff. (4) *Wuz.*, 156. (5) *Wuz.*, 50. (6) *E.g.* *Tallquist*, 15, (7) *Ibn al-Athîr*. VIII. 165.

(8) *Ibn al-Athîr*, VIII, 252. (9) *Michael Syrus*, 538. (10) According to *Michael Syrus* (p. 541)—his account is somewhat obscure—the post of the Chief of the police was incorporated in that of the

aries was found in every one of the 36 districts of the Samanid government¹. The greater portion of this all too numerous staff was done away with when the Wazîr, who appointed them, vacated office. Unemployed, they then roamed about the streets of the capital and intrigued until their party was once again in power, exactly as is the case in Spain today, and was some some time ago in the United States. Or else they made the province unsafe. Once when a former official came with a letter of recommendation from Baghdad to a Governor of Isfahân he impatiently called out : You are a pest to the country, you unemployed fellows ! Every day one of you appears before me, praying for alms or a post. Even if I had all the wealth of the world it would not suffice for you all².

The shrewd 'Adad-ud-Daulah made advances to these unemployed during their period of unemployment, and on their appointment he realised the money advanced to them³.

In Egypt the Ikhshid was the first to give fixed salaries to officers⁴. The Fatimids adopted his system almost in its entirety. They evidently intended to partition the State among their supporters. Gawhar retained all the officers in their posts, but he associated a Maghribi with each of them⁵. But when the Maghribis proved themselves to be a greater source of trouble, the attempt to replace the older, the entirely Christian, officialdom was abandoned. According to the account of the Fatimid administration that has come down to us, the Wazîr, like his Baghdad colleague, drew a monthly salary of 5,000 dinârs. The salaries of the ministers at Cairo were, indeed, much smaller. The chief of the Correspondence Board (Diwân al-Inshâ) drew 120 ; the head of the Treasury (Bait al-Mâl) 100; the other departmental heads 70 to 30 dinârs per month. On 40 dinârs (about 400 marks) the chief of a Board in Egypt appointed an officer who carried on correspondence on his own responsibility⁶.

As opposed to the army, where we meet almost exclusively with names of slaves, the Civil Service shows

military commander. And yet the Caliph issued a separate patent for the Chief of the Police (Sahib Ma'anah), Qodamah, Paris, fol 146. (1) Ibn Haukal, 307. Like Khorasan, Babylonia also was divided according to the duo-decimal system into 24 circles with 12 districts each. Wuz., 258. (2) *Kit. al Faragh* II, 10. (3) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 16. (4) Tallquist, 89 ; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 99 (5) Maqrizi, *Itti'az*, 78 (6) Yâqût, *Irshad* 238.

nothing but names of freemen in its cadre¹. The Persians especially took to the civil service. In the earlier days to them belonged the Barmacides, in the later the Maderaites and the Firajabites². A great deal of the work of the official was akin to that of a merchant, and the Persian was to be sure the cleverest merchant of the realm. Even to-day the Austrian official who organized the Persian postal-service reports: Every Persian feels himself capable of doing anything that may be entrusted to him. He will not hesitate to assume and discharge the duties of a high civil office to-day and an equally high military office to-morrow³. This is an old Persian trait. The Persian Secretary of the Baghdadi Sultan Bakhtiyar felt such confidence in himself that he sought the appointment of a Marshal (isfahsalar) and had, on that account, to flee in 358/969 from Baghdad⁴. And yet the training of an official was quite different from that of a jurist or of a savant. His was a temporal education (Adab) with a mere working knowledge of theology. And this difference reflected itself even externally. The official never used the *Tailasan*⁵ of the savant but the

(1) 'Such names as Yâqût, Gawhar, Yalbaq imply that their owners were originally slaves. By *freie* and *unfreie* Mez means names of 'freemen and names of slaves.' For this note I am indebted to Prof. Margoliouth. Tr. (2) Istakhri, 146. These civil servants were of five kinds: (1) clerks in the Despatch Office; (2) clerks in the Tax Office; (3) clerks in the War Office; (4) clerks attached to courts; (5) clerks in the Police Office; Baihaqi, ed. Schwally, 448; more exhaustively in the *Jamharah* of Saizari, Leiden, fol. 99a ff. (3) *Aus Persien*, Wien, 1882, 184.

(1) Misk., VI. 826 ff. (5) *Tailasan* is a 'scarf' or 'hood' (academic) which lies on the shoulder. It appears from Arab authors that the *Tailasan* was also sometimes worn round the turban. See Lane S. V. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, 1,835; Dozy, *Noms de Vêtements chez les arabes*, 278 sqq; *Burhan-i-Qati*, S. V.). The *Tailasan* was also worn by Judges. "Sometimes I have spoken," says Muqaddasi in his *Ahsan ut-Taqsīm* (p. 7), "in a terse way implying rather than expressing details. Thus, for instance, my words regarding Ahwaz: "There is no sanctity in its mosque." I mean thereby that it is full of swindlers, low and ignorant people who arrange to meet there. Thus the mosque is never free from people who sit there while others are engaged in prayer. It is the gathering-place of importunate beggars and a home of sinners. And such is also my remark about Shiraz. I say "there are a large number of people there with Tailasans." By this I mean that the *Tailasan* is alike the dress of the gentlemen, the learned and the ignorant. How often have I not seen drunken people turning their *Tailasans* upside down and trailing them behind themselves! When I sought admission at the Wazir's wearing a *Tailasan* I was refused admission; it would, perhaps, have been otherwise had I been recognized, but I was always asked in when I went wearing a *Durr'ah*." I am indebted to Dr. Siddiqi of Dacca for this note. Tr. See Yâqût *Irshad* 1284; Muq., 440,

Durra'ah (a garment with an opening or slit in the front. It was always of wool without any lining).

When the Wazîr Al-'Utbi pressed the learned Ibn Dhal (d. 378/988) to accept the presidentship of the 'Diwân er-Rasâ'il' he made it clear to him that acceptance of the office would not mean his exclusion from the guild of savants, for that office in Khorasan was a juristic office¹. On the other hand the Caliph refused to appoint a learned man as his Wazîr, on the ground that it would be said everywhere that he had no *Katib* in his dominions available for such a post².

This pure body of secular officers constitutes a striking contrast between the Muslim Empire and the Europe of the Early Middle Ages where the clerks consisted of none but classical scholars. This indeed was not to the best advantage of Islam, for the official world, absorbed in its work and content with its small intellectual inheritance, rarely took part in the higher intellectual activities of the day. The official world was a safe refuge to the laity from the storm and stress of intellectual and spiritual strife. Even to-day the self-complacent effendi is a great hindrance to progress,—as great, perhaps, as the narrow-minded theologian. Pious legend traces the fundamental rules relating to officers and judges to Omar I. He is said to have imposed four obligations on his officers: (a) never to ride a horse; (b) never to use fine linen; (c) never to eat dainty dishes; (d) never to close the door³ against the indigent, and never to keep a *hâjib*⁴.

And in the 3rd/9th century money played an ugly role in the official circles. Everything was to be paid for⁵, even the very office itself, and money had to be found in all possible ways. The head of the office made money by drawing salaries of employees who were either not required or were not employed at all. Moreover he falsely showed on the list various employees as jurists and clerks, and debited to the treasury larger sums than were actually spent on the purchase of paper (for use in his department)⁶. The civil head ('Aâmil) of Egypt drew a splendid salary of 3,000 dinars (about 30,000 marks) a month. Of course out of this amount he had to defray the expenses of his office, besides the presents to the military chief, the Court and the Wazîr. Even the favourite wife of a Caliph

(1) es-Subki, II. 166. (2) Wuz., 322.

(3) *Kit. al-Khiraji*; Wuz., 66. (4) 'Hajib' literally means 'one who does not let people in or one who prevents people's access to the door. (5) Wuz., 268. (6) Misk., V., 844.

complained that she was badly served by the officials, and the Caliph thereupon advised her to make presents to them to put them in better humour¹. The poet Ibn el-Mut'azz (d. 296/908) calls the officers "Choleric Nabateans", with full bellies; while he describes the people as thin and lean². And the pious people of those times grouped officers and sinners together, not unlike the "publicans and sinners" of the New Testament. A pious engraver refused to engrave a precious stone of an officer for 100 dinars, whereas he did the same thing for a merchant for 10 dirhams. Another pious man refused 500 dinars which a merchant offered as a gift to him. His friends, however, talked him over by arguing that one might refuse to have anything to do with government moneys, for such moneys were always under the shadow of suspicion, but no such suspicion rested on the self-acquired money of a merchant³. And yet another was taunted for sitting at dinner with an officer. He apologised by urging that the food-stuff was lawfully purchased⁴. One day when Ahmed ibn Harb was sitting with the Chiefs and distinguished men of Nisabur who had called on him, his son came into the room drunk, playing a guitar and singing. He passed impudently through the room without greeting them. When Ahmad observed their astonishment, he asked: What is it? They rejoined: We are ashamed to see this lad pass thee by in such a condition. Thereupon Ahmad replied: He is to be forgiven. One night my wife and I partook of food sent to us by a neighbour. That very night this boy was conceived. We went to sleep without saying our prayer. Next morning we enquired of our neighbour where the food came from which he had sent us and we were informed that it came from a government-servant at whose house there was a wedding-feast⁵. In saying goodbye to an officer some said seriously, some in joke: Do penance for thy appointment. When an emeritus, attracted by a fat pay,

(1) Wuz., 184 ff. "Mutadid made a grant of an estate to a favourite, but the head of the Diwan delayed giving effect to it, and on her complaining to the Caliph, he told her that the proper way for her, as for others, was to approach the official with the customary presents. On her doing this the grant was passed and the official boasted thereafter of having taken a present by the Caliph's order." Amedroz., J.R.A.S., 1908., pp. 431-2 Tr. (2) *Diwan*, II, 14. It is true that he had unhappy experiences at Court. For thirty years he wrote in prose and verse to officials without getting anything. (Wuz., 115).

(3) Ahmed ibn Yahya, ed. Arnold, p. 44. (4) *Ibid.*, 61; 56. (5) *Kashf el-mahjub*, 866.

accepted an office, he was called 'apostate' ¹. General opinion indeed hardly regarded the charge of corrupt administration of an office as slanderous. The chroniclers are amazed to find high officers honest. Thus it is expressly reported of the deceased head of the public treasury in 314/926 that he left no money behind². It frequently happened that officials, suspected and even convicted of malpractices, were left in their posts or were reinstated after they had paid up their fines. But such was not always the case. We are told on good authority that Ikhshid, otherwise a sound financier, was the author of this system³. When anything untoward happened to an official his more successful colleagues opened a subscription-list to lighten the burden of his punishment⁴. It needed the eccentric Hâkim to cut off in 404/1013, for embezzlement, the hands of a ministerial chief like those of an ordinary criminal. But this very Caliph placed him again in 409/1018 at the head of the pay-office. In 418/1027 he made him his Wazîr⁵.

The unnatural condition of the civil service under the Caliphate brought its own Nemesis, namely, the craving for titles and the use of involved phraseology in official documents, which began in the 4th/10th century and has continued to this day. They assigned great importance to inflated court style in speech and address, but notable it is that the subscription—in contrast to the European practice—was marked with brevity. Hitherto the mode of address had simply been: To the father of N. from the father of N. Al-Fadl b. Sahl introduced about 200/815 the form "To N. N. May God preserve him. From N. N."⁶. Thenceforward the development became very rapid. We have a list of the different grades of addresses which the Wazîr used in the beginning of the IVth century. The commanding officer in Syria was to be addressed: "May God strengthen thee, preserve thy life, make his goodness perfect in thee and bestow His favours on thee". The engineer was to be addressed: "May God protect and forgive thee." The lowest grade of officers, such as country post-masters and government bankers, were to be only

(1) Misk., V., 244.

(2) *Arib*, 128. (3) Tallquist, 89. (4) Wuz., 806,808. (5) Becker, *Beitrage Zur Gesch. Agyptens*, I, 84; according to el-Musab-bihi (420). (6) Eutychius (d. 818/930) p. 54; according to a very good authority. (7) Wuz., 153 ff.

addressed with "May God preserve thee¹." At the beginning of the century, the magnates and Wazîrs were addressed as "our master" (Sayyadana) or our patron (Maulana), and in the second person 'thou.' In 374/984 two Wazîrs were already given the title of "the exalted Sâhib," and were addressed as "the master, my patron, my leader" in the 3rd person².

What matters to me, sings Khawârizmi (d. 383/993), if the Abbasids have thrown open the gates of honour and surnames. They have conferred titles on a man whom their ancestors would not have made the doorkeeper of their lavatory. Though plentiful the titles, few are the dirhams in the hands of these our Caliphs³.

In 429/1037 the Chief Qadhi Mawardi received the title of Aqda'l-Qudât, Highest Judge. Certain theologians took exception to it. On their part, however, they declared it legal to call the Amîr Jalâl-ad-Daulah 'Great King of Kings,' a title which Mawardi regarded as the usurpation of God's title. Later all judges were called Aqda'l-Qudât⁴.

In this respect too the Caliph Hâkim tried to go back upon existing conditions. After freely distributing at first all kinds of titles, in 408/1017 he repealed all save the seven highest. But soon the old practice was re-introduced⁵. The Secretary of the Caliph al-Qâdir (381-422/991-1031) is said to have introduced as the ordinary mode of court-address Al-Hadhrah. Even in this small matter the practice of the 4th/10th century obtains in the Orient to-day. He is said to have addressed the Wazîr, for the first time, as 'thy exalted wazirite presence' (al-hadhrat al-aliyat al-waziriyyah). This very man is said to have introduced for the first time the expression "the most sacred, prophetic presence," in addressing the Caliph instead of the older, simpler term "Caliph," and this innovation soon became the general practice. The strangest term, the appellation of the Caliph as "service" goes back to him. Thus I read a passage in the handwriting of the Qadhi ibn Abi'l-Sawarib: "The servant of the

(1) Wuz., 153 ff. (2) Taghribardi, 84. Even the Christian Wazir Isa ibn Nestorius was spoken of as "our sublime master" (Sayyadana el-ajall). Yahya ibn Sa'id, fol. 112a. Wuz., 153 ff. (3) Yatimah, IV, 145. (4) Yaqut, *Irshad*, V, 407. (5) Yahya ibn Sa'id, 222.

most sublime 'service' such and such¹." The Caliph Al-Qa'im conferred upon his Wazîr (killed in 450/1058) three titles : —Rais al-Ru'asa, (Chief of Chiefs), Sharf al-Wuzara (honour of the Wazirs), Jamâl al-Wara (Beauty of Creation²).

On the other hand, in the judicial department, the original mode of address continued ; in his letters the Chief Judge always addressed judges by their names³.

On Fridays and Tuesdays all offices were closed. Thus the Caliph al-Mutadid (279-289/892-902) is said to have ordained the holiday on Friday because it was a day of prayer and also because his teacher had always given him a holiday on that day, and on Tuesday because in the middle of the week people needed a day for rest and a day to themselves for the management of their own private affairs⁴.

(1) Wuz., 148 ff.

(2) *Tarikh Baghdad*, J.R.A.S. (1912) 67.

(3) Wuz., 148 ff.

(4) Wuz., 22.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

UNIVERSALITY OF ISLAM

Diversity of religious thought has been engaging the attention of men of intellect and education ever since man learnt the rudiments of science and philosophy. The phenomenon of so many different religions, all claiming to be divine and infallible, and yet seemingly so hostile to one another, has led many an earnest seeker after truth to despair of ever finding a harmony in this chaos. Is it possible that Hinduism, with its innumerable gods, fetishism and animism on the one hand and its belief in the transmigration of the soul and oneness of Atman and Parmatman on the other, sinking now to the deepest depth of degradation and sanctioning the worship of trees, of rivers, of the sun, the moon, the stars, of idols of wood, clay and stone, of Linga and its images, rising now to the lofty enunciation of the doctrines of Pantheism and Advaita, is descended from the same divine source as Christianity with its doctrines of the Trinity and Redemption (including in its fold Catholic worshippers of Mary, the Holy Ghost, the Cross and the Saints, and Protestants who deny all that)? Is it reasonable to suppose that Buddhism with its supposed negation of God and its advocacy of the doctrine of Karma and Nirvana has the same divine sanction as Zoroastrianism with its belief in Yazdan and Ahriman and an unending struggle for supremacy between those two deities of Good and Evil? Is it possible that the rigid monotheism of Judaism with its tribal Jehovah is the same as the Confucianism of China without any mention of the worship of God at all?

This confusion in the realm of speculation has been accompanied by the worst form of hatred and class-warfare known to man. The unedifying spectacle of the followers of various religions attacking each other with fire and sword in order to eliminate difference of opinion, forms, without exception, the most painful chapter of human history. In fact, the bloody records of these

fratricidal wars have brought religion so much into disrepute, that the very word has become synonymous with blind fanaticism, ignorant partisanship, narrow-minded sectarianism and rigid formalism. Enemies of religion have chosen to attribute all these troubles to the very nature of religion, its inherent incapacity to chain the passions of its followers when once let loose. They seek to prove it an anachronism, an institution unfit to guide this modern age of positive science and philosophy.

The most curious phenomenon has been the absence among the followers of the various religions of any accurate and first hand knowledge of any other religion than their own. That every religion aims at the moral and spiritual elevation of its devotees few will doubt. That every religion has done much good in its sphere of influence is a fact which none but an ignoramus would challenge. That every religion contains lofty ideals and sentiments few will deny. The wonder is that so few realise that all beauty is but a reflection of the Divine Beauty, whose love forms the essence of every religion; hence, if there is one source of beauty, the light flowing from that source in different channels cannot be different, however far apart those channels flow. Is it not then a strange display of ignorance that one should not admire and praise that grandeur and beauty in other religions which he holds admirable and praiseworthy in his own? Is there then any reason for supposing one's own religion the sole repository of God's grace and mercy?

This attitude of the various religions towards each other has been, like nationalism, a great hindrance in the way of producing that mental attitude in their votaries which is necessary for the realisation of human fraternity. And just as nationalism has its peculiar partisanship, which is the bane of modern civilisation and has been the cause of untold misery and bloodshed, similarly, when religion becomes sectarian, it results in war and hate. It is true that some master-minds have tried to rise above such partisanship, induce a broader outlook and extricate their fellow-beings from the slough of hatred. One notable example was the great Asoka whose edict of toleration is so justly famous. But all such attempts aimed, at the most, at infusing a spirit of toleration for hostile opinions. Asoka "desired the security of all creatures, the respect of human life, peace and gentleness." He speaks of

extending the same toleration to hostile opinion as to one's own.

Such a spirit of toleration can, at best, but nourish a policy of "laissez faire;" it cannot bring about that close co-operation of the great spiritual forces of humanity which is essential for a steady and continuous progress. It was reserved for Muhammad (Allah's peace be upon him!) to announce a formula which showed a way out of the welter of religious antagonism, and restore balance and harmony among the seemingly hostile faiths professed by his contemporaries. He provided a blessing for the whole of mankind by banishing sectarianism from religion. The Quran says :—

"We have not sent thee save as a blessing and mercy to the worlds."

And indeed who could claim to be a greater benefactor of humanity than he who rooted out the canker of religious antagonism with national jealousy and hatred, who made religion an institution common to all God's creatures, and destroyed the barriers of caste, creed, race and country, birth, wealth, rank and colour, making the fear of God expressed in social conduct the sole criterion of man's position in society? The greatest revolution in history was the advent of Islam.

It was no mere lesson of toleration that Muhammad taught, but the oft forgotten truth of the unity of mankind under the Kingship of Allah. Religion, he maintained, was nothing if it was not the truth, and so could not be different for different countries and different ages. It was not the monopoly of a particular race or country, or a particular class. Islâm rejects all such privileges. Every nation, every country, every people has been the recipient of God's bounties irrespective of colour and climate. God has provided every nation with the necessities of life. His sun sheds light and heat on all alike; His rain is universal, His springs, and lakes and rivers water every land. Is it rational, then, to suppose that He has been sparing in the dispensation of His highest bounty?

But Muhammad (ﷺ) went further. He preached the absolute unity of all religions. God has created one sun to provide heat and light for all his creatures. He has made the same air to sustain the life of all, the same water to quench the thirst of all and He gave the same truth to all. Truth is one, even as God is one. So reli-

gion, as an expression of Truth and God's Beauty, cannot be different. As the Qurân says :—

“ We sent an apostle to every nation and enjoined him to preach the one truth : Serve Allah and shun evil.”

Again :

“ He has prescribed for you the same religion which he enjoined upon Noah and that which We have revealed to you and that which We enjoined upon Abraham and Moses and Jesus, that is : Submit to the will of Allah and be not divided therein.”

And again :

“ Surely we have revealed to you as we revealed to Noah and the prophets after him—And we sent Apostles whom we have mentioned to you and Apostles We have not mentioned to you—We sent (these) Apostles as the givers of good news and as warners, so that people should not have a plea against Allah after the coming of the Apostles (that He did not shew them the path of righteousness and truth); and Allah is Mighty, Wise.”

Then the Qurân emphatically condemns the attitude of the followers of various religions in the following words:—

“ And they say : None shall enter the garden (of Paradise) except he who is a Jew or a Christian. These are their vain desires. Say : Bring your arguments to prove it, if you are truthful.”

“ And the Jews say : The Christians have no basic truth to stand upon ; and the Christians say : The Jews have no basic truth to stand upon . And they both recite the Book (that is, believe that God sent a revelation). Their attitude is similar to that of those who have no knowledge and do not believe in any revelation from Allah.”

After exposing the hollowness of this attitude the Qurân propounds the essence of religion :

“ Nay, but whosoever submits himself entirely to Allah and is the doer of good, he has his reward from his Lord, and there is no fear for him nor shall he grieve” (*Suratu'l Baqar*).

So that God only revealed one religion: Islâm (*i.e.*, entire submission to Allah), and only this can be the one religion. It is in fact the religion of the sun, the moon, the stars, the flowers, trees, rivers, mountains. If you have eyes to see, you will unhesitatingly affirm that the whole

universe humbly submits to the will of Him who gave it its existence and its form.

God made one religion ; man divided it by dressing it in different garb and giving it different names, calling it Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and so on. The people took the name for a reality and erected round those names edifices of credulity and superstition, myth and ritual, custom and tradition, till, in the words of the immortal Hâfiz, they lost sight of the reality and began to follow the fiction.

Islâm (*i.e.* Surrender to the will of God) is the religion of nature itself. It was the religion of the first man and it was the religion of all the Prophets and seers who came at different times to guide their fellow-beings. It is as old as the firmament above. The light of the sun is but a humble manifestation of the same eternal truth, for it is by submission to Allah that it has life and light. The Qurân says :

“ And do they seek any religion other than the religion of Allah, whereas to Him submit all that are in the heavens and the earth?” (or all are Muslims).

Hence the Qurân does not enjoin belief in one Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ), but belief in the divine mission of all the Prophets and messengers of Allah, of every age and every nation.

“ Say : We believe in Allah and (in) that which has been revealed to us, and (in) that which was revealed to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and (in) that which was given to Moses and Jesus and (in) that which was given to all the (other) prophets from their Lord, we do not make any distinction between any of them, and to Him do we submit.”

“ If, then, they believe as you believe in Him, they are indeed on the right course, and if they turn back, then they are only creating dissension, so, Allah will suffice you against them and He is the Hearing, the Knowing.”

“ Receive the baptism of Allah ; and who is better than Allah at baptizing ? Him do we serve.”

Over and over again the Qurân reverts to this fundamental principle of religion and calls upon all lovers of God to follow Muhammad (ﷺ) and believe in all the Prophets and all the revelations without distinction ; it condemns the particularist attitude of the followers of various religions :

“ And when they are called upon to believe in all that Allah has revealed, they say : We believe only in that revelation which was sent to us, and deny all other revelations.”

The Qurân calls such an attitude a denial of all religion—nay a denial of God Himself.

“ Surely those who disbelieve in Allah and His Apostles and desire to make a distinction between Allah and His Apostles and say : We believe in some and disbelieve in others, and desire to take an intermediate course. These it is that are truly unbelievers.”

In Islâm the denial of a single Prophet amounts to a denial of all the Prophets and is considered tantamount to a denial of Allah. This position is not that of mere toleration preached by Asoka and other great men. It is an assertion of the absolute unity of all religion. It is an unequivocal statement that, just as there can be only one straight line between two points, so between God and man, there can only be one connecting link—Islâm (Surrender to God's will). Hence unlike other religions, Islâm does not call upon the neophyte to renounce his old faith, but it calls upon him to subscribe not only to the truth of his old religion but, in addition to that, to the truth of all other Prophets and their teachings. Hence a Muslim can truly say that he is a better Hindu than a Hindu, a better Zoroastrian than a Parsi, a better Jew than a Jew and a better Christian than a Christian. Once you believe in the oneness of all religions all these religious controversies become loathsome to your mind and you become as charitable as the great sun shedding lustre on friend and foe alike. Once you subscribe to this eternal truth of the Kingship of Allah, you unite all the great spiritual forces which are now defeating one other in unhealthy rivalry into one great, irresistible spiritual force which will sweep away the hosts of evil and destruction.

The next great step in this revolution was the restoration of personal merit to its proper place. Various religions before the advent of Muhammad (ﷺ) believed that faith alone could secure the salvation of an individual. But Islâm made personal endeavour—conduct—a *sine qua non* of salvation. No man can be saved by professing a certain belief unless his actions justify that profession. Says the Qurân:

“ And (the followers of other religions) say : Fire shall not touch us but for a few days. (Our faith will

be enough to save us from that). Say : Have you received a covenant from Allah, then Allah will not fail to fulfil His covenant, or do you speak against Allah what you do not know.

“Nay but whoever earns evil and his sins beset him on all sides, these are the inmates of the Fire ; in it they shall abide.”

“And those who believe and do good deeds, these are the dwellers of the garden, in it they shall abide.”

And again :

“Surely, those who believe and those who are Jews and the Christians and the Sabaeans—whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day and does good—they shall have their reward from their Lord, and there is no fear for them, nor shall they grieve.”

These words are too explicit to need any explanation from me. Never in the history of religion was personal striving after righteousness, the doing of good, so exalted. According to Islâm, enlightened search for truth and selfless service of God's creatures are the only means by which a man or woman can work out his or her salvation.

All distinctions of caste and creed, race and religion, birth, sex and age, priest and layman, are abolished in religion. “Mankind are the children of Allah,” says the Holy Prophet, “and an Arab has no preferment over a non-Arab, a white man over a negro, a freeman over a slave, except in the fear of Allah he or she has.”

“Indeed the most honoured amongst you is he who fears Allah most.”

Islâm banished all ideas of propitiatory sacrifices and sacraments by saying :—

“The blood or the flesh of the animal you sacrifice does not reach God, but what reaches Him is your fear of Him.”

Hence instead of a rivalry of wealth or social position, of pedigree or caste or colour, of sex or age, the Qurân substituted but one rivalry—“vie with one another in good works.”

The Prophet says :—“The best is he who serves humanity most.”

On the foundation of this equality has been built an edifice of human brotherhood which has evoked the praise of even its extreme opponents. You cannot build an enduring brotherhood on mere words. A radical change of heart

is needed before a real fraternity can come to pass. These two cardinal principles—the universal revelation of truth, and the equality of all God's creatures in His sight so that everyone reaps the reward of his actions—produced a change of heart and a fraternity of human beings as enduring as natural.

I need not dwell any longer upon the ideal of the brotherhood of man as preached and practically demonstrated by Islâm. Suffice it to say that it is a fraternity of all human beings under the kingship of God.

The so-called religious people themselves have earned the reproach of the non-religious people—I mean the Agnostics, Positivists, Atheists and Materialists of the day, who say the only way to cure the evil of religious antagonism is to relegate religion to the limbo of forgotten institutions. But the cure that they suggest is worse than the disease. This method of removing evil is about as efficacious as that of a philanthropist who in times of famine tries to wean people from the habit of eating, or of a physician who, in a time of epidemic, would have men give up breathing air and drinking water because they are the carriers of germs. Religion is as necessary for the spiritual, moral and social life of the individual and the community as food, air and water are for the maintenance of the physical life. You cannot give up breathing air or drinking water because they are contaminated. You have to purge them of contamination and purify them of the foreign matter. Similarly you cannot condemn religion as useless and antiquated, simply because it has been contaminated by superstition and priestcraft. You have to strip it of all the accretions with which a selfish and unscrupulous priesthood and a superstitious and ignorant laity have disfigured it and you will find that it is nothing more nor less than Islâm.

There is yet another class of people, who profess to be deeply religious but think that the only way to achieve unity and concord among the various apparently hostile religions is to assert that "there is no book which has been directly revealed by God." But this, as the Qurân says, is a grave misunderstanding of the mercy and benevolence of God. For religion without a direct revelation from God, a full expression of His will, is a misnomer. And unless God reveals Himself through His Prophets, it is idle to expect mankind to evolve their destiny in accordance with His Divine will.

It is true that interpolations have played havoc with all the expressions of God's will except the Qurân, but that is no logical ground for denying revelation as such. Moreover that denial is inconsistent with the avowed belief of these objectors that all religions were revealed by God. If that is so, it follows that God revealed His will to His Prophets. Hence if the teachings of all the Prophets had been preserved intact, we should have had an accurate record of all the revelations and should have seen at once that fundamentally they are the same, even as God is One. Unfortunately they have been handed down to us in such form that it is impossible to say definitely where the divine ends and the human begins. But the final revelation, the Qurân, has been preserved intact; so anyone who maintains that all religions are divine ought, if he is consistent, to admit that the Qurân is "the Book revealed by God." Hence in the Islâm is found the culmination of all the great spiritual movements of the world, and the more men come to realise it the nearer shall we be to universal human brotherhood. Already we see various reforming movements, aiming at the unification of humanity under one universal religion. If we study those movements carefully we shall find that they are one and all inspired by Islâm. Their fundamental principles are borrowed from Islâm. Islâm is the first and the only religion which has not only expounded those principles which form the kernel of the teachings of these movements, but also has given practical rules for their realisation, such as none of these movements has been able to place before its votaries. Such movements have the charm of novelty, but that will last only so long as true knowledge of Islâm is withheld from mankind through the negligence of Muslims. When Muslims shake off their lethargy and take their place in the religious councils of the world, there will be but two alternatives before mankind. As the Qurân says:—

"Religion with Allah is the Surrender (to His will);" and the test of religion is conduct, not creeds or ceremonies.

MUHAMMAD ALI.

**THE NEWSPAPERS OF THE LATER
MOGHUL PERIOD—(contd.)**

IN the memorial presented to the Privy Council in 1824 of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and other Indians to the King of England against the Press Regulations of 1823 the following occurs in para. 50 :—" Notwithstanding the despotic power of the Moghul princes who formerly ruled over this country, and that their conduct was often cruel and arbitrary, yet the wise and virtuous among them always employed two intelligencers at the residence of their Nawabs or Lord-Lieutenants ; an *akhbar-navees*, or news-writer, who published an account of whatever happened, and a *khoofe-navees* or confidential correspondent who sent a private and particular account of every occurrence worthy of notice ; and although these Lord-Lieutenants were often particular friends or near relations to the prince, he did not trust entirely to themselves for a faithful and impartial report of their administration, and degraded them when they appeared to deserve it, either for their own faults, or for their negligence in not checking the delinquencies of their subordinate officers ; which shows that even the Mogul Princes, although their form of government admitted of nothing better, were convinced that in a country so rich and so replete with temptations, a restraint of some kind was absolutely necessary to prevent the abuses that are so liable to flow from the possession of power."

In the thirties of the last century—about the time when liberty was granted to the Indian Press by Macaulay and Metcalfe—the manuscript newspapers were vigorous in circulation. Lord Auckland in 1836 wrote thus on them, as Governor-General of India :—

" The circulation of news continues to take place amongst the Natives as it always did. Princes and others who can afford it have their news-writers, or employ people established in that line where they think it of sufficient

importance to seek intelligence. Fabricators and collectors of nonsense, of gossip, of intelligence, and of lies, exist probably in all great towns. The manuscript papers derived from these sources are private ; anything may be inserted in them without scruple, and in critical times, more particularly during the Burmese War, the most absurd reports and mischievous misrepresentations were made to agitate men's minds, and to produce evil which might have been better prevented or guarded against if the circulation had been effected by printed papers.¹"

Macaulay, as Legislative Member of the Governor-General's Council, thus wrote in 1836 on the manuscript newspapers :—

"The gazettes (*akhbars*) which are commonly read by the Natives are in manuscript. To prepare these gazettes, it is the business of a numerous class of people who are constantly prowling for intelligence in the neighbourhood of every *cutchery* (court) and every *darbar* (courts of native princes). Twenty or thirty news-writers are constantly in attendance at the Palace of Delhi and at the Residency. Each of these news-writers has among the richer natives, several customers whom he daily supplies with all the scandal of the Court and the city. The number of manuscript gazettes daily despatched from the single town of Delhi cannot of course be precisely known, but it is calculated by persons having good opportunities of information at hundred and twenty. Under these circumstances it is perfectly clear that the influence of the manuscript gazettes on the native population must be very much more extensive than that of the printed papers (in the native languages whose circulation in India by *dawk* (post) does not now—1836—exceed three hundred).

"The character of the manuscript gazettes is, I believe, what the Governor-General describes it to be. They are filled with trivial details, with idle reports and often with extravagant falsehood suited to the capacity of ignorant and credulous readers. They are often scurrilous far beyond any papers that appear in print either in English or in any native languages. They often contain abuse of the Government and its servants and sarcasms on our national character and manners.²"

Notwithstanding the above character of the manuscript newspapers it is very strange to note, the early

1. Lord Auckland's Minute dated 8th August 1836.

2. Minute by T. B. Macaulay, dated 2nd September 1836,

British rulers like Warren Hastings, Wellesley and Hastings, did not take any measures either penal or precautionary to regulate their tone or curb their liberty, but directed all their efforts towards checking the liberty of the printed newspapers published by European journalists, although the manuscript newspapers were far more inflammatory than the latter. As a matter of fact the British Government never attempted to put down these *akhbars* or to impose any restrictions on their circulation, but allowed unbounded license to them. In this way they remained in vigorous existence for a considerable time during the British regime.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William Sleeman, journeying through Oudh in 1849-50, found the manuscript newspaper system an important institution in Oudh and thus described it from his personal knowledge :—

“ Court favourites retained their powers, and the King and his minister relied entirely, as heretofore, upon the reports of the news-writers, who attend officially upon all officers in charge of districts, fiscal and judicial court, troops establishments of all kinds, for the facts of all cases on which they might have to pass orders ; and remained as ignorant as their predecessors of the real state of the administration and the real sufferings of the people, if not of the real losses to the Exchequer.

“ The news department is under a Superintendent-General who has sometimes contracted for it, as for the revenues of a district, but more commonly holds it in *amanee*, as a manager. When he contracts for it he pays a certain sum to the public treasury, over and above what he pays to the influential officers and court favourities in gratuities. When he holds it in *amanee*, he pays only gratuities, and the public treasury gets nothing. His payments amount to about the same in either case. He nominates his subordinates, and appoints them to their several offices, taking from each a present gratuity and a pledge for such monthly payments as he thinks the post will enable him to make. They receive from four to fifteen rupees a month each, and have each to pay to their President, for distribution among his patrons or patronesses at Court, from one hundred to five hundred rupees a month in ordinary times. Those to whom they are accredited have to pay them, under ordinary circumstances certain sums monthly, to prevent their inventing or exaggerating cases of abuse of power or neglect of duty on their part ; but when they happen to be really guilty

of great acts of atrocity, or great neglect of duty, they are required to pay extraordinary sums, not only to the news-writers, who are especially accredited to them, but to all others who happen to be in the neighbourhood at the time. There are six hundred and sixty news-writers of this kind employed by the King, and paid monthly three thousand one hundred and ninety-four rupees, or, on an average, between four and five rupees a month each; and the sums paid by them to their President for distribution among influential officers and Court favourites averages above one hundred and fifty thousand rupees a year. Many, whose avowed salary is from four to ten rupees a month, receive each, from the persons to whom they are accredited, more than five hundred, three-fourths of which they must send for distribution among Court favourites, or they could not retain their places a week, nor could their President retain his. Such are the reporters of the circumstances in all the cases on which the sovereign and his ministers have to pass orders every day in Oude. Some of those who derive part of their incomes from this source are "persons behind the throne, who are greater than the throne itself." The mother of the heir-apparent gets twelve thousand rupees a year from it.

"But their exactions are not confined to government officers of all grades and denominations; they are extended to contractors of all kinds and denominations, to him who contracts for the supply of the public cattle with grain, as well as to him who contracts for the revenue and undivided government of whole provinces; and, indeed, to every person who has anything to do *under*, or anything to apprehend *from*, government and its officers and favourites; and, in such a country, who has not? The European magistrate of one of our neighbouring districts one day, before the Oude Frontier Police was raised, entered the Oude territory at the head of his police in pursuit of some robbers, who had found an asylum in one of the King's villages. In the attempt to secure them some lives were lost; and, apprehensive of the consequences, he sent for the official news-writer, and *gratified* him in the usual way. No report of the circumstances was made to the Oude Durbar; and neither the King, the Resident, nor the British Government ever heard anything about it. Of the practical working of the system, many illustrations will be found in this diary.

"The *akbar*, or Intelligence Department, had been

farmed out for some years, at the rate of between one and two lacs of rupees a year, when, at the recommendation of the Resident, the King expressed his willingness to abolish the farm, and intrust the superintendence to men *of character and ability*, to be paid by Government. This resolution was communicated to Government by the Resident on the 24th of April, 1839; and on the 6th of May the Resident was instructed to communicate to his Majesty the satisfaction which the Governor-General derived on hearing that he had consented to abolish this farm, which had produced *so large a revenue to the state*. This was considered by the Resident to be a great boon obtained for the people of Oude, as the farmers of the department consented to pay a large revenue only on condition that they should be considered as the only legitimate reporters of events—the only recognised *masters in the Oude Chancery*; and, as the Resident observed, “they choked up all the channels the people had of access to their sovereign;” but they have choked them up just as much since the abolition of the farm, and have had to pay just as much as before¹.”

In 1852–53 the British Parliament appointed Committees in both Houses to inquire into the condition of Her Majesty’s Indian Territories. In the Commons Committee Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay asked one of the witnesses, John Farley Leith,—“on the other hand, have not the natives a set of newspapers of their own in manuscript?” (Question 3326). The answer was—“That I am not personally aware of.” In the Lords Committee the following questions and answers took place:—

“6877. Earl of Harrowby.—Are there any papers read at the Courts of the Native Princes?”

“Sir C. E. Trevelyan, K.C.B.—Yes. There were Persian papers in my time, and I believe there are still. Those Persian papers reflected the prevailing Mahomedan opinion. Some of them were extremely rebellious. We were perfectly aware that they were taken in at the Native Courts but it did not in the least trouble us.

1. *A Journey Through the Kingdom of Oudh in 1849–50* by Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman, K.C.B. (London 1858) Vol. I. pp. 67–70. He also tells another story of an Oudh official who had been worsted in an affray with the Rajputs, and was so much ashamed of the drubbing he had got that “he bribed all the news-writers within twenty-four miles of the place, to say nothing about it in their reports to court.” *Rambles and Recollections*, Vol. I, p. 301, (Constable’s edition).

“ 6878. Are you not of opinion that they were not altogether without use, as showing what was afloat in the Native mind ?

“ They were of very great use. There is a great deal of truth in the Governmental maxim, to let people say what they like, provided they leave you to do what you like. There is a very wide interval between speech and action ; and not one in a thousand of those who read those seditious Persian papers would have thought of appearing in arms against the Government. It is almost always the safest course to let discontented people expend themselves in talk.”

Even at the time of the Mutiny we had ample evidence of their existence. The mysterious cakes (*chapatees*) that were distributed by the Sepoys broadcast through ignorant village watchmen throughout Northern India before the upheaval of 1857 actually broke out, were really shells inside which were put in real *Chitti Chapatees* or manuscript news-letters and *akhbars*. None of the European historians of the Indian Revolt have fully understood the real meaning of these *Chapatees* which to them have appeared quite mysterious and meaningless as they understood them to be hand-made cakes. But careful investigation has fully convinced me that these *Chapatees* were not *Chapatees* (hand-made breads or cakes) as popularly understood, but contained inside *Chapatees* (*Chitti Chapatees*) to hoodwink those who were not in favour of their revolutionary movement. These *Chapatees* or manuscript news-letters were highly inflammatory and the quickness with which the conflagration broke, out, was due to the great industry with which these *Chapatees* were thrown broadcast among ignorant people¹.

With the gradual adoption and use of movable types and printing presses, the manuscript newspapers became less profitable and were superseded by the cheap printed newspapers².

1. During the Mutiny the British Government was quite aware of the mischiefs that were being done by manuscript news-writers. Mr. J. B. Norton in his *Topics for Indian Statesmen* (edition of 1858, p. 328) states that while Lord Canning's Gagging Act of 1857--58 was in force, a private merchant's lithographic stone was confiscated by the authorities at Akyab (Burma) because he had introduced political remarks into his commercial circular correspondence.

2. Even at the present day when printed newspapers abound, these letters have not ceased. Native firms of merchants and bankers circulate a large amount of news in their business letters, and this news is such as does not often find its way into print, being chiefly of the nature of

gossip, but very important as reflecting the temper and mind of the people. News about weather, crops, harvests, religious festivals, etc., is mixed up with political and semi-political gossips of the *bazars* (markets) in these letters. It was only the other day that a Brahman from Lucknow, of the class from which the Company's old sepoys of the pampered Bengal army were drawn, told me a curious story of a Pandit's prophecy, in his native place, of some political importance, and on being urged how he had come to know of it, he said it was related in the letters of his friends and relatives from home which always contained similar news.—R. P. Karkaria in *East and West*, 1902.

APPENDIX.

I. C. Vol. II p. 131. And to this purpose there are yet extant notes written by the Emperor Aoreng-Zib's hand, to his own Vezir, Assedghan; and here is a copy of one: Copy of a Note of Aoreng-Zib Alem Ghir to his Vezier—My grandson, Mahmed Muezz-eddin (he that reigned afterwards under the name of Djehandar-Shah) has been writing to me to recommend N. N. Remembranceer, of such a province. Of course something must be done for him; but yet, the man is to be dismissed from that office directly, that the Gazetteer may remember to write Gazettes no more.

As interest has taken place,
Abilities have been obscured;
And a hundred sorts of films
Have covered his eyeballs.

But the answer he sent to that grandson himself, is still more curious. Here it is:—

“Dutiful sons, that are acquainted with their father's temper, do not write recommendations in behalf of Gazetteers, and such sort of people. Your request is granted, and the man has been promoted accordingly; but yet he has been dismissed from that office. Do not commit the like offence again.”

Page 133. But the records must have been destroyed purposely by order of the Emperor. Aurangzebe had an insuperable prejudice against the preservation of the annals of his reign. Hearing that some one was writing the Emperor's history, he was alarmed and vexed and instantly ordered the luckless man of letters to proceed no farther. This was Khafi Khan, a hereditary historian, and hence many deride his name. If notwithstanding imperial embargo, he has given the world the most reliable details of Aurungzebe's reign in chronological order, we owe it to his enthusiasm for letters which made him continue his narrative in secret.

Page 134. Upon this passage the Indo-French translator, who also is a reliable witness of contemporary facts, has a note, which is valuable as showing the difference between the two offices of *Waqianavis* (otherwise *Waqanigar*) and *Siwanihnigar* (otherwise *Siwaninavis*.) The distinction lies only in the different uses made of the labours of the two officers. Mustapha says that these offices are the same, only the report of the *Waqianavis* are published *ab initio*, while those of the *Siwanihnavis* are published in proper time, gradually. All this demonstrates the extraordinary development of an institution as near our present press as could be in an age without print.

Page 138. And to emphasize the character of the court, the sly annalist reports that on learning of this disaster the Emperor went out shooting with one of his favorites to show him sport and, doubtless in reward for the plentiful crop of "Māsh Allahs" with which the courtier acknowledged the spectacle of Imperial skill, advanced him in emolument and rank to a surprising stretch.

Page 138. Colonel James Tod transmitted to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1828 several additional files (altogether amounting to some hundreds) of original manuscript *Akhbars*, or newspapers of the Mogul Court. "The newspapers are principally of the reign of Bhadur Shāh from 1707 to 1712, a period," Colonel Tod remarks, "of considerable importance to Indian history, following immediately the war of succession between the sons of Aurangzeb, when the feudatories of Hyderabad, Bengal, Oudh, etc., erected their separate States, and the Jāts of the Punjab and their brethren west of the Chumbul, those of Lahore and Bhurtpur. These documents will also, it is expected, throw a great light upon the real cause of the decline of the Mogul Power in India, viz., the institution of *Jezeiya* or capitulation tax which forever alienated the Rajput Princes, one of whom Rana Raj Singh, resisted it not only with his sword, but also with his pen."—*The Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXVI.

Mr. H. Beveridge, in the *Journal of the Royal Society* for October 1908, thus writes on Colonel Tod's Newsletters of the Delhi Court :—

Collection 'is thus described in Mr. Morley's *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the R. A. S. Library*—No. CXXXIII—*Akhbarat-i-Darbar Maali Akhbars*, or papers relating to the transactions of the Court of the Emperor Aurangzeb for the following years of his reign, 1-14, 17, 20-21, 24, 36-39, 42-49, together with *Akhbars* of the Court of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah (third son of Aurangzeb). A large parcel written in *Shikastah*, on separate slips of paper, and enclosed in a solander case. Size, 8 inches by 4½ inches.

"The collection has been made up into bundles, one for each year, and each bundle contains a number of small slips of brown paper, which are frequently written on both sides. These are written by various hands, and are sometimes quite legible. But the writing is *Shikastah*, and vowels are not marked, and in many instances I could not read the words. Some bundles of the later years of Aurangzeb are much larger than the others. The slips are arranged according to the order of the Muhammadan months, and each bundle has a paper band inscribed with the *Samvat* year which corresponds to the Muhammadan one. There does not appear to be any account by Colonel Tod of where the papers had been kept and of how he got possession of them, but from the *Nagri* endorsements on them it would appear that they had belonged to a Hindu *Serishta*, and presumably, to one in Rajputana. Apparently they are notes by the court agents of some Rajputana prince of the daily occurrences of the Mogul Court. The entries are very short, and the incidents recorded are very trivial. They consist mainly of notices of promotions of officers, of the grants of robes of honour, and of such occurrences as that the Emperor visited the chief mosque at such and such an hour, or that he visited the shrine of some saint, or went on a hunting expedition. In their present state the papers do not correspond altogether with Mr. Morley's description. I could

not find the records of the 1st, 2nd, and 11th years of Aurangzeb's reign, and there are a few slips relating to the reign of Bahadur Shah (Aurangzeb's second son and successor). These are for a few days of the last month of the 2nd year of his reign and do not seem to contain anything of interest. One entry records the promotion of Nizam-ud-daulat to the rank of 8,000 personal and 7,000 two-horsed troopers. The first entry in the papers of Aurangzeb's reign is dated 25th *Muharram* of the 3rd year, and records a short journey of the Emperor in a *takht-rawan*. The second refers to the presentation by Rana Amar Singh, Zemindar of Udaipur, of a hundred gold mohurs. In the record for the 9th year there is a notice of Roshan Ara Begum's having sent a collection (*hazari*) to her father, and of its being graciously received. In the 8th year two pods of musk are presented by Maharajah Jaswant Singh, and in the same year Aurangzeb went to the mosque and also inspected the elephants. In *Ramzan* of the 13th year he visited his father's tomb, and recited the *fatiha*. In the same month and year the *faujdar* of Tirhut and Darbhanga reports that the climate of that part of Behar does not agree with him and asks for a transfer which is granted. Doubtless the papers must contain entries of names, etc., which would be useful to any one who was writing a history of Aurangzeb's reign, and I suggest that the papers be carefully preserved, and placed in a larger box than that which now contains them. The early date of Colonel Tod's *Akhbars* makes them interesting. A similar collection of *Akhbars* is described in Rieu, Supp. to Persian Catalogue Or. 4608 and 4909, p. 55a, but they are of the date 1795, whereas Tod's begin with 1660. It will be seen that the account of the *Asiatic Journal* as quoted above is not quite correct. I am afraid that the newsletters will not throw any light on the poll-tax question; but it is much to be desired that someone would make a more thorough examination of them than I have been able to accomplish." That renowned scholar the late Mr. William Irvine of the Bengal Civil Service, informed me that he had in his possession two volumes of copies of *Akhbars* from Delhi ranging from 1789 to August 1806 sent to him by Rai Tek Chand, English Akhbarnavis at Delhi.

Court Bulletins.—*Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Muala*, R. A. S. MS. It consists of small slips of brown paper, each briefly recording one day's occurrences at Court, viz., the movements and doings of the Emperor, the time of holding Court, the appointments made, the persons presented or given congee, the presents offered to the Emperor and the gifts bestowed by him, summaries of the despatches received and the orders passed on them, etc. Such records have been preserved for the following years only of Aurangzeb's reign: 3, 4, 8—15, 17, 20—22 (the number of slips ranging from 1 to 61), 36—40 and 42—49. Of these only 6 years, (38, 43—48), have records for more than 200 days each, the year 39 has 101 slips, and the other years less than 71. There are also bulletins of Md. Azam Shah's viceroyalty (years 46—49 of Aurangzeb's reign, 271 slips,) and of the 2nd year of Bahadur Shah I's reign, (4 slips):—*History of Aurangzeb*, by Jadunāth Sarkār, (Calcutta 1912) Vol. II, bibliography, p. 308.

Page 138. There is a valuable collection of official records published under the title of *Original Papers*, in 2 Vols., London 1765, in which one comes from time to time on such notices as "advices of my *hircaras*"—Vol. I, p. 147. The "papers of news" mentioned in that book are of course, newspapers (*akhbars*) written out from information brought in by *hircaras* or spies—or newsmen or special correspondents.

In Hadley's *Grammar of the Moors with a Vocabulary* 6th Edition, London 1801) there is a typical conversation between an English Officer and a spy into the backwoods of the Burdwan country to enquire after an aboriginal Chief with whom there was then war.

Proof still more clinching that neither the new British Government of India nor individual officers looked with disfavour upon the employment of the indigenous news-agency, is furnished by the fact of the adoption of the native word for spy for the name of one of the earliest ventures of the British in India in the journalism of print. Long the most respectable and the ablest English newspaper in Bengal was the *Bengal Hircarrah* dated from the eighteenth century. That was the old spelling, while the old meaning was spy. The spelling was changed from *Hircarrah* to *Hurkaru* in the early part of the last century, while the meaning still continued. It is superfluous to insist that the learned gentlemen and officers of position, who presided at the baptism of the newspaper, would not have adopted for it such a designation, if any the slightest opprobrium attached to the word *hurkaru* or its English synonym, in either Indian or Anglo-Indian acceptance.

It was usual in squibs in rival journals to suggest the Bengal *Peada* or the Bengal Porter as the equivalent of the Bengal *Hurkaru*, and, in later times, when the old traditions were forgotten, and words acquired a new signification, the name was usually rendered the Bengal Messenger. This version was the accepted one, and it was certainly true to the philology of the day. But a *Peada* or a menial messenger was too humble a character to tempt the English in those undemocratic times when dignity was observed in the smallest matters, and specially in India where it was most cultivated, to adopt it for the title of a newspaper, at a time when newspapers first came into existence and consequently enjoyed a unique importance. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the name *Hircarrah* or *Hurkaru* was taken not for its humility, but rather for its dignity as well as appropriateness. The *Hircarrah* or the spy was certainly a designation fit and honourable for a newspaper as suggesting the importance and usefulness of a recognized and respectable service which used to supply the earliest accurate news.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. The news-letters (*akhbars*) were written by agents at the Court of the Emperor and his sons, when the latter happened to be *subahdars* or provincial governors. They were for the perusal of the masters of the agents and *not* for the general public. Hence, these were not really newspapers.

2. The State Intelligence Department was under the control of the *Darogha* of *Dak Chauki*. Every provincial governor, every general out on a campaign, and every prince when absent from the Imperial Court, had an official news-writer attached to him; these men were quite different from the writers of the *akhbars*, being salaried officers of the Imperial government and serving as spies set on the governors and princes. They were of two classes, *waqianavis* and *sawanihnigar*. There was a third class, also, called *khufia-navis* (secret writers). The reports of all three classes had to be sent to the Emperor, and the public had no means of learning their contents, unless the Emperor was pleased to order them to be read out in *darbar*.

3. Merchants transmitted news from Persia, Turkey, Arabia and other foreign lands, to Aurangzib, because no official news-writer could be posted there. He kept in touch with them *via* Surat.

4. No single Persian work has treated the subject systematically, and these notes are the result of piecing together scraps of information scattered through a large number of histories.

Regarding the State Intelligence Department under Aurangzib, refer to the *Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays*, pp. 129-131 and 133-134 by Jadunath Sarkar.

S. C. SANIAL.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE ADVANCE OF URDU.

THE Urdu tongue originated as a *lingua franca* in the imperial camp (Turk. *Urdu*) of the Muslim emperors of Hindustan where Persian-speaking, Arabic-speaking, Turkish-speaking, and Hindi-speaking (Rajput) troops were in close contact and had to evolve a means of conversation with each other and with the peoples of the country. In a surprisingly short space of time it developed into a regular language and was regarded by Muslims born in India as their native tongue. That it originated during one or other of the long campaigns in the Deccan seems to be generally admitted, but authorities differ as to whether the honour of originating it belongs to the Muslims of the Deccan or to those of Hindustan. There is also wide divergence of opinion as to the period when it first arose, and as to when it first became a literary language. The elegants of Lucknow and of Delhi each claim that they have the best Urdu, and vaunt each their own city as the capital of Urdu culture, both claims being denied by the Muslims of Hyderabad, Deccan. Of one thing, however, there can be no doubt to-day: The greatest patron and promoter of Urdu resides at Hyderabad. The present Muslim ruler of the Deccan, Nizâmu'l-Mulk Mîr Osmân 'Alî Khân, by his foundation of the Osmania University (in which Urdu is the language of instruction), with its valuable Translation Bureau, has at a stroke made Hyderabad the undisputed capital of Urdu and vindicated Urdu's right to be regarded as a first-class modern language. Next to the Osmania University, as a benefactor of Urdu, and unofficially connected with it, stands the Society for the Advancement of Urdu (*Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu*), which has demonstrated, as the Translation Bureau of the University has also demonstrated, the range, flexibility and clarity of the language as a literary medium. Three great Muslim languages in the past have held the lead successively—Arabic, Persian and Turkish. It is interesting now to watch the advance

of a fourth great Muslim language under the patronage of His Exalted Highness the Nizam—a language spoken by a vastly larger population than its predecessors; it has indeed been claimed that Urdu is already, whether as language or as *lingua franca*, spoken by 200,000,000 human beings. To this advance the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu* is no mean contributor. Four of the latest publications of this Anjuman are now before us¹: *Al-Biruni*, *Hamari Sha'ri*, *Kulliyat-i-Wali* (the collected works of the poet Wali who wrote early in the eighteenth Christian century) and *Science*, a quarterly magazine which, as its name denotes, marks a new and most welcome departure in Urdu periodical literature.

Al-Bîrûnî is possibly the greatest of the Muslim men of science, certainly the one most fit to be adopted as a model by the Muslim science student of to-day. As Mr. Hasan Barni observes, it is strange that for centuries the fame of Ibn Sîna should have outshone that of Bîrûnî, who was so much more highly esteemed by his contemporaries and seems to us of the present day so much superior. The list of Al-Bîrûnî's works here given (the greater part are lost to us or, to speak more hopefully, have not yet been recovered), would have stupefied a Dumas *pere* and make an Edgar Wallace seem a loiterer; and these were not works of fiction, to be written at the author's pleasure on the gush of facile inspiration, but learned treatises, involving accurate observation, research, reference, and verification of every line; and far from showing any of the faults of hurried workmanship, they ranked among the most reliable authorities in every branch of learning from astronomy and geodesy to folklore and from Hindu philosophy and Sanskrit literature to practical pharmacy. Yet Bîrûnî led no sheltered, academic life. His career was roughly broken, and seemed about to be completely wrecked, by the downfall of the dynasty members of which had been his patrons from childhood, on Mahmûd of Ghazna's conquest of his native land, Khwârizm. He played a part in politics in Khwârizm and after his migration to Ghazna was for sometime one of the advisers of Sultan Mahmûd. Much of his later life was taken up

(1) *Al-Biruni*. By Sayyid Hasan Barni, B.A., LL.B. (Alig.) Muslim University Press, Aligarh. *Hamari Sha'ri*. By Sayyid Mas'ud Hasan Razvi, M.A., Nizami Press, Lucknow. *Kulliyat-i-Wali*. Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu Press, Aurangabad. *Science*, a quarterly magazine (Edited by Dr. Muzafer-ud-din Quraishi, Professor of Chemistry, Osmania University) Anjuman-i-Tarraqqi-i-Urdu Press, Aurangabad, Deccan.

with his journey to India and his studies there. He viewed life's ups and downs with philosophy, maintained his scientific zeal, and even in misfortunes found some point of general interest. On his journey into Hind, coming to a wide plain in the midst of which rose a solitary hill, he at once got out his instruments and began measuring a degree of the earth's surface, remaining in that place, regardless of discomfort, till he was satisfied with the accuracy of his observation. Mr. Hasan Barni shows in comparative tables how wonderfully near Bîrûnî's reckoning is to modern scientific measurement.

Bîrûnî had the habit of writing in an abstrusely learned manner for his students. When one of them asked why he did so, he replied that it was in order that they might exert their minds in understanding; for a student who had not the gift of application, the zeal to wrest the meaning from hard words, he had no liking. Yet, when dealing with the simple, he could write with wonderful simplicity on the most difficult subjects. Of this two notable examples are preserved, one of which was written for the instruction of a Muslim lady in the elements of science, a pursuit by no means confined to men in those days.

Besides as full an account as can be given of Bîrûnî's career, and a general appreciation of his work and character, Mr. Barni reviews two of his works—*Kitabu Athar'il-Baqiah* and *Kitabu'l-Hind* at some length. The "modernity"—by which we mean, agreement with the most enlightened ways of thought of our own times—of these two works will astonish those who have accustomed themselves to think that earnest research, accuracy of observation and statement, a tolerant outlook and a sane contempt for fables were never found on earth until the European eighteenth century. From Mr. Hasan Barni's chapter on *Atharu'l-Baqiah* we quote Bîrûnî's account of a personage whose history is still the subject of misunderstandings.

"After *Al Muganna'* appeared a person of a Sûfi turn, a Persian by descent, Abû'l-Hasan bin Mansûr *Al-Hallaj*. First of all he laid claim to be the Mahdi. The folk arrested him and carried him to Baghdad. Here, after being publicly exposed, he was imprisoned. But he escaped from imprisonment. Mansûr was a hocus-pocus, affected person and, pretending to agree with the belief of folk of every religion and party, produced a confused mixture. Afterwards he made this claim: 'The Holy Spirit dwells in me', and described himself by the name of

Ilâh, (God). In a letter which he addressed to one of his adepts, the following words occur by way of superscription.

من الاله هو الازل الال نور الساطع الال مع والاصل الاصل وحجة
الحجج رب الارباب ومنشى السحاب ومشكوة النور المتصور فى
كل صورة الى عبده فلان

(“From him who is from everlasting to everlasting, the burning and the shining light, the original origin, the proof of proofs, the lord of lords, the maker of the clouds, the niche of the Light, the lord of the mount, the shadowed forth in every form—to his slave So-and-so”).

His disciples in their letters, addressed to him, used to begin in this way :

بسمحانك يا ذا الذا ت ومنتهى غاية الذا ت يا عظيم يا كبير اشهد انك
البارى القديم المنير المتصور فى كل زمان وفى زماننا صورة العامين
بن منصور عبيدك ومسكينك وفتيرك والاستجير بك والمذنب اليك
الراجى رحمتك يا علام الغيوب بقول كذا وكذا

(“In thy praise, O essence of being and end of the extremity of all delights, O tremendous one, O great one, I bear witness that thou art the creator from of old, the lightgiver, the depicted in every age and in our age in the form of Al-Hasîn bin Mansûr—thy lowest slave, thy needy one who seeks thy protection and turns to thee in repentance, desirous of thy mercy, O knower of things unknown, says so-and-so and so-and-so”).

“Mansûr wrote many books in support of his claim, such as *Kitabu Nuri'l Asl*, *Kitabu Jammi'l-Akbar*, and *Kitabu Jammi'l-Asghar*. In the year 301 Hijri he was arrested by the Khalifah *Al-Muqtadir bi 'Ulah*, received a thousand stripes and, after having had his hands and feet cut off, was put to death. His body was afterwards steeped in naphtha oil and burnt, the ashes being thrown into the river Tigris. While he was being put to death he uttered not a word, not a wrinkle came upon his brow, and he did not move even a lip. Some votaries of Mansûr's religion are to be found even at this day, whose belief is that the Mahdi will appear again from Talqan. Concerning this Mahdi it is stated in *Kitabu'l Malahim* that he will fill the world with equity just as now it is full of oppression and strife.....”

Bîrûnî goes on to say :—

“In our own time people are expecting the advent of the Mahdi and they think that he is dwelling in Jabal

Radwi. Banu Umayyah expect the apparition of As-Sufyânî, whose Kitâbu'l Mulâhim has been already mentioned. In that book it is also written that Ad-Dajjâl who will lead people astray will arise from the neighbourhood of Isfahân. Astrologers are of opinion that he will appear in the island of Barta'îl 466 years after Yazdajird son of Shahriâr. In the Gospel the signs of the Misleader's advent are mentioned. In Greek and Christian books, as Marathodorus bishop of Masîsiâh has explained in his Gospel commentary, his name is *Anti-christos*."

Bîrûnî himself has no opinion on such subjects, but, nothing human being alien to him, the views expressed and held by other men seem to him worth recording and comparing. It is different when we come to scientific matters or to superstitions which do actual social harm, but even in the latter case he writes without the slightest animus, as a kindly judge, never a partisan. *Kitabu'l-Hind* is a model of what such a work should be; there is nothing in its judgements that could possibly offend a cultured Hindu. He shows no racial or religious bias whatsoever in his writings; and withal he was a Muslim of the highest type, regarding all the things about which unlearned people quarrel in the name of religion as quite beneath religion, and outside its purview. We have written quite enough to let the reader know the excellence of Mr. Barni's work, and the service which the Anjuman has rendered to the Urdu-speaking public by arranging for its publication in a new edition. But there is another most remarkable quotation in the book which we cannot withhold:

In one of his works called *Istî'ab* Bîrûnî wrote:

"Abu Sa'îd Sanjari had made a big astrolabe of which the working pleased me much, and I praised Abu Sa'îd much because the principles on which he had based it are an admission that the globe is moving. I swear by my soul that this problem is in such a state of doubt that its solution is extremely ticklish and its rejection extremely difficult. Geometricians and astronomers will be much perplexed in dealing with this problem, and will never be able to bring any evidence to prove it vain. They should not take offence at what I have here written, for whether they think the cause of the succession of night and day to be the movement of the earth or whether they are convinced that the movement of the sky is the cause, in either case it can make no kind of difference to their

profession.” This was written by a Muslim scientist from Central Asia early in the eleventh Christian century, before the Normans had conquered England !

The Urdu language is exceptionally rich in poetry, in general faithful to Persian tradition, but with its own peculiar flavour which some not undiscerning connoisseurs prefer. In *Hamari Sha'ri*, Maulvi Mas'ûd Hasan Razvi has set himself to answer fully some objections which are often made to Urdu poetry by those who have acquired the taste for European poetry : that it is too conventionally Persian, too much enamoured of the bulbul and the rose; that the beloved is generally a man and not a woman, which is immoral (we are surprised to hear of this objection being raised by any Indian, for we had supposed that every Oriental knew that it was done to throw a veil of decency, the femininity of the beloved being always understood, except in poems of Sufistic tendency where the allusion was to no earthly Beloved) ; that its field is much too limited; that Urdu poets are insincere, and so forth. Maulvi Mas'ûd Hasan has written a spirited and well-reasoned defence of Urdu poetry and Urdu poets, strengthened by a great number of quotations which are, themselves, enough to prove his case, since they are beautiful. From our own observations we incline to think that the author overrates the force of the objections he refutes so ably ; that the men who raise them do so mainly for the love of argument and from the affectation, reckoned modish in some circles, of an admiration for things Western greater than is really felt ; that every Urdu-speaking youth and man has in his heart the love of Urdu poetry and will return to it with pleasure from his English books. We are glad that he has overrated the objections, since the result is a delightful book of lasting value.

Other parts of India have had the effrontery to claim the poet Wali as their own, whereas he himself has clearly stated more than once that he is a poet of the Deccan, nowhere else.

یومکم کی شمع سون روشن ہے ہفت اقلیم کی مجلس
ولی پروانگی کرتا تری دکن بیدتر

“Though the light of thy face is as a lamp in the council of the seven regions,

“Wali, thou issuest thy commands from the country of the Deccan.”

ولی ایران و توران میں ہے مشہور
اگرچہ شاعر ملک دکن ہے

“ Wali is famed in Irân and Turân

“ Although he is a poet of the Deccan land.”

The learned author of the preface to کلیات ولی (The collected works of Wali) has established by his research that this poet was born at Aurangabad in the Deccan in 1079 A.H. and died at Ahmedabad in Gujrat in 1155 A. H.

Wali is a classic who should have a place in every Urdu library. This is the first complete edition of his work to be published in India. It is carefully and clearly printed and well bound.

We think it probable that since Bîrûnî's time or a century or two later, nothing has been published in any Eastern language quite so practically useful as the new quarterly magazine, *Science*, of which the first number lies before us as we write. The present writer has long been of the opinion, based on some study of hadîth and history, that in neglecting natural science for so many years, the Muslims have neglected half the Sharî'ah, that Islâm requires all the knowledge of the age for its well-being; it cannot thrive in ignorance or beneath the cloud of superstition. It is therefore, in his opinion, an incalculable service to Islam in India that the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu renders by the publication of a really scientific Review, which, judging from this first number, will be no whit inferior to the best scientific periodicals of England and America. Maulvi Abdul Haqq, the indefatigable Secretary of the Anjuman, is to be congratulated on his choice of an editor. Dr. Muzaffar-ud-dîn Quraishi, who won his doctorate in Berlin, has had a thorough scientific training and is able to get contributions direct from German as well as English authorities. His conscience as editor is apparent in the excellent proof-reading (no easy task) and the luminous notes and articles which he has himself contributed to this opening number, which contains an article by Professor Dasi Andred, D.Sc., Ph.D. (We hope we spell the name aright, but we transliterate from Urdu) on television; by Prof. Muhammad Osmân Khan, of the Translation Bureau, Osmania University, on Glands and their functions in the body (with illustrations); by Professor Dr. Franedlish of Berlin on the importance of colloidal chemistry; by the editor (as we presume) on vitamins; by Maulvi Mahmûd Ahmad Khan on chemical composi-

tion ; by the editor on the Discoveries of Sir J. C. Bose, and on the present status of Darwin's theory of the Descent of Man by Sir Arthur Keith. A vocabulary of technical terms is appended. The Anjuman has fully justified its name.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

We have received numbers III and IV of the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*,¹ containing articles of importance on the Chinese Muslims and the Republic. The Chronicles of Walatah and Neymah (French Sûdân) ; The Bektashis in Rumelia ; The University of Al-Azhar and its transformations ; and two which we cannot let go with a bare mention : The Latinisation of the Turkish Alphabet by Joseph Castagné and some autograph pages from the notebook of the President of the Turkish Republic.

A tremendous campaign against the Arabic-Turkish alphabet is being carried on among all the Russian Muslims by the Soviet Government, through Muslim agents. The movement to the same effect in Anatolia is but an echo of this campaign, and may even be the consequence of diplomatic pressure from Moscow. Indeed, those of us who seek the explanation of astonishing developments in Turkey should look towards Moscow rather than towards Western Europe ; a certain inclination towards the point of view of Soviet Russia being merely prudent since the Turks believe that they depend on the Soviet alliance for their very existence as a nation.

The Arabic alphabet is ill adapted to depict the sounds of Turkish. That is an undeniable fact. The proposal to exchange it for some other alphabet, or modify it, is not new. We ourselves have heard it mooted often in old days, and M. Castagné traces it back to the year 1863. He writes :

“ This question was raised for the first time about 1863 by the Azerbaijanian playwright Akhun-zâdeh ; he soon had imitators in Mehemed Agha Shahtatinsky, a publicist of Azerbaijan and editor of the *Orient Russe*, Mirza Melhem Khan, a Persian man of letters, the Persian prince Mirza Riza Khan, the Transcaucasian writer Feridun Bek Kacharli and some “ intellectuals ” of Turkey.”

There is nothing at all objectionable in the proposal to simplify the alphabet or change the alphabet with a

(1) Paris. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 13, Rue Jacob.

view to simplify expression and save time and labour. It may be regarded as a logical reform, and there are no more logical people upon earth than the Turks and Tatars, whatever may be reported to the contrary. But public opinion as a whole was dead against the change. The Turks had grown used to the Arabic script, had adapted it to their needs sufficiently, and were generally of opinion that to change it would be more troublesome than to retain it. Even now, in Soviet Russia, where heaven and earth are being moved to recommend and hasten on the change, the opposition is strong in most of the Muslim republics. Azerbaijan alone had proved completely amenable up to the date when M. Castagne wrote his article. Daghistan was entirely recalcitrant. The principal object of the campaign, we gather, is not to simplify the education of the Turks and Tatars, but to spread "the Revolution" in the East. It seems that Lenin said that the Revolution could not spread properly so long as the Arabic script remained. It would seem, however, to tend rather to cut off the Russian Muslims from the rest of Islam, and thus, while bringing them in closer touch with Russia and making them Communists rather than Muslims, destroy a sympathetic channel of communication with the East outside the Russian boundaries, which the Soviet leaders have used freely in the past. It would seem that the imperialist idea has conquered the world-revolutionary idea, as we always thought it would, in a short while. It is obvious that, if the Turkish Republic were to retain the Arabic alphabet now, it would support the "reactionaries" in the Soviet territories with a sense of Islamic and national solidarity, whereas if Turkey were to decree the abolition of the Arabic and adoption of the Latin script, it would help the Soviet propaganda.

At the various conferences and congresses to consider and recommend the change, most of the speeches made by delegates from the Muslim republics are quite unexceptionable; some speakers, however, indulge in a derision of the past (Islam included) and laudation of the present system which savours rather of the servile agent than the patriot. There has been no persecution whatever, but the pressure brought to bear has been so strong that there can be no question of freewill on the part of the inhabitants of the republics. At the first general meeting of the Central Soviet Committee for the Introduction of the new Turkish alphabet (N. T. A.) at Baku in June 1927, the following republics were represented: Federative Republic of

Transcaucasia, 7 delegates ; Northern Caucasus, 3 ; Daghistan, 2 ; Uzbekistan, 4 ; Republic of the Bashkirs, 2 ; of the Tatars, 2 ; Kazakstan, 3 ; Turkmanistan, 2 ; Crimea, 1 ; Kirghiz, 1 ; autonomous region of the Tajiks, 1. At the time of writing of the article, Azerbaijan alone had actually passed over to the Latin script ; there was discussion elsewhere, the opposition or reluctance being strongest in Daghestan, Crimea, Kazan and the republics of Central Asia. The following extracts from a Report from the commissary of Public Instruction of the Uzbek Republic seem interesting : " Simultaneously with the work of the committees, the movement in favour of the new alphabet is developing among the people. At present, in Ferghana alone, there are 48 clubs for study of the new alphabet. The Government animates this movement. . . The commissariat of Public Instruction is organising special courses for the study of the new alphabet ; more than 800 pupils have attended. The Government of Uzbekistan, by decision of the Council of the People's Commissaries. . . . declares Latinization to be the Government's business. . . . the work encounters a mass of unforeseen obstacles. In numerous localities the presidents of the executive committees are not only passive but raise considerable difficulties. Mass organisations, . . professional unions etc., do not take sufficient part in this work. The intellectual reactionaries are not asleep, they avail themselves of every opportune moment. The clergy seem particularly agitated. After the earthquake at Namangan the Mullahs cried: " We have rejected the alphabet with which the Holy Quran was written, which was bequeathed to us by the Prophet. We have just now reaped the consequences. The earthquake has destroyed our dwellings and exterminated our near ones " The absence of characters has not allowed us to issue publications in the Latin alphabet. a certain number of MSS ready for publication. . . cannot be published for there is not the wherewithal to print them, . . The Arabic alphabet will be taught from the third class in first grade schools ; that will permit the students to study the old literature " — This " exception " seems to save the situation from the Muslim point of view, if it was allowed by Moscow — " All textbooks will be reprinted within three years. From 1929-30 the printing of textbooks and books with the Arabic alphabet will cease entirely. We foresee an exception only in the case of pamphlets intended for the use of the peasants which will be printed in Arabic characters till 1931-32 "

Though one dislikes the manner of awakening, it seems possible that this forced activity in undesired directions may be better and more hopeful for the Muslims of Central Asia than the intellectual stagnation which preceded it. That certainly would be the view of Mustafa Kemâl Pasha, to whose autograph communications (written in the Arabic alphabet in a practised hand) we now turn :

" I and those with me are certain that our aim is noble and that we are on the right road. . . We know, as much as is necessary, the history, recent or otherwise, of the Turkish nation. We are not at all devoid of the preoccupation of looking into the past in order to derive thence lessons for the present and the future. . . . We shall not lower ourselves to attract ephemeral popularity by deceiving the nation with projects above our intellect and that we should not feel capable of executing. We repel with disgust the idea of making false promises to the nation, as vulgar politicians do. We consider as a great injustice and iniquity the fact that people represent us as behaving arbitrarily, like despots. We do not act arbitrarily, we are in no wise despots. Our life, all our activity, has been dedicated to the struggle against those who behave in an arbitrary and despotic manner in the affairs of the country. The mark of our activity is that it is inspired by wit, logic, intelligence. All the events of our life prove the truth of this. Certainly it has sometimes happened that we have shown ourselves pitiless towards those who have fallen so low as to be noxious by their actions, ideas and personalities, in the affairs of the country and the nation. We are quite disposed to be severe and implacable for men whose whole effort is to hinder the nation from advancing in the way of progress. We cannot be complaisant towards those who, consciously or not, undermine our social order. If we can give no assurance to those who ask us to display long-suffering and neutrality in such matters, it is because we place the interest of the country and the nation above everything.

" It seems that some people wish to create a " Stambûl-Anatolia " question. I consider that to be a veritable danger. If they succeed in giving to this question such a form that all our fellow-countrymen could understand it easily, a serious cleavage in our social system might result. It is indubitable that Stambûl would suffer more than Anatolia in that case. Anatolia will suffer in her turn from the damage which Stambûl will have experienced. As for the instigators who wish to create a question between

Stambûl and Anatolia, they are to be sought outside the country rather than within.....

“Angora is the seat of the government and will remain for ever the seat of the government”

(انقرہ مرکز حکومت رو ابد یا مرکز حکومت قاله جقدر)

A great man, undoubtedly; but one who might admire the action of the Russian Communists in forcing practical reform upon reluctant people. The Muslim world must come to terms with modern life, and someone must make the necessary experiments, take the necessary risks and bear the odium. To ascertain the limits someone must transgress them.

FOR IRAN

The Irân League of Bombay is a society of Zoroastrian gentlemen founded for the purpose of renewing intimate relations between the Parsi community in India and elsewhere and the land of their origin. Sir Hormusji Adenwala is the President, and among the Vice-Presidents we are not surprised to read the name of Mr. G. K. Nariman, one of our own contributors, an Oriental scholar of repute who has spent much of his life in trying to remove the wrong prejudices existing in the minds of his people against the Muslim Persians of to-day. Mr. Nariman is also the editor of the Society's periodical, “Bulletin of the Iran League,”¹ of which the second number lies before us as we write these lines. The paper has a wealth of information about modern Persia, and the photograph of Shah Riza Khan adorns the cover. Among other interesting facts we learn that “the custodian of the Qorân on which the Deputies of the Majless swear their fealty to the Shah is the Parsi member of Iran's Parliament, Arbab Kaikhusro Shahrokh.” There are well-informed articles on the questions of Bahreyn and Mohammerah, on which Persia has disagreed with the British Government. But the interest of the Bulletin is not confined to Persia only. The leading article is on “Religion and the Turks.” Another article deals with the languages of Afghanistan, and yet another with the “Place of Persia in the History of Islam.” Even Sultan ‘Abdul ‘Azîz Ibn Sa‘ûd comes in for a share of the editor's wide sympathy. Indeed, though the avowed aim of the Irân League is to bring sympathy and aid to the new Persian State, it is incidentally performing the still greater

(1) *Bulletin of the Iran League*, edited by Mr. G. K. Nariman. From the Secretary, Iran League, 48 Nanabhoy Lane, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

work of fostering kind feelings for the whole Islamic world. The point of view, of course, is not our own, but it is a reasonable point of view which should be known to Muslims ; while the work the League is doing for new Persia is deserving of our gratitude and warmest praise.



ISLAMIC CULTURE

Some Opinions.

"Leads us to hope that it will rank among the most prominent publications appearing in India." *JOURNAL OF ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, LONDON.*

"The journal is sure to breathe a new life into the lethargic Muslims."
ISLAMIC REVIEW, ENGLAND.

"It is a unique production of its kind." *TIMES OF MESOPOTAMIA.*

"A periodical of this kind in the English language has long been a great want. Islamic Culture will be a most important addition to Indian periodical literature."
THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL.

"The journal is of a really high standard. . . . the get-up is good, and the matter is excellent. Hyderabad may well be proud of this production."
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"There is no doubt that the journal will be occupying an honourable place in the list of periodicals which save humanity from stagnation. Not merely Muslims but every one interested in human progress will find much food for study and thought."
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"This journal will do a great deal in bringing Islam into line with modern thought. It is tastefully got up."
THE HINDU.

"The Review should be on the table of all those who make a study of Eastern learning and art. The new Quarterly Review issued from Hyderabad fills a long-felt want for a magazine in India of this nature."
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"Islamic Culture is in every way up to date and can be compared with the first class magazines published in England, France and Germany. The magazine is unique of its kind."
THE MUSLIM CHRONICLE.

"Is excellently got up and well printed on high class paper. The organ presents the cultural and the enlightened side of Islam and as such it should be welcomed not only by Muslims but also by men of other religions, who wish to see a united India by allowing followers of each religion to study the best of other religions."
THE INDIAN DAILY TELEGRAPH.

"There is great need for such journals in order to dispel ignorance and misunderstanding and uphold the real significance and truth of every religion and culture. The Magazine is very well printed on good paper."
THE RANGOON MAIL.

"A noteworthy feature of this production is that it is well printed and carefully read."
THE PIONEER.

"The articles published are of varied interest of literary merit, evincing the sound learning and wide scholarship of the writers who have contributed them."
MADRAS DAILY EXPRESS.

"Islamic Culture" has succeeded in bringing together some of the best writers on Islam. Its outlook is broad and the range of its studies wide. The printing and get-up leave little to be desired, and we commend the journal to all who are interested

in Islam—its History, Culture and Civilization.”

MUSLIM REVIEW.

“Represents the best Islamic thought of the day. To the Muslims it will certainly be invaluable and even to the non-Muslims it may be useful in removing certain misconceptions about Islam.”

UNITED INDIA AND INDIAN STATES.

“Its printing, paper and get-up is excellent and leaves nothing to be desired.”

THE ALIGARH MAIL.

“I must say that it is an exceedingly comprehensive Review. It is a great undertaking in furthering Islamic literature and I am of opinion that it will render a unique service to Islam and to all its ideals.”

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN.

“You are certainly to be congratulated on the high standard which ‘Islamic Culture’ has attained.”

PROF. R. A. NICHOLSON.

“I read ‘Islamic Culture’ with great interest.”

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“Some of the articles are very interesting.”

SIR JOHN MARSHALL.

“I have a great interest in many of the subjects with which your Review deals.”

SIR J. P. THOMPSON.

“I find the purpose of the Review most interesting.”

PROF. DR. JOHS. PEDERSEN, COPENHAGEN.

“May I express my high appreciation of your journal and of the good work I am sure it is doing.”

CAPT. C. G. OXLEY BRENNAN,

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THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

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ISLAMIC JURISPRUDENCE AND THE NECESSITY FOR REFORMS

A pathetic and, for us, quite tragic interest attaches to the following short article, as most probably the last literary effort of a great Muslim writer, whose name was known in every part of the civilised world. The late Mr. Syed Ameer Ali's published works in faultless English did much to remove the misconception of Islam and prejudice against Muslims which formerly prevailed in every Western country; and in a narrower but even more important sphere his dignified and gracious personality, and wide benevolence, upheld the honour of Islam as probably no other Muslim of the British Empire has upheld it. His death is a loss to the whole Islamic World but especially a loss to us in India. We offer our sincere condolence to Mrs. Ameer Ali and her sons in their bereavement.

THE principle of development was embodied in the law ; and legal interpretation was regulated by the necessities of the time (*maslihat-ul-waqt*).

The difference in the status of women under the English common law and the laws of Islâm, is worthy of note. In England until some fifty or sixty years ago a married woman could possess no property and exercise no control over her earnings. Married or maiden she had no civil rights ; she could not sue in her own name ; her *couverture* was a feudal bondage in disguise. In Islâm a woman possessed and exercised all the rights which a man did. She was even entitled to hold judicial offices.

The Arabs in the time of the Prophet were either governed by long existing customs or by rules they had adopted from the Jews who were settled in their midst. Any attempt to make a complete sweep of the customs that were in force among the people of Arabia would have been an economic calamity. The Prophet, therefore, left to the growth of spiritual and moral consciousness the evolution of the social rules in accord with the times. Thus many archaic customs and old rabbinical prescrip-

tions were tacitly allowed, though opposed to the spirit of the new Dispensation. To them I will refer later.

The first school of Muhammadan Law was established about the middle of the seventh century of the Christian era, by the apostolical Imâm Ja'far as-Sâdiq who lectured at Medîna from a philosophical standpoint, on the rules and principles of the Muslim Law.

Abû Hanîfah, the founder of the first distinctive Sunni school of interpretation, was a pupil of the Imâm, and the liberalism of his views was in conformity with the enunciations of the Medinite school. His followers are called *Ahl-ur-rai-wal-kayas* ("people of ratiocination.")

Abû Hanîfah was followed by three other legists. Shâf'î, Malik and Ibn Hanbal. Their schools are decidedly more archaic.

Abû Hanîfah's two disciples, Abû Yûsuf and Muhammad, were distinguished lawyers who have left their mark on the pages of Islamic history. Abû Yûsuf was the chief *Qazi* of Bagdad under the Caliph Hârûn-ar-Rashîd. His work called the *Kitab-ul-Kharaj* forms a valuable asset in the annals of Islamic jurisprudence.

The development of Muslim law moved along two lines. The text-writers wrote and commented on the precepts of the Prophet from the theoretical point of view. The law was discussed in a spirit which appeared to them as most consistent with the requirements of the people, and the necessities of the times.

On the other hand the *muftis* (jurisconsults) delivered their dicta (*fatawa*) which were accepted as rules for the decision of the particular cases arising between the parties, or requiring decision by the *Qazis*. These dicta became precedents for the guidance of their successors.

The exposition of jurists commenced almost at the same time as the first text-book--about the tenth century of the Christian era.

Thus the law continued to grow until we come to the eighteenth century. Aurangzeb Alamgîr, who ruled over India towards the end of the seventeenth century, desirous of having a digest of the whole Islamic jurisprudence, confided the task to a body of jurists distinguished for their learning and knowledge of the law. He in fact did exactly what Napoleon accomplished for France and Europe in general in later times. The digest compiled by these jurists is called after the Emperor, the *Fatawai Alamgiri*.

In India this is the standard work on the principles of the Sunni law and occupies the same position as the *Mabsut* in the Shiah world.

Besides the *Fatawai Alamgiri*, other Digests were promulgated from time to time. The *Fatawai Kazi-Khan* was compiled in the eleventh century. These *Fatawa* illustrate progressive advance in the juridical conception and social conditions.

The Mohammedan jurists were not unaware of the rule of *ex abundante cautela* (*mazid ul-ihhtiat*) as many of their enunciations testify. The sacredness of the marriage-tie is thus described by the *Ashbah wan-Nazair* compiled in the thirteenth century of the Christian era :—

“ Marriage ” it says, “ is an institution ordained for the protection of society, and in order that human beings may guard themselves from foulness and unchastity. Marriage when treated as a contract is a permanent relationship based on mutual consent on the part of a man and a woman between whom there is no bar to a lawful union.”

Having regard to the sacredness of the marriage contract, the facility permitted to dissolve the union may seem strange. To understand the anomaly it is necessary to take a brief survey of the condition that existed in most countries when the Prophet of Islâm commenced his reforms.

Among all the nations of antiquity the power of divorce was regarded as a natural corollary to the marital right. Originally, this power was exclusively vested in the husband, and the wife was under no circumstances entitled to claim a divorce. The progress of civilisation and the advance of ideas led to a partial amelioration in the status of women. They too, acquired a qualified right to dissolve the marriage tie.

Under the old rabbinical Law a husband could divorce his wife for any cause which made her distasteful to him. Among the Athenians as well as the early Romans, the husband's right to repudiate the wife was as unrestricted as among the Israelites.

In later times, among the Hebrews, the Shammaites to some extent modified the custom of divorce by imposing certain restrictions on its exercise, but the school of Hillel upheld the law in its primitive strictness.

At the time of the Prophet's preachings, the Hillelite doctrines were chiefly in force among the Jewish tribes of Arabia, and repudiations by the husbands were as common among them as among the pagan Arabs. His rules marked a new departure in the history of Eastern legislation. He restricted the power of divorce possessed by the husbands; he gave to the women the right of obtaining a separation on reasonable grounds; and towards the end of his life he went so far as practically to forbid its exercise by the men without the intervention of "arbiters" or a judge. He pronounced a divorce to be the most detestable before God of "all permitted things, for it prevented conjugal happiness and interfered with the proper upbringing of children." The permission, therefore, though it gave a certain countenance to the old customs, has to be read with the light of the lawgiver's own words.

Great divergence, therefore, exists among the various schools regarding the exercise of the power of divorce by the husband of his own motion and without the intervention of the judge. A large and influential body of jurists regard *talaq* emanating from the husband as prohibited except for necessity, such as the adultery of the wife. Another section, consisting chiefly of the Mutazilites consider *talaq* as not permissible without the sanction of the *Hakim-ush-shara'*, viz: the Judge administering the Muslim Law. They consider that any such cause as may justify separation and remove *talaq* from the category of being "forbidden" (*mamnu'*) should be tested by an unbiassed Judge; and, in support of their doctrine, they refer to the words of the Prophet already cited, and his direction that in case of dispute between the married parties "arbiters" should be appointed for the settlement of their differences.

The Hanafis, the Mâlikis, the Shâf'eis and the bulk of the Shî'ahs hold *talaq* to be permitted (*mubah*) though they regard the exercise of the power without any cause to be morally or religiously abominable.

The *Radd ul-Muhtar* after stating the argument against the proposition that *talaq* is unlawful, proceeds to say:—

"No doubt, it is forbidden, but it becomes *mubah* (permissible) for certain outside reasons and this is the meaning of those jurists who hold that it is really forbidden. And its being *mubah* arises from the necessity of release (from the marital tie) in certain cases. Therefore, when there is no reason whatsoever,

there is no necessity for release ; and if *talaq* is given without any reason, that is ingratitude to God, and the giving of unnecessary and gratuitous trouble to the woman and to the children.....If there is no legal cause for *talaq* such as would render it *mubah*, then it must be considered unlawful."

The author of the *Multaqa* (Ibrâhîm Halebi) is more concise. He says :

" The Law gives to the man primarily the faculty of dissolving the marriage, if the wife by her indocility or her bad character renders the married life unhappy ; but in the absence of serious reasons, no Musulman can justify a divorce either in the eyes of religion or the law. If he abandon the wife or put her away from simple caprice, he draws upon himself the divine anger, for the ' curse of God ' said the Prophet, ' rests upon him who repudiates his wife capriciously ' *Talaq* is permitted only when the wife by her conduct injures the husband.....and it is *wajib* (obligatory) when the husband cannot fulfil his duties, as when he is impotent or an eunuch."

In the second century of the Hejira, under the Omeyyades an irregular form of divorce was introduced in the Islamic system, which recognised none of the checks imposed by the Lawgiver. The Shî'ahs and the Mâlikis hold irregular divorce (*the talaq-ul-bida't*) to be unlawful whilst the Hanafis and the Shâf'eis agree in holding it to be effective although in its commission the man incurs a sin.

Pre-Islamic institutions insisted on no formula for severing the marriage-tie, and as there was no check on the irresponsible powers of the husband, a simple intimation from him to the effect that the marriage was dissolved was sufficient. In Islâm, even among the schools which recognise the validity of a divorce without the intervention of judicial authority, there are several conditions for the exercise of the power by the husband. The object of these conditions is to protect the wife from being cast off at the mere caprice of the husband. They also give to the woman the right to obtain a dissolution of the contract under certain circumstances. The formula which is most approved gives to the husband a respite to realise the effects of his conduct and for the appointment of " arbiters " to intervene in conjugal quarrels.

Another important point requiring earnest consideration is the question of dower which is customary in Muslim marriages. In India, among affluent families, the settlement in favour of the wife is never in accord with the means of the husband or the position of the wife; it is usually fixed on a fancy basis and is called *Mahr-ta'jil*. It is often fixed for what is called "glorification." In Oudh the Courts, under Section V of the Oudh Laws Act (XVIII of 1876), have the power of reducing the amount of dower. This Section declares that :—

"Where the amount of dower stipulated in any contract of marriage by a Mohammedan is excessive with reference to the means of the husband, the entire sum provided in the contract shall not be awarded in any suit by decree in favour of the plaintiff, or by allowing it by way of set-off, lien or otherwise to the defendant; but the amount of the dower to be allowed by the Court shall be reasonable with reference to the means of the husband and the *status* of the wife."

And this rule is applicable whether the suit to enforce the contract is brought in the husband's lifetime or after his death. As the widow has a lien on the property of her husband, for her dower, the question has often arisen to what extent she is entitled to obtain possession of the property of her husband in lieu of her claim. Great injustice is often done to the children if the whole property is made over to the widow for the satisfaction of the dower, and the children are left paupers.

In other parts of India, however, the Courts have no such power; and in cases of dispute award the whole dower to the wife. If she is the second wife, the entire settlement comes to her and reduces to poverty the children of the first marriage. It is a scandalous perversion of the law and leads to the pauperisation of the community. I recommend strongly that the Muslim community ought to apply to the legislature for the extension of the Dower Act of Oudh to the whole of India.

Legitimacy under the Islamic Law, as under the English Law, follows, as it is called, "the bed." Every child born during the subsistence of the marriage is considered legitimate. The Muhammadan Law recognises three kinds of union; one is called a valid marriage; the second is called an invalid marriage, and the third is a void marriage.

For example if a man purports to marry a woman within the prohibited degree, whether it is by mistake or otherwise, the marriage is absolutely null and void and the children are illegitimate.

In the case of an invalid marriage the position is different. In a union between two persons of opposite sexes between whom there is no bar to a contract of marriage, if the marriage is in fact contracted, it is only *invalid*. For example if a man married a woman who worships idols, the marriage is *invalid* because she may at any time adopt Islâm, or Judaism or Christianity, which are "Scriptural" religions. The same rule applies to a marriage of a man to two sisters simultaneously or one after the other in the lifetime of the first. Marriage with a second sister is not permitted in Islâm but it can be legitimated by the death or divorce of the first sister. In all these cases the children are absolutely legitimate. The Musulman Law does not visit the sins or mistakes of the parents on the children.

The High Court of Calcutta under a misapprehension of the Musulman Law has pronounced a marriage with two sisters whilst both are living as "void" as a marriage with a mother-in-law or daughter-in-law. This is wholly wrong and ought to be set right either by judicial declaration or by a legislative enactment.

I will give one more instance of the mistakes that frequently occur in judicial expositions in India. A section of the Shî'ahs recognise the validity of temporary unions, in the same way as has become common in the West. In temporary marriages, called *Mata'*, the Shî'ah Law does not allow the power of divorce to the husband. There are certain other restrictions which it is not necessary to specify. But the Shî'ah legists of the Akhbari School have had recourse to a device for the purpose of throwing off the shackles which the earlier jurists had imposed upon the powers of a husband. It is said by them that, as a creditor can release the debtor without his consent from the obligation of paying the debt, the husband, being a creditor, can release the wife from the marriage contract. This is combated by the earlier jurists. The celebrated author of the *Mabsut* and other great expounders of the Shî'ah Law, even the chief Mujtahid of Teheran, have pronounced that the consent of the wife is essential to the validity of a release (*ahwat qabul zaujeh*). The contrary view was actually adopted by the High Court of Calcutta in the case of *Kamar Kadar*

v Ludden Sahiba.¹ One would have thought that, having regard to the difference of opinion among the Shī'ah Lawyers, a British Court of Justice would adopt the view most conformable to "justice, equity and good conscience." The doctrine of the *Sharh-ul-Luma*, however, has received judicial recognition in the above Case. The facts were as follows:—the plaintiff married the defendant, a young unmarried woman of respectable parentage, by the *mata'* form for a period of fifty years. A few weeks after the marriage he abandoned her and, on her suing for maintenance, alleged that he had married her for two months and a half only. This was found to be untrue, and he was ordered, under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, to pay the maintenance. He then brought a suit to have it declared that the marriage relationship had been dissolved by his "giving up the term" and that, consequently, he was not bound to maintain the wife. There was no allegation of infidelity or misconduct against her. The defendant pleaded that, under the law of her sect, the husband could not dissolve the union, as alleged by him, of his own motion, and that even if he could do so he was not absolved from his liability to maintain her under the contract of marriage. After a varied fortune the case came up to the High Court of Calcutta, and the learned Judges there held that the *Mabsut* was an old work and could not possibly have been known to the parties, but that the *Sharaya-ul-Islam* was a later work and better known in India; and, therefore, more binding! And they accordingly held, with the aid of the gloss of the *Sharh-ul-Luma*, that the husband, though he has no power of divorce, may still divorce his wife by giving up the term! They did not decide the other question raised by the defendant, that the husband was not absolved from his liability to maintain her by virtue of the agreement entered into at the time of marriage.

It seems to me that the time has arrived for the Muslims of India to move the Legislatures for the enactment of a rule that marriages should be dissolved only when a Court of Justice especially empowered to deal with matrimonial disputes is of opinion that there are adequate reasons for dissolving the tie.

(1) (1886) 1. L. 14 Cal. 276.

KHUSHHAL KHAN KHATTACK

The Afghan Warrior-Poet.

THE unification of the Afghan race—a process which is still going on before our eyes—forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of Central Asia. Bahlol Lôdhi and Shêr Shâh Sûri in India, the Khattack poet Khûshhâl Khân and Pîr Rôshan among the frontier tribes, the later Amîr Abdur Rahmân Khân and his grandson King Amân Ullah Khân in Afghanistan proper, are the most outstanding figures in the history of this interesting movement. The day is not far off when some Afghan historian will tell us the story of the unity of his race much in the same way as Bolton King has told the story of the unity of Italy.

I want to place before the readers of "Islamic Culture" some specimens of Khûshhâl Khân's poetry, the value and importance of which is yet to be realised by the Afghans. He was born in 1613, and rose to the chieftainship of his tribe at the age of 27. He served the Emperor Shâh Jahân loyally, but fell under the suspicion of Aurangzêb who imprisoned him in the fortress of Gwalior. He was released after seven years, but on his return to his native land openly revolted against the Emperor and founded the great Afghan confederacy against the Mughals. He personally went from tribe to tribe, and by negotiations as well as his charming poetry tried to infuse something of his own burning soul into his countrymen. The diplomacy and gold of Aurangzêb, however, were too powerful for him and he was finally compelled to retire in the Afridi country where he died at the age of 78. He was a versatile mind and wrote on various subjects, such as, Poetry, Philosophy, Ethics, Medicine, and his own autobiography which is unfortunately lost. Throughout his poetry, the major portion of which was written in India and during his struggles with the Mughals, breathes the spirit of early Arabian poetry. We find in it the same simplicity and directness of expression, the same love of freedom and war, the same criticism of life. I hope the

Education Minister of Afghanistan will appoint some Afghan scholar to make a critical study of this great warrior-poet of the Pushto language and to bring out a complete addition of his works with the necessary historical notes. This must be the first literary undertaking of modern Afghanistan.

The following specimens of Khûshhâl Khân's poetry are taken from Captain Raverty's literal English Translation which was published in 1862. The selection is sure to give the reader some idea of the poet's passionate patriotism, his aspirations, and the keenness of his observation of men. The poet has no doubt said some bitter things against Aurangzêb, but we must not forget that these are the judgments of an enemy who had passed seven long years as the Emperor's prisoner in a country of which he himself says :—

“ Defend us from Hind, tho' it should teem with all
the world's luxuries besides. ”

MOHAMMAD IQBAL.

A year hath passed since Aurangzêb is encamped against
us,
Disordered and perplexed in appearance, and wounded in
heart.

It is now year after year that his nobles fall in battle ;
But his armies swept away, who shall number them !

The treasures of India have been spread out before us :
The red gold muhurs have been engulfed in the hills.

It would not have entered one's head in eighteen guesses
That such events would e'er have happened in these parts.

Still Aurangzêb's malevolence hath not a whit diminished
Though the curse of his father it before drew down.

For this reason, also, no one can place dependence on
him :
He is malignant and perfidious ; a breaker of his word.

For this state of things, no other termination can be seen,
Than that the Mughals be annihilated, or the Afghans
undone.

If this, which is beheld, be the revolutions of destiny—
If in this be the will of the Almighty, the time is come.

Fate revolveth not in the same fashion at all times—
Now ' tis propitious to the rose ; now favourable to the
thorn.

At a period so pregnant with honour and glory as the
present.

In what manner do these base and recreant Afghans act?

There is no deliverance in any thing save the sword :

Afghans, who nourish any other idea than this, are lost,
indeed.

The Afghans are superior to the Mughals at the sword,
Were but the Afghans, in intellect, a little discreet.

If the different tribes would but support each other.

Kings would have to bow down in prostration before them.

But whether it be concord or strife, or folly or wisdom,

The affairs of every one are in the hands of the Almighty.

(2)

I have beheld fortune's practices—its different usages and
ways—

It clambereth unto thee with difficulty ; but like a stone
from a mountain, rolleth away!

(3)

Though the king may cast him into prison, he will not

grieve ;
For the liberty of the free is from the beginning of time.

(4)

Let it not be, that every bad rider should mount for-

tune's steed :

If it be ridden by any one, at least a good horseman let
him be.

(5)

Neither doth any one here seek to avail himself of my

abilities and experience.

Nor are the capabilities of this country's people of any

advantage unto me.

We converse together in one tongue—we speak the Pushto

language ;

But we do not, in the least, understand what we to one

another say.

The Suwâtis account themselves exceeding wise, whilst

they are but fools,

And 'tis amongst such a set as these, that the Almighty

my lot hath cast,

Now that I have beheld the Suwât valley, I have this

much discovered.

That there is no tribe more abject and contemptible than

the Yûsufzîs

Tyranny and self-conceit seem to be the inmates of all ;
And every man amongst them is covetous and ready to
beg.

Although, in their dwellings, they have wealth and goods,
they are hungry-eyed ;
And their head-men, than the rest, are more villainous
and infamous still.

'Tis said, that the water-melon deriveth its colour from
the water melon,
But their wise men and elders are more worthless than
the people themselves.

The rights of the poor and helpless, they make out wrong
and unjust,
If they can a single penny obtain by way of a present,
or a bribe.

As to these I have seen myself : about others I am unable
to speak —
They are all either bullocks or skinners, without any
exception soever.

(6)

The Tûrânîs are all turbulent, quarrelsome, and oppressive;
Liars, perjurers, and concocters of calumny and slander.

The Irânîs are of a friendly disposition—they are true and
faithful :
They have urbanity and breeding—are respectable and
deserving.

The Afghans are malevolent and ruthless and contentious
But give them for their modesty and valour due praise.

Whether Balûch or Hazarah, both are dirty, and abomin-
able :
They have neither religion nor faith—may shame attend
them !

Whether Hindustâni or Sindhî, may their faces be black-
ened !
For they have neither modesty nor shame, neither bread
nor meat.

The Kashmîrîs, whether male or female—may they all be
undone !
They have none of the chattels of humanity amongst them
Behold they are not of the human race—what are they ?
May perdition swallow them—both Uzbek and Kazalbash !

The Laghmanis, Bangashis, Suwâtis, Tirâhis—all of them,
Are dancers and fiddlers—and who will be friends with
such ?

Unto him, all matters are manifest, regarding other folks'
ways ;
Then render unto Khushhal's shrewdness, its due meed
of praise.

(7)

Gentle breeze of the morn, shouldst thou pass over Khair-
abad,
Or should thy course lead thee by Sarae, on the banks of
the Sind.

Hail them, again and again, with my greetings and salu-
tations ;
And with them, many, many expressions of my regard
and love.

Cry out unto the swift Aba-Sind with sonorous voice ;
But unto the Landdaey, mildly and whisperingly say—
“ Perhaps, I may drink, once more, a cup of thy water ;
For, whilom, I was not on Gange's nor on Jamna's
banks.”

Of the climate of Hind should I complain, how long shall
I cry out ?
Whilst the vileness of its water is far more horrid still.
Shouldst thou drink water from a rivulet, it racketh the
vitals ;
And that of the wells, too, is not free from danger and
peril.

Since therein, from hill streams, the cool element is not to
be had,
Defend us from Hind, tho' it should teem with all the
world's luxuries besides.

(8)

Do they belong to the afrît, the demon, or the goblin
race ?
For, among the lineage of Adam, the Afghans I cannot
account,

Notwithstanding thou mayest give one of them the best
of counsel and advice.
Still, even the counsel of his father is not acceptable
to his heart.

The whole of the deeds of the Pattans are better than
those of the Mughals ;
But they have no unity amongst them, and a great pity
it is.

The fame of Bahlol, and of Shêr Shâh too, resoundeth in
my ears—
Afghan Emperors of India, who swayed its sceptre
effectively and well.

For six or seven generations, did they govern so wisely,
That all their people were filled with admiration of them.

Either those Afghans were different, or these have greatly
changed ;
Or otherwise, at present, such is the Almighty's decree.

**If the Afghans shall acquire the gift of concord and unity,
Old Khûshhâl shall, a second time, grow young therefrom.**

**A good name will remain behind—naught else soever will survive :
The wicked for evil are remembered—the good, for their virtues, in the memory live.**

Shouldst thou hear of Hġâġ, thou wilt also hear the
name of Noshirwân
For justice, the unbeliever is venerated—for tyranny, the
believer is cursed.

(10)

**The Afghans have gone mad about posts and dignities ;
But God preserve me from such plagues and troubles.**

Unto whom belongeth the gift of discretion : to the
swordsman ?
Just the same as one learneth the Kurân, in the schools ?
Not one amongst them is gifted with the art of prudence ;
For with the dispositions of all of them I am well
acquainted.

**The Afghans have one very great failing, if thou but
notice—
That they with the titles and dignities of the Mughals
coquet.**

Shame and reputation, fame and honour, are of no
account ;
But, certainly, they talk enough about officers, rank, and
gold.

Look not towards the Mughals with the eyes of cupidity ;
 Even if in the habit of doing so from any other cause.

The trusty Khattaki sword is buckled round my waist ;
 But not the custom of servitude, in the village and in
 town.

The dark night of Aurangzêb's prison I hold in remem-
 brance.
 When all the night long, "O God ! O God !" continually
 I cried.

If the Afghans would but oppose the Mughals with the
 sword.
 Every Khattak, by the bridle-rein, should lead a Mughal
 away.

Amongst the Khattak, O Khushhal, no council of honour
 existeth ;
 Hence, I cannot conceive from what lineage they have
 sprung.

(11)

Whether it is the wise man, or the ignorant—the honest
 man or the robber,
 I do not see anyone a true colleague united with me in
 my task.

A sincere friend in distress I cannot discover throughout
 the land ;
 For people merely give the empty consolation of their
 tongues.

Like unto the ants, directed towards the grain are the
 steps
 Of those who favour me with their coming and their
 going.

Did not these ants entertain the hope of obtaining a store,
 They would never make any journey in that direction
 at all.

Abandon not thine own stricken mountain-land, O
 Khushhal ?
 Though blood is at every footstep and in every direction
 shed.

(12)

If the damsels of Kashmîr are famed for their beauty,
 Or those of Chîn, or Ma-chîn, or Tartary, noted likewise ;
 Yet the sweet Afghan maidens that mine eyes have beheld
 Put all the others to shame, by their conduct and ways.

As to their comeliness, this, once for all, is the fact of the matter.

That they are, in lineage, of the tribe and posterity of Yakûb.

Of the fragrance of musk, or of rosewater, they have no need—

They are as the attar of the perfumer, by prayer five times a day.

Whether jewels for forehead or for neck, or any other trinkets,

All these are contemptible, with their dark locks compared.

Whether veils of gold brocade, or whether silken mantles, All are a sacrifice unto the snow-white kerchief of theirs.

The beauty of their minds excelleth their personal privacy ;

Not seen in the markets, with garments open and persons exposed.

They cannot look one full in the face, through modesty. They are unused to abuse, and the discipline of the shoe.

Khushhâl hath mentioned, more or less, somewhat of the matter ;

But much remaineth that may be suitable, or unsuitable to the case.

(13)

If the Afghan people are of the human race,
In disposition and ways they are very Hindus.

They are possessed of neither skill, nor intellect ;
But are happy in ignorance, and in strife.

Neither do they obey words of their fathers ;
Nor do they unto the teachers' instructions give ear.

When there may be one worthy man amongst them
They are the destroyers of his head and life.

They ever lie in wait, one to injure the other ;
Hence they are always by calamity remembered.

They neither possess worth, nor do others esteem them,
Though they are more numerous than locusts or than ants.

First I, then others, as many as there may be—
We all of us require aid, and a helping hand.

Whether it is valour, or whether liberality,
They have cast, through dissension, them both away.

But still, O Khushhâl, thank God for this,
That they are not slaves, but free-born men.

(14)

Doth the gnat ever attain unto the high rank of the falcon
Even though he is furnished, both with feathers and with wings ?

(15)

Though all the world may agree to disparage and speak ill
of him,
Poor Khushhâl is Khushhâl in his own merits and integrity.

(16)

However tortuously the snake moveth about,
It proceedeth straight enough unto its hole.

(17)

What is it, a sound and healthy body,
Which, more than empire and sovereignty, is preferred ?
Altho' the world's wealth is an excellent thing,
Glory and renown are, than riches, more precious still.

What are more inestimable than the most perfect thing ?
The one, is purity—the other, is sincerity of heart.

What is it that disenthralleth a man from sorrow ?
Yea, what is it ?—it is contentedness of mind.

Shouldst thou boast thyself of thy godliness,
That godliness, thereby, is rendered bootless and vain.

What is that, which hath a value beyond compute ?
Yea, what is it ?—it is deliberation in all our affairs.

That, which as a favour and obligation is conferred,
As generosity or liberality, was it ever accounted ?

What is that, which, in this world, is a Hell indeed ?
Verily, it is the society and acquaintance of a fool.

Then, O Khushhâl, guard thou well thy mind ;
For if there be aught good, 'tis a mind upright.

(18)

Verily, the Afghans are deficient in sense and
understanding—
They are the tail-cut curs of the butcher's slaughter-house

They have played away dominion for the gold of the
Mughals ;
And they lust after the offices, that the Mughals can give.
Though the camel, with its lading, hath entered their
dwelling,
They are first taken up with stealing the bell from its neck.
Out upon him who first the name of Sarrahban bore.
And malediction upon the whole of them, that after follow.
The recreant occupy themselves in baseness and dishonour ;
But every breath of the noble is devoted to the cause of
renown.
They commence from Kandahar, and reach unto Damghar
And all are worthless and good for nothing, who dwell
between.

(19)

The Mughals whom I now set eyes upon, are not, such as
were wont to be ;
The day of their swords is past and gone, and but the pen
remaineth unto them:
They gain over the Afghans by gold ; and by fraud and
deception entangle them;
Upon me these things have no effect, for the favour of
God is still upon me.
I am neither a fly nor a cow, that I should hover over
rottenness and filth.
The hawk or the falcon am I, that must my heart, with
my own quarry, delight;
Were there but others like unto me in this affair, I should
rejoice indeed ;
But since there are none like me, with distress and grief I
am o'erwhelm'd.

THE EARLIEST BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PROPHET AND THEIR AUTHORS

(Translated by Marmaduke Pickthall from the German
typoscript.)

IV.

WE have still to mention a younger contemporary of Ibn Ishâq, of whose *Maghazi* fragments have been preserved for us in Wâqidî, in Ibn Sa'd and elsewhere : Abû Ma'shar, commonly called Al-Sindî, from which it would seem that he himself or one of his forebears had come from Sind to Arabia. If Abû Nu'eym¹ is right, who states without citing his authority, "Abû Ma'shar was a Sindî and he could not pronounce the Arabic sounds properly ; for example he pronounced the name of Muhammad ibn K'ab as if it had the sound of Qa'b," then we must take it that Abû Ma'shar was born of non-Arab parents ; but Sindî could equally well be applied to an Arab settled in Sind, for, since 92 A.H. Sind had been a province of the Arab Khilâfat. Abû Ma'shar's grandson, Dâûd ibn Muhammad², states that his grandfather sprang from the Yaman, from which it is to be supposed, therefor, that Abu Ma'shar's father emigrated from Sind to the Yaman. The same grandson emphasizes the fact that Abû Ma'shar's complexion was white³, while Abû Mushîr, describes it as black. Abû Ma'shar⁴ himself seems to have derived his descent—perhaps on the mother's side—from the

(1) Yâqût, ed. Wüstenfeld III 166

قال ابو نعيم ان ابو معشر سندى وكان الحسن يقول حدثنا محمد بن قعب
also Samâni, Ansab 3183

(2) Ibid Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib* X 421

وقال داود بن محمد بن ابي معشر حدثني ابي انه كان اصله من اليمن
وكان ابيض ازرق سمينا

(4) Dhahabi ed. Sachau, *stidien* 11.

وقال ابو رعة الدمشقى سمعت ابا مسهر يقول كان ابو معشر اسود

Hanzala ibn Malik sept.¹ His name, as another grandson of his, Al-Husain, informs us,² was originally 'Abdu'r-Rahmân ibnu'l-Walid, and only after he had been kidnapped and sold as a slave in Madînah did his owners, who belonged to the Banû Asad name him Najîh.³ What is here described as kidnapping appears in the report of another grandson, the Dâûd already mentioned,⁴ as his capture "in the fight of Yazîd ibn al Mahallab in Al-Yamâmah and Bahreyn." Later on the slave came into the possession of Umm Mûsa bint Mansûr the Himyarite, the bride of the Khalîfah Mansûr and mother of the Khalîfah Al-Mahdi,^{4a} and this new mistress gave him his freedom.⁵ According to other sources, he had begun to buy himself out of the possession of a woman (*by kitabah*, i.e., paying by instalments at fixed intervals) when Umm Mûsa acquired from the latter the patronage over Abû Ma'shar and then set him free.⁶ Thus he had become a client of the Abbasids, and he attached more value to his connection with the ruling House than to his descent from Hanzala.⁷ When the Khalîfah Al-Mahdi came to Madînah on the occasion of the pilgrimage⁸ he took Abû Ma'shar, as the latter himself informs us,⁹ with him to

(1) Ibid 10. وكان ابو معشر يزدرانه من ولد حنظلة بن مالك

(2) Ibid.

وقال ابو بكر الحسين بن محمد بن ابي معشر حدثني ابي قال كان اسم ابي معشر قبل ان يسرق عبد الرحمن بن الوليد بن هلال

(3) Ibid.

فسرق فبيع بالمد يده فاشتراه قوم من بني سعد فسموه نجيداً

(4) Ibn Hajar X 421

وسبى في رقعة يزيد بن المهلب باليهمة واليهودين

(4a) Tabari III 423

وكانت ام موسى الحميرية ولدت له (يعني للمصور) جعفر و الامهدي

ثم اشترى لام موسى بن المهدي فاعفقه (5) Ibn Hajar ibid.

وكان مكاتباً لامرأة من بني مخزوم وعلق (6) Fihrist, 93

وكان مكاتباً لامرأة من بني مخزوم Ibn Sa'd V 309

also Muqaddasi فادى وعلق فاشترت ام موسى بنت الحميرية ولاءه

مولى ام سلمه ed. Sachau, Studien. According to Bukhârî, Tarikh he was

(7) Muqaddasi 10.

وقال لي ولاؤنا في بني هاشم احب الي من نسبى في بني حنظلة

(8) Tabari III 482.

(9) Ibn Hajar ibid 421.

وقدم المهدي في سنة ستين ومائة فاستصحبته معه الى العراق

Dhahabi 10

ان المهدي قدم المد سنة ستين ومائة فاشخص ابا معشر معه الى العراق وامره بالفتار وقال تكون بهضرتنا ففقه من حولنا

Baghdad, had him paid 1,000 dinârs and ordered him to stay near him and instruct his entourage in Fiqh. In the last years before his death a great change came over him and his mind fell into confusion.¹ He died in 170 A.H.² at Baghdad, where he was laid in the great cemetery and where Hârûn uttered the funeral prayer over him.³ The fame of Abû Ma'shar as *Muhaddith* was contested; Bukhârî⁴ says "people are of different opinions concerning his Hadîth;" Ibn Sa'd⁵ calls him "fertile in Hadîth, but weak;" and Ibn Hajar⁶ quotes a whole row of mostly unfavourable judgments on him. But as authority for the Maghâzi he is recognised; Ahmad⁷ ibn Hanbal describes him as *basîr fil-Maghâzi* and Al-Khatî⁸ says "Abû Ma'shar has a place in learning and in chronology. The Imâms quoted his chronology as conclusive, on the other hand they pronounced him unreliable in Hadîth."

That Abû Ma'shar wrote a *Kitabu'l-Maghâzi* is stated in the *Fihrist*⁹ and numerous fragments from that work are to be found in the *Kitabu'l-Maghâzi* of Wâqidî, who quotes him particularly in cases where he prefaces to a chapter an Isnâd inclusive of all authorities.¹⁰ Also, that Abû Ma'shar's Maghâzi dealt with the whole life-story of the Prophet we observe from the quotations in Ibn Sa'd's biography of the Prophet; Ibn Sa'd quotes him in the list of his authorities for the Maghâzi as well as for the biographies of the Companions;¹¹ but also in the sections concerning the Prophet's early years his name

(1) Ibn Hajar *ibid*, 422 و تغیر قبل ان يموت بسنتين تغیر اشد یدا
also Dhahabî 11, who quotes حتى كان يغرج منها لم يمض ولا يشعر بها
Samâni 313 b

و كان ممن اختلف في آخر عمره و بقي قبل ان يموت سنين في تغير شد ید
لا يدري ما يحدث به لكثرة المناكير في روايته من قبل اختلفا طه

(2) Ibn Sa'd V 309, ; Ibn Qutaiba Ma'ârif 253, Samani 313 b ;
Ibn Hajar X 421. According to *Fihrist* 93 he died in the days of al-Hâdi (who died in 169 A.H.)

(3) Sam'âni 313 b ; Dhahabî 11.

(4) *Tarikh* 199.

(5) Ibn Sa'd V 309.

(6) *Tahdhib* X 420.

(7) Muqaddasi 9.

(8) Ibn Hajar X 422.

ابو معشر له مكان في العلم والدار يخو تاريخه احتج به الا لضعفه في الحديث

(9) Ed. Flügel 98.

(10) The passages in Wellhausen's Index. In Wellhausen 321 Wâqidî questions him concerning an account communicated by another authority

(11) Ibn Sa'd II 1 a ; III 21.

occurs both in Ibn Sa'd and Tabari¹. Besides the *Maghâzi*, Abû Ma'shar seems to have composed a *Târîkh* also, that is to say, an analytical presentment of the events of the Islamic period. It reached to the year 170 A.H. and the latest event quoted from his book by Tabari—the death of the Khalifah Al-Hâdi—took place in the spring of the year 170 A.H. ; soon afterwards Abû Ma'shar himself died. While Abû Ma'shar in the *Maghâzi* mostly, if not always, states his authorities, in the *Târîkh* he makes no use of *Isnad*. As an example of his treatment of historical events in the *Târîkh*, the following paragraph preserved in Ibn Sa'd² concerning the Ummayyad Khalifah 'Abdul Malik may serve : “ 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwân died in Damascus on Thursday, the 15th of Shawwâl of the year 86 at the age of 60 years. His reign from the day of the homage till the day of his death lasted 21½ years, of which he spent nine years in fighting 'Abdullah ibn Al-Zubeyr. He was acknowledged as Khalifah in Syria and then, after Mus'ab's death, in 'Irâq, and lived after the death of 'Abdullah ibn Al-Zubeyr, having attained universal recognition, 13 years, 3 months and 23 days.”

Like Abû Ma'shar, Muhammad ibn 'Umar Al-Wâqid also belongs to the group of Mawâlî (freedmen) living in Madînah. He bore the surname Al-Wâqidi after his grandfather Al-Wâqid, but as Maula of 'Abdullah ibn Bureyda who belonged to the Madanî sept of Banû Aslam he is called Al-Aslamî³. According to the statement of one of his pupils, Ibn Sa'd, Wâqidî was born in Madînah in 130 A.H. under the Khilâfat of Marwân⁴ II and his

(1) Tabari I. 1195.

(2) Ibn Sa'd V 174 seq.=Tabari II 1172

مات عبد الملك بن مروان بدمشق يوم الخميس للنصف من شوال سنة ست وثمانين وله ستون سنة فكانت ولايته من يوم بؤيع الى يوم توفي احدى وعشرين سنة وشهرا ونصفا وكان تسع سنين منها يقاتل فيها عبد الله بن الزبير ويسلم عليه باخلاصة بالسام ثم باعراق بعد مقتل مصعب وبقي بعد مقتل عبد الله بن الزبير واجتماع الناس عليه ثلاث عشرة سنة ثم رابعه اشهر السبع ايام وقد روى لنا انه مات وهو ابن ثمان وخمسين سنة والاول اثبت وهو علي مولد سواه

(3) Ibn Sa'd III b 77

محمد بن عمر بن واقد الاسلمى مولى عبد الله بن بريدة الاسلمى

(4) Ibn Sa'd V 321.

قال محمد بن سعد اخبرنى (يعنى

محمد بن عمر) انه ولد فى سنة ثلاثين ومائة

ibid VII b 77

وذكر انه ولد سنة ثلاثين ومائة فى اخر خلافة مروان بن محمد

mother was a great-granddaughter of Saib Khâthir¹, who was the first to compose Arabic poems in Madînah and whose father had come from Persia to Madînah as a prisoner of war; there was therefore some non-Arab blood in the veins of Al-Wâqidî. In his native city Wâqidî listened to the discourses of the most renowned exponents of Tradition, and when the Khalîfah Hârûn Al-Rashîd visited Madînah on the pilgrimage—probably in the year 170²—Wâqidî was recommended to him as guide to the holy places of the city. Of this we possess a full account from Wâqidî himself which his pupil Ibn Sa'd has preserved for us³.

(1) *Aghani* VII 139.

وزعم ابن خرداذبه ان ام محمد بن عمر الراقدى بنيت عيسى بن جعفر
بن سالم خاثر

(2) *Tabari* III 605; again in 180 A. H. Hârûn was on the pilgrimage. *Tabari* III 645

وفيها (يعنى سنة ١٨٠) صار الرشيد الى البصرة منصرفا من مكة

(3) *Ibn Sa'd* V 315 seq.

وحدثني احمد بن مسبح حدثني عبد الله قال قال لي الراقدى حم
امير المؤمنين هارون الرشيد فور د المدينة قتال يحيى بن خالد

Ibn Sa'd V

وحدثني احمد بن مسبح حدثني عبد الله بن عبد الله قال قال لي الراقدى حم
امير المؤمنين هارون

ارقدى رحلا عارفا بالمدينة والمشاهد وكيف كان نزول جبريل عليه
السلام على النبي صلعم ومن اى وجه كان ياتيه وقبور الشهداء فسأل
يحيى بن خالد فكل دله على فبعث الى

فاتينته ودالك بعد العصر فقال لي يا شيخ ان امير المؤمنين اعزه الله
يود ان تصلى عشاء الاخرة فى المسجد وتمضى معنا الى هذه المشاهد
فقفنا عليها والموضع الذى ياتى جبريل عم وكن بالقرب فلما صليت
عشاء الاخرة اذا نا بالشموع قد خرجت واذا نا برجلين على حمارين
فقال يحيى اين الرجل فقلتها فاذا فاتت به الى دور المسجد فقلت
هذا الموضع الذى كان جبريل ياتيه فنزلنا عن حماريهما فصليا ركعتين
ودعوا الله ساعة ثم ركبا وانا بين ايديهما فلما دعى موضعا من المواضع
ولامشهدا من المشاهد الا مررت بهما عليه فجعلا يصليا ويطهرا ان
فى الدعاء فلم نزل كذا لك حتى وانا فينا المسجد وقد طلع الفجر
واذن المودن فلما صار الى القصر قال لي يحيى بن خالد ايها
الشيخ لا تبرح فصليت الغداة فى المسجد وهو على الرحلة الى مكة
فاذن لي يحيى بن خالد عليه بعد ان اصبحت فادنى مجلسى وقال
لي ان امير المؤمنين اعزه الله لم يزل باكيا وقد اعجبته ما دلته عليه

“When the Prince of Believers came to Madînah on the occasion of the pilgrimage, he said to Yahya ibn Khâlid : “ Seek out for me a man who knows Madînah and the sacred sites and who knows how the descent of the angel Gabriel took place, from which side he came to the Prophet, and who knows the graves of the Martyrs. Yahya made inquiries after such a man, and all directed him to me, whereupon he had me summoned and I came to him after the ‘Asr prayer. He said : ‘ O Sheykh, the Prince of Believers—Allah give him might !—wishes you to pray the ‘Isha (prayer) in the mosque and then take us to the sacred sites and let us pause there, and also at the place where Gabriel (on whom be peace !) used to come, and bide thou near.’ So when I had performed the ‘Isha prayer, I saw tapers already lighted without and two men on two asses. Yahya called out : Where is the man ? Whereupon I presented myself and led them to the dwellings of the mosque and said : This is the place to which Gabriel used to come. Thereupon they alighted from their donkeys, they performed two raka’s of worship, offered prayer to Allah for a while and rode further, and I went with them, and there was no place and no sacred site to which I did not take them ; and they kept worshipping Allah and striving hard in prayer. So we went on till we came to the mosque when the dawn had risen and the Muedhdhin was calling the Adhân. And when they reached the castle Yahya ibn Khâlid said to me, O Sheykh, go not far away. So I said the morning prayer in the Mosque. And he was on the point of departure for Mecca. Then Yahya ibn Khâlid gave me leave to enter when the day was fully come and made me sit near him and said to me : The Prince of Believers—Allah give him might !—is still weeping, for that which thou hast shown to him has much impressed him, and he has ordered 10,000 dirhams to be paid to thee. Then and there the whole sum was paid out to me and he said : Take it, O Sheykh, and may it bring a blessing to thee. We depart today ; nothing, however, hinders thee from seeking us out wherever we may be and wherever our place of residence may be set up, if Allah will. Thereupon the Prince of

وقد امر لك بعشرة آلاف درهم فاذا بدرة مبدرة قد دفعت الى
وقال لي يا شيخ خذها مبارك لك فيها ونحن على الرحلة اليوم ولا
عليك ان تلقانا حيث كنا واستقرت لنا اذار ان شاء الله ورحل
امير المؤمنين واتيت منزلي ومعى ذلك المال فقضينا هذه الدنيا كان
علينا وزر حتم بعض الولد والتسعة

Believers travelled further but I betook myself with all that money to my dwelling. With it we paid a debt which we owed and I married off one of the children and we were in easy circumstances."

The relations which Wâqîdî thus established with the court he utilised in 180 A.H.,¹ when he happened to be in distress and he betook himself to Baghdad and thence to Raqqah where Hârûn held court at that time.² Of this journey to the court of the Khalîfah, also, Ibn Sa'd has preserved for us a detailed and observant account which goes back to Wâqîdî himself.³

"When times were hard for us, Umm 'Abdullah"—the wife of Wâqîdî, whose *Kunya* was Abû 'Abdullah—"said to me: O Abû 'Abdullah, why sittest thou here when the Wazîr of the Prince of Believers knows thee and bade thee have recourse to him wheresoever he might be. Then I set forth from Madînah with the idea that he would

(1) Ibn Sa'd VIIb 77

وكان من اهل المدينة فقدم بغداد في سنة ثمانين ومائة في دين
لحقه فلم يزل بها وخرج الى الشام والرقه

(2) Tabari III 646

ثم شخص (يعنى هارون الرشيد) من مدينة السلام الى الرقة (سنة ١٨٠)

(3) Ibn Sa'd V 315 seq.

ثم ان اهل الرقة اعضاء فقال لي ام عبد الله يا ابا عبد الله ما تعود لك
وهذا اوزيرا ميرا للمؤمنين قد عرفك وسا لك ان تصير اليه حيث
استقرت به الدار فدخلت من المدينة وانا اظن القوم بالعراق فأتيت العراق
فسالت عن خبر امير المؤمنين فقالوا لي هو بالرقه فاردت ان انصرف الى
المدينة فنظرت فاذا انا بالمدينة مختل الحال فحملت نفسي على
ان اصير الى الرقة فصرت الى موضع الكرى فاذا انا بعدة فتيان من
البحرين يدون الرقة فلما راوئي قالوا ايها الشيخ اين تريد فخبيرتهم
بخبيري واني اريد الرقة فنظروا في كرى الجمالين فاذا هي تضعف
عليها فقالوا ايها الشيخ هل لك ان تصير

الى السفن فهو ارفق بنا وايسر علينا من كرى الجمال فقلت لهم ما
اعرف من هذا شيئا والامرا ليكم فصرنا الى السفن فاكثرونا فما رايت
احدا كان ابربر منهم ولا اشفق ولا احوط يتكلمون من خدمتي وطعامي
ما يتكلف الولد من والده حتى صرنا الى موضع الجواز بالرقه وكان
الجواز ضعيفا جدا فذهبوا الى قائدهم بعد ادهم وادخلوني في ادهم فمكثنا اياما
ثم جاءنا الاذن باسما ثنا فجزت مع القوم فصرت الى موضع لهم في
خان نزول فاقمت معهم اياما وطلبت الاذن على يحيى بن خالد فصعب
علي قاتيت بالبختري وهوبى عارف فلقيته فقال لي يا ابا عبد الله

be in 'Iraq; when I there inquired after the Prince of Believers, however, I heard that he was in Al-Raqqah (in Northern Mesopotamia). Then I wished to return again to Al-Madīnah, but when I recollected that I lived there in distressed circumstances, I brought myself to the decision of going on to Raqqah and betook myself to the place where riding animals were hired. There I found a number of young soldiers who wanted to go to Al-Raqqah, and they asked me: O Sheykh, whither wouldst thou? And I told them my story and that I was bound for Al-Raqqah. Then we considered the hire which the Camel-drivers demanded and found that it was too high

اخطاءت على نفسك وغرت ولكن لست ادع ان اذكر لك له وكنت
اغد والى بابيه واروح فقلت نفقتى واستحييت من رفقاى وتذكرت
ثيابى وايست من ناحية ابى البختري فلم اخبر رفقاى بشأى
وعدت منصرفا الى امدينه فمرة انا فى سفينة ومرة امشى حتى وردت
السيليين بيئنا انما سترىم فى سوقها اذ انا بقا فلة من بغداد فسالت
من هم اخبرونى انهم من اهل مدينة رسول الله صلعم وان صاحبهم بكار
الزبيرى اخرجه اميرا للمومنين ليوثيه قضاء امدينه والى الزبيرى اصدق
الفاى فقلت اذعه حتى ينزل ويستقر ثم اتبه فاتيته بعد ان استراح
وفرغ من غذاؤه فاستاذنت عليه فاذا نلى فدخلت فسلمت عليه فقال
لى يا عبد الله ما ذا صنعت فى غيبتك واخبرته بخبرى وبخبر ابى
البختري فقال لى اما علمت ان البختري لا يحب ان يذكر لك لاحد
لا يذبه باسمك فما اراى فقلت اراى ان اصير الى امدينه فقال هذا
راى خطا خرجت من امدينه على ما قد علمت ولكن اراى ان تصير معى
فانا اذ اكر البختري امرك فركبت مع القوم حتى صرت الى الرقة فلما
عبرنا الى الجواز قال لى تصير معى فقلت لا اصير الى صاحبى وانا مبكر
عليك وغدا نصير جميعا الى باب يحيى بن خالد ان شاء الله فدخلت
على اصحابى فكأنى وقعت عليهم من السماء ثم قالوا لى يا ابا عبد الله ما
كان خبرك فقد كنا فى غم من امرك فنخبرهم بخبرى فاشار على القوم
بلزوم الزبيرى قالوا هذا طعا مك وشرا بك لا تهتم له فعدت بالعدة
الى باب الزبيرى فنخبرت انه قد ركب الى باب يحيى بن خالد فاتيته
باب يحيى بن خالد فقلت مليا فاذا صاحبى قد خرج فقال لى يا ابا
عبد الله انسى ان اذ اكر امرك ولكن قف بالباب حتى عودا ليه
فدخل ثم خرج الى الهاء فقلت لى اذ دخل فدخلت عليه فى حالة
خبيسة وذا لك فى شهر رمضان وقد بقى من الشهر ثلاثة ايام واربعة
فلما رانى يحيى بن خالد فى تلك الحال رايت اثر الغم فى وجهه وسلم
على وقرب مجلسى وعندة قوم
يهادثونه فجعل يذكر لى الحديث بعد الحديث فانقطعت عن اجابته وجعلت
اجيب بالشئ ايسر بالموافق لما يسأل وجعل القوم يعجبون باحسن الجواب

for us. Then they said : O Sheykh, art thou willing to repair to the ships, for that would be pleasanter and cheaper for us than to hire camels? I said: I know nothing about it ; the decision rests with you. Then we betook ourselves to the ships and hired one, and I have never seen anybody more benevolent and kind and thoughtful than they were. They waited on me and provided me with food as a son might do for his father. At last we came to the place where travellers for Al-Raqqah land ; but it was very difficult to get through, so they wrote their number to their Captain and included me in their number. Some days elapsed before the permit came, each was specified

و انا ساكت فلما انقضى المجلس وخرج اقوم خرجت قادا خادما
ليحيى بن خالد قد خرج فلقيني عذرا استقر فقال لى ان الوزير يا مر
ان تفطر عذرا العشي فلما صرت الى اصحابي خبرتهم بالقضية وقلت
اخاف ان يكون غلط بي فقال لى بعضهم هذه رغيغان وقطعة جبن وهذه
دابة تركب والغلام خلفك فان اذن لك الهاجب بالدخول دخلت ودفع
ما معي الى الغلام وان تكن الاخرى صرت الى بعض اصحابي فاكلم
ما معك وشربت من ماء المسجد فانصرفت فوصلت الى باب يحيى بن
خالد وقد صلى الناس للمغرب

فلما رايت الهاجب قال يا شيخ البطا تو قد خرج الرسول في
طلبك غير مرة فدفع ما كان معي الى الغلام وامرته بالمقام فدخلت
فاذا اقوم قد توا فواضلت وقعدت وقد ام الوضوء فتوضا نا وانا قرب
القوم اليه فاقطرتنا وقربت عشا الاخرة فصلى بنا ثم اخذنا مجا لسنا
فجعل يحيى يسا لنى وانا مذق طعم والقوم يحييون باشياء هي عذرى على
خلاف ما يحييون فلما ذهب الليل خرج القوم وخرجت خلف بعضهم
فاذا غلام قد لعننى فقال ان الوزير يا مر ان تصيرا اليه قابلة قبل
الوقت الذى حبست فيه يومك هذا ونا ولنى يسا ما ادرى ما فيه الا
انه ملائنى سرورا فخرجت الى الغلام فركبت ومعى الهاجب حتى
صيرنى الى اصحابي فدخلت عليهم فقامت اطلبوا الى سراجا ففضت
الكيس فاذا دنا نير فقالوا لى ما كان ردة عليك فقلت ان الغلام
امرنى ان اوافيه قبل الوقت الذى كان فيه ليملتنى هذه وعدت الدنانير
فاذا خمسمائة دينا فقال لى بعضهم على شراء دابةك وقال اخر على
السرور واللبام وما يصاحبه وقال اخر على حماك وخضاب
لهديتك وطيبك وقال اخر على شراء كسوتك فانظر فى اى القوم
فعددت مائة دينار فدفعتها الى صاحب نفقتهم فحلف القوم باجمعهم
انهم لا يروننى دينا را ولا درهم ا وغدا با لعداة كل واحد على
ما اتدب لى فيه فما صليت الظهر الا وانا من ابل الناس وملت
باقى الكيس الى الزبير
فلما رايتى بئلك الحال سر سرورا شديد ا ثم اخبرته الخبر فقال لى

by name and I passed with them. Then I went to the place reserved for them at the travellers' inn and spent some days with them, during which I sought some means of approaching Yahya ibn Khâlid, but I found it difficult. Thereupon I went to Abû'l-Bakhtari"—i.e., Wahb ibn Wahb who was at that time a judge (*v. Tabari III, 619, 709*)—"who knew me, and he said to me: O Abû 'Abdullah, you have made a mistake and vain hopes have misled you, nevertheless I will bring your name to his remembrance. After that I went to his door every morning and evening, while my funds grew low, I was ashamed before my companions, my clothes were torn and I gave up

انى شاخص الى الامد ينة فقلت نعم انى قد خلقت الاعيال على ما قد علمت قد فعت اليه ما تقي دينا ريوصلها الى الاعيال ثم خر جث من عذره فأتيت اصحابى بجمع ما كان معى من الكيس ثم صليت العصر فتهيات باحسن هيئة ثم حضرت الى باب يحيى بن خالد فلما رانى العاجب قام الى فاذا نلى قد خلعت على يحيى فلما رانى فى تلك الحال نظرت الى السرور فى وجهه فجلست فى مجلسى ثم ابدت فى الحديث الذى كان يذاكرنى به والجواب فيه وكان الجواب على غير ما كان يجيب به القوم فنظرت الى القوم وتقطيبهم لى والقبل يحيى يسألنى عن حديث كذا وحديث كذا فاجيب فيما يسألنى والقوم سكوت مايتكلم احد منهم بشئى فلما حضرت المغرب تقدم يحيى فصلى ثم حضر الطعام فتعشينا ثم صلى بنا يحيى عشاء الاخرة واخذنا مجا لسنا فلم نزل فى مذاكرة وجعل يحيى يسأل بعض القوم فينقطع فلما كان وقت الانصراف انصرف القوم وانصرف معهم فاذا الرسول قد لحقنى فقال ان ابوزرياء مر ان تصير اليه فى كل يوم فى الوقت الذى جئت فيه يومك هذا وناولنى كيسا فانصرفت ومعى رسول العاجب حتى صرت الى اصحابى واصبت سراجا عندهم قد فعت الكيس الى القوم فلما نوا به اشد سرورا منى فلما كان الغد قلت لهم اعدوا لى منزلا بالقرب منكم فاشترى لى جارية وغلاما خبازا واثلاثا ومثاقيل فلم اصل الظهر الا وقد اعدوا لى ذلك وسالتهم ان يكون انظارهم عندي فاجابوا لى ذلك بعد صعوبة شديدة

فلم ازل آتى يحيى ابن خالد فى كل ليلة فى الوقت كلما رانى ازداد سرورا فلم يزل يدفع لى فى كل ليلة خمسمائة دينا وحتى كان ليلة العيد فقال لى يا ابا عبد الله تزين غدا لا ميرامو منين باحسن زى من زى القضاة واعترض لوفاته يسألنى عن خبرك فاخبرته فلما كان صبيحة يوم العيد خرجت فى احسن زى وخرج الناس وخرج اميرامو منين الى المصايب فجعل اميرامو منين يلحظنى فلم ازل فى الموكب فلما كان بعدا نصرافه صرت الى باب يحيى بن خالد ولحقنا يحيى بعد دخول اميرامو منين منزله فقال لى يا ابا عبد الله ادخل بنا فدخلت ودخل القوم فقال لى يا ابا عبد الله ما زال اميرامو منين يسألنى

hope of help from Abû'l-Bakhtari. Without a word to my companions I set out on the homeward road towards Al-Madînah, sometimes on board a boat, sometimes afoot till I reached Al-Seylabûn. While I was resting there in the market there came a caravan from Baghdad of whom I inquired who they were, whereupon they replied that they were folk of Al-Madînah and their lord was Bakkâr Al-Zubeyrî, whom the Prince of Believers had sent forth to be judge of Al-Madînah. Now Al-Zubeyrî was the friendliest of men to me, so I said to myself I will let him alight and take rest, then I will go to him. After he had rested and had finished his breakfast I went to him accordingly and asked leave to enter, which was granted to me. I went in and greeted him, whereupon he asked me : O Abû 'Abdullah, what hast thou done during thine absence ? I related to him how I had fared with Abû'l-Bakhtari and he said : Knowest thou not that Abû'l-Bakhtari will not name thy name to any man nor call any man's attention to thee ? So what hast thou decided ? " " To return to Al-Madînah." " That is a perverse decision. Thou didst quit Al-Madînah in the condition that thou knowest. The right decision is to come with me and I will mention thy business to Yahya." So I rode with his folk till I came to Ar-Raqqah and when we crossed the ferry he said to me : Thou comest with me ? I said : No, I go to my companions and I will come to thee to-morrow early that, insha'llah, we may go together unto Yahya's gate. Then I burst in on my companions and it was as if I had fallen from Heaven. They said : O Abû 'Abdullah, what became of thee ? We have been anxious about thee. Then I narrated to them what had happened, whereupon they advised me to hold fast to Al-Zubeyrî. Then they said : Here thou hast food

عذک فا خبر ته بخبر حجننا وانک ا لرجل الذی سائر ته تلک اللیلة و
امر لک بذلکین ا لف د رهم وانا متعجزها لک غدا ان شاء الله ثم انصرفت
یومی د لک فدخلت من الغد علی یحیی بن خالد فقلت ا صلح الله ا لوزیر
حاجة عرفت وقد قضیت علی ا لوزیر اعزاه الله بقضاءها فقال لی ما ذالک
فقلت ا لان الی منزلی فقتدا شتدا لشوق الی ا العیال والصبیان فقال لا تفعل فلم
ازل ا نازله حتی اذن لی واستخرج لی ا للثلاثین ا لف د رهم وهیت لی
حراقة بجمع ما فیها وامر ان یشتری لی من طرائف اشام الحمله معی الی المدینة
وامر وکیله بالاعراق ان یشتری لی الی المدینة لا اکلف نفقة دینار ولا درهم
صرت الی اصحابی فا خبرتهم بالخبر وحلفت علیهم ان یاخذوا منی ما صلحهم
به فحلف القوم انهم لا یرزونی دینارا ولا درهما فوالله ما رایت
مثلا خلا قهم فكیف الام علی حبی لیحیی بن خالد

and drink, for that thou needest take no care. In the morning I went to Al-Zubeyri's gate where I learnt that he had already ridden to the gate of Yahya. Whereupon I also repaired thither. When I had sat waiting for a while my friend came out and said: O Abû 'Abdullah, I had forgotten thy business, but wait at the gate, I now am going back to him once more. Then he went in, and almost immediately the doorkeeper came to me and bade me enter. I, however, entered in a despicable state. That was on the 26th or 27th of Ramadân. When Yahya ibn Khâlid saw me in such a condition I noticed in his countenance the token of distress. He welcomed me and made me sit down near him, while people were present who conversed with him. Then he began to talk to me of one thing after another but I was in no condition to answer him and kept on proffering things which had no relation to what he asked, and the other people kept on giving back the neatest answers while I kept silent. When the levee came to an end and the people went out I went out also. A servant of Yahya ibn Khâlid overtook me near the curtain and said: The Wazîr orders thee to partake of Iftâr with him this evening. When I then came back to my companions I related to them what had occurred and said I was afraid he had found me unworthy. Then one of them said: Here are two loaves and a bit of cheese and here thou hast my beast to ride and a slave to follow thee. If the doorkeeper lets thee in this time, walk in and hand over all that thou hast with thee to the slave. In the other event, betake thyself to a mosque, eat what thou hast with thee, drink of the water of the mosque and then come back. I reached the gate of Yahya ibn Khâlid when the folk had finished the Maghrib prayer. When the doorkeeper saw me he said: O Sheykh, thou comest late. A messenger has more than once been sent out in search of thee. Thereupon I handed the things I carried with me to the slave and ordered him to wait. When I entered, the company was already complete. I saluted and sat down. Water was then brought for washing. We washed ourselves and I sat next to him. We then partook of the Iftâr and when the time for 'Isha prayer came he led the prayer. After that we took our seats again and Yahya began putting questions to me, but I was unready in my answers, while the others gave him answers with which I did not agree. When the night was spent the folk went out and I went out behind some of them and lo! a slave followed me and said: The Wazîr orders thee to come to-morrow

evening before the time thou camest today. And he handed me a purse, containing I knew not what save that it filled me with joy, and I went out to the slave who had accompanied me and I rode and the doorkeeper rode with me till he had brought me to my friends, and I went in to them and said : Get me a lamp, whereupon I opened the purse and found in it *dînârs*. They said, What answer did he give thee ? I replied, the slave conveyed to me his order to come to him earlier than I did yesterday evening. Since I then had counted the *dînârs* and ascertained that they were 500, one of them said, I must buy for you a beast to ride, another said I must get you a saddle, bridle and the rest of it, a third said, I must take thought for your bath, the colour for your beard and your perfumery ; yet another, I must buy some clothes for you. Look how people of fashion are dressed ! Thereupon I counted out 100 *dînârs* and gave them over to their treasurer, and they swore a common oath that they would not wrong me a *dînâr* nor yet a *dirham*. In the morning, then, each one set to work to do what he had undertaken to do for me ; and when I had performed the *Zuhr* (noonday) prayer, I belonged to the number of the best dressed people. I then carried the remainder of the purse's contents to *Al-Zubeyrî*, and when he saw me in this condition, he was much rejoiced, whereupon I related to him what had happened. He then said : I am bound for *Madînah*, whereupon I answered, Yes, I have left my family there in the condition that thou knowest. Therewith I handed over to him 200 *dînârs* which he was to pass on to my family. I left him then, returned to my companions with the contents of the purse, prayed the 'Asr prayer, made myself as smart as possible and went to the gate of *Yahya*. When the gatekeeper saw me he rose respectfully and gave me leave, and I entered *Yahya's* presence. When he saw me in that condition I noticed joy in his countenance. I sat down and began to speak of that of which he had conversed with me, and the answers which I gave to him were different from those of the others. I saw how the company wrinkled their brows. *Yahya*, however, addressed questions to me about this and that and I gave my answers while the others kept silence, and none of them said anything. As then it was the time of *Maghrib* prayer *Yahya* went forward and prayed, whereupon the meal was brought in and we dined. Then *Yahya* led the 'Isha prayer and after that we took our seats again and the conversation went on ; and *Yahya* kept addressing ques-

tions to one of those present, but he had nothing to say. And when it was time to depart the folk departed and I with them, when behold ! the messenger followed me and said : The Wazîr orders you to come to him every day at the same time at which you came to-day. And he handed to me a purse, and I departed, a messenger of the door-keeper with me, till I came to my companions. I seized a lamp among them and handed over to them the purse, at sight of which they were even more glad than I was, and on the following day I said to them : Prepare a lodging for me in your neighbourhood and buy a girl-slave and a boy-slave for me, and one who can bake, and furniture, and utensils. I had not performed the Zuhr prayer before they had made everything straight for me and I asked them to take their Iftâr at my house, which they agreed to do after much pressing. I, however, went to Yahya every evening at the same time, and every time he saw me he seemed gladder than before and presented me every evening with 500 dînârs till Lcylatu'l A'id came when he said to me : O Abû 'Abdullah, make thyself fine to-morrow for the Prince of Believers with the grandest raiment of the judges and sit opposite him so that he will surely ask me concerning thee and I may inform him. In the early morning of Yaumu'l-'Aid I went out dressed in the best of clothes and the folk went out, and the Prince of Believers too went out to the place of prayer, and the Prince of Believers kept regarding me ; I, however, remained among his suite. After his departure I went to Yahya's gate and after the Prince of Believers had entered his palace Yahya came to us and said to me : O Abû 'Abdullah, let us go in. I went in and all the company went in, and he said to me : O Abû 'Abdullah, the Amîr questioned me concerning thee whereupon I retailed to him the history of our pilgrimage and that thou wast the man who then accompanied him in the night. He thereupon ordered 30,000 dirhams to be paid to thee, which I shall deliver to thee to-morrow, *in sha'llah*. I then returned home, but went to Yahya ibn Khâlid on the following day and said : May Allah fulfil for the Wazîr his heart's desire. There is something that I ask the Wazîr—God give him might!—to grant to me. He said : What is that? I said : Leave to return to my home, for longing for my family and children is heavy upon me ! And he said to me : Do not so ! But I kept on entreating till he gave me leave. And he had the 30,000 dirhams paid out to me, caused a skiff with all accessories to be made ready

for me, purchased certain of the rarities of Syria for me to carry with me to Al-Madīnah and ordered his agent in 'Irâq to hire riding animals for me till Madīnah. I was not put to the expense of a dīnâr nor yet of a dirhâm. Then I went to my friends and told them the news, and I adjured them to take from me what they wanted, but they all swore that they would not take from me a dīnâr nor yet a dirham; and, by Allah, I have never seen the like of their good character, and how can I be blamed for my love of Yahya ibn Khâlid "

These last words show us that Wâqidî told this story to his audience only after the downfall of Yahya (187 A.H.); before then he had no need to fear being blamed for his love for Yâhya. Elsewhere also Wâqidî remembers, Yâhya's bounties gratefully; and a further instance of Yâhya's readiness to help, likewise preserved by his pupil Ibn Sa'd¹ is here reproduced, which affords us at the same time a glimpse of the domestic conditions of the time.

(1) Ibn Sa'd V 319.

وحدثنى أحمد بن مسهم قال حدثني عبد الله بن عبيد الله قال كنت عند الواقدى جالسا إذ ذكر يحيى بن خالد بن برمك قال فترحم عليه الواقدى فاكثرا فترحم قال فقلنا له يا أبا عبد الله أنك لأكثرا لترحم عليه قال وكيف لا ترحم على رجل أخبرك عن حاله كان قد بقي على من شهر شعبان أقل من عشرة أيام وما فى المنزل دقيق ولا سويق ولا عرض من عروض الدنيا فميرت ثلاثة من أخواني فى قلبى فقلت أنزل بهم حاجتى فخدمت على أبا عبد الله وهى زوجتى فقلت ما وراءك يا أبا عبد الله وقد أصبحنا وليس فى البيت عرض من عروض الدنيا من طعام أو سويق أو غير ذلك وقد ورد هذا الشهر فقلت لها قد ميرت ثلاثة من أخواني أنزل بهم حاجتى فقلت هديونى وعراقيون قال قلت بعض مدنى وبعض عراقى فقلت أعرضهم على فقلت لها فلان فقلت رجل حسيب ذو يسار إلا أنه منان لا أرى لك أن تأتيه فسم الآخر أنه بخيل لا فسميت الآخر فقلت فلان فقلت رجل حسيب ذو مال إلا أرى لك أن تأتيه، قال فقلت فلان فقلت رجل كريم حسيب لا شئ عده لا عليك أن تأتيه قال فأتيته فاستفتحت عليه، الباب فأنلى عليه فدخلت فمرحب وقرىب وقال لى ما جاء بك أبا عبد الله فآخبرته بورود الشهر وضييق الحال قال ففكر ساعة ثم قال لى أرفع ثنى الوسادة فخذ ذلك الكيس فطهره واستنقه فاذا بهى دأهم مكحلة فاخذت الكيس وصرت لى منزل لى فدعوت رجلا كان يقول لى شراء حوائجى فقلت أكتب من الدقيق عشرة أفقره ومن الأرز قفيزا ومن السكر كذا حتى قضى جميع حوائجهم فبيد ما نحن كذا لك إذ سمعت دقا لبا ب فقلت انظروا من هذا فقالت البعارة هذا فلان بن فلان بن على بن الحسين بن على بن أبى طالب فقلت أذننى له فقمته عن مجلسى ورحبت به وقرىبه وقلت له يا ابن رسول الله ما جاء بك فقال لى يا عم آخر جنى

“ Abdullah ibn ‘Ubeydullah relates : I was sitting with Al-Wâqidî when Yahya ibn Khâlid ibn Barmak was mentioned and Al-Wâqidî showed his great compassion for him. And we said to him : O Abû ‘Abdullah, why are you so full of sympathy for him ? He answered : How could I not feel sympathy for a man whose nature I will describe to thee. Less than 10 days remained of the month Sha‘bân yet there was in the house neither meal nor fine

ورود هذا الشهر وليس عندنا شيء ففكرت ساعة ثم قلت له ارفع ثني
اوسادة فخذ لكيس بماء فخذ لكيس ثم قلت لصاحبي اخرج فخرج فدخلت
ام عبد الله فقال لي ما صنعت في حاجة الفتى فقلت لها دفعت اليه اللبس
باسر فقال وفتت وحسنت ثم فكرت في صد يق لي بقرب المنزل
فانتعلت وخرجت اليه فدفقت الباب فاذن لي فدخلت فلم علي ورحب و
قرب ثم قال لي ما جاء بك يا ابا عبد الله فخبرته بورود الشهر وضيق الحال
ففكر ساعة ثم قال لي ارفع ثني الوسادة فخذ لكيس فخذ نصفه واعطنا نصفه
فاذن لكيس بيده فاخذت خمسة مائة درهم ودفعت اليه خمسة مائة وصرت الي منزل
فدعوت الرجل الذي كان يلبي شراؤه حواجي فقلت له اكتب خمسة اققرة
دقيق فكتب لي جميع ما اردت من حوايجي فبينما انا كذلك اذ نادى قديدق الباب
فقلت اللخادم انظر من هذا فخرجت ثم رجعت الي ففد اخذت خادما نبيل
فقلت لها اذني له فزل فاذا كنتا ب من يحيى بن خالد ليسا لني المصير اليه
في وقته ذاك فقلت للرجل اخرج ولبست ثيابا بي وركبت دابة ثم مضيت
مع الخادم فالتيت منزل يحيى بن خالد رحمه الله فدخلت عليه وهرجالس
في صحن داره فلما رايتني وسلمت عليه رحب وقرب وقال يا غلام
مر فقه فتعدت الي جانيه فقال لي ابا عبد الله تدري لم دعوتك فقلت لا فقال
اسهر ثني لي لتي هذه فكرة في امرك وورود هذا الشهر وما عندك فقلت
اصلم الله الاوزير ان قصتي تطول فقال لي ان القصه كلما طال كان اشهي
لها فخيرته بعدد ايام عبد الله وحدثت اخواني الثلاثة وما كان
من رد هاهنا وخبرته بعدد ايام لبي

واخبر اخي الثاني الامواسي لي بالكيس فقال عبد الله استعن بهذا
يا غلام دواة فكتب رقعة لي حاز فيها دالكيس فبذمت خمسة مائة دينار فقال لي يا ابا
علي شهر ثم رفع رقعة لي خازنه فاذا اصره فيها مائتا

دينار هذا الام عبد الله لجزاتها وحسن عقلها ثم رفع رقعة اخرى
فقال هذا للمواسي لي ثم رفع رقعة اخرى فاذا اصره فيها مائتا
فقال هذا للمواسي لي ثم قال لي انقض ابا عبد الله في حفظ الله قال
فركبت من فوري فالتيت صاحبي الذي واساني بالكيس فدفعت اليه
المائتي دينار وخبرته بخبر يحيى بن خالد فكان يموت فراحا ثم اتيت الطالبي
فدفعت اليه الاصره واخبرته بخبر يحيى بن خالد فدعا وشكر ثم دخلت
منزلي فدعوت ام عبد الله فدفعته اليها الاصره فدعت وجرت خيرا فكيف
لام علي حب البراءة يحيى بن خالد خاصة

flour nor any kind of provision. I picked out in my mind three of my intimate friends and said to myself : I will expose my need to them. Then I went to Umm 'Abdullah (she is my wife) and she said : What is going to happen to thee, O Abû 'Abdullah, since there are no provisions whatever in the house of food or flour or anything else, and now this month is upon us. I said : I have picked out three from the list of my brethren, to whom I shall expose my need. "Are they Madanîs or 'Irâqîs?" "Some Madanî, some 'Irâqî." "Name them to me!" I named the first, whereat she said : An important man in easy circumstances, but one who reproaches the recipients of his bounty. I think it wrong that thou shouldst go to him. Name another ! When I named him she said : A man of weight and substance, but a miser. I think it wrong that thou shouldst go to him. I named the third, of whom she said : A noble man, there is nothing against him and there is no harm in thy going to him. So I went to him and sought admission and was admitted and went in, and he welcomed me and drew me near and said. What brings thee, O Abû 'Abdullah ? Then I told him of the coming of the sacred month and of our straitened circumstances, whereupon he thought awhile, then said Lift up the fold of the cushion and take that purse and clean it and spend the money, they are dirhams stained with *Kohl*. So I took the purse and went home. And I called a man who did my purchases. While I was dictating to him, "10 Qafiz of fine flour, 1 Qafiz of rice, so much sugar," there came a knock at the door and I said : See who is there ! The slave-girl said : So-and-so, son of So-and-so, son of 'Ali son of Abî 'Talib is there ; whereupon I bade her let him in, rose from my seat to pay him honour, welcomed him, made him take seat near me and inquired what brought him. He said : O uncle ! The coming of the sacred month obliges me to make purchases and we have nothing in the house. I pondered for a while and then said : Lift up the cushion's fold and take the purse and its contents. Then I said to my friend (who did the purchases) : Go ! and he went away. And Umm 'Abdullah came in and said to me : What hast thou done in the affair of that young man ? I said to her : "I handed over to him the purse with all its contents." "Then thou hast acted with God's support and hast done right." Then I bethought me of a friend whose house was near our dwelling, put on my shoes, went thither, knocked and gained admission. He greeted me with kindness, bade me

welcome, drew me near and said : What brings thee, O Abû 'Abdullah ? Then I told him how the sacred month was nigh and how we found ourselves in straitened circumstances, whereupon he thought awhile, then said : " Lift up the cushion's fold, take the purse ; take thou half the contents and give us the other half." And lo and behold ! it was my own purse from which I now extracted 500 dirhams, while I gave him the other 500. After that I went to my dwelling, called the man who did my purchases and dictated : " 5 Qafiz of fine flour " and so on, and he wrote down all my wishes. Meanwhile there came a knock at the door and when the servant had opened it she returned and said : " A noble servant," and when she had let him in he handed to me a letter from Yahya ibn Khâlid in which he summoned me to come to him at once. I sent the servant out, dressed myself suitably, mounted my beast and went with the servant to Yahya's palace. When I came in to his presence he was in the courtyard of the house. I greeted him, and he bade me welcome and drew me near and he called out, " Slave, cushion," whereupon I sat down at his side. He said : " O Abû 'Abdullah, knowest thou wherefor I have called thee ? " " No. " " Last night the thought of thy circumstances and the approach of the sacred month kept me awake." I said : " Allah give health to the Wazîr ! My story is a long one." " The longer the story the more desirable to me." Thereupon I told him what had happened about Umm 'Abdullah, and my three brethren : how she repelled the thought of two of them, how the Tâlibi had come and how my second brother had shared the bag with me. Thereupon he cried : " Boy ! Bring writing things !"—and wrote a letter to his treasurer, whereupon there came a bag with 500 dinârs. And Yahya said to me : Make use of this sum in order to defray the expenses of the coming month." Then he drafted another instruction for his treasurer, on which there came a money purse containing 200 dinârs and he said : " For Umm 'Abdullah, for her prudence and her ready wit." Then he gave two other orders of 200 dinârs each, one for the Tâlibî the other for the man who shared the bag with me, and said : " O Abû 'Abdullah, go now, in Allah's keeping." I straightway mounted my beast, went to my comrade who had shared the bag with me, handed the 200 dinârs to him and told him what Yahya had done, whereat he rejoiced so that he nearly died of it. Then went I to the Tâlibî, handed him the purse, told him what Yahya had done,

and he prayed for him and gave thanks. Then went I to my house, called Umm 'Abdullah, handed her the purse, and she too prayed for Yahya and asked Allah to requite his deed. How then can I be blamed for love of the Bar-makids, and of Yahya in particular?"

In somewhat varying form Mas'ûdî,¹ Yâqût,² and Ibn Khalliqân³ tell the same story; according to them it happened in the time of the Khalifah al-Mâ'mûn, but Ibn Sa'd's account reproduces the older version which proceeds from Wâqidî himself.

According to a statement, the source of which is not communicated,⁴ Hârûn Ar-Rashîd had charged Wâqidî with the office of judge over the east side of Baghdad, and from another report it appears that in 187 A.H., he was already a judge, therefor, in that case too, under Hârûn.⁵ The oldest biographies know nothing of that and mention only that Al-Mâ'mûn appointed Wâqidî judge of 'Askar al Mahdi or Kusafa⁶ (on the east side of Baghdad?) after his (Wâqidî's) entry into Baghdad at the beginning of 204 A.H.⁸ with Al-Mâ'mûn he stood on confidential terms and when he once approached him with a request that he would pay his debts⁹—into which his generosity was always plunging Wâqidî¹⁰—it is related that the

(1) *Muruj ed.* Cairo II 237. (2) ed. Margoliouth VII 55.

(3) ed. Bulaq I 640 seq.

(4) Yâqût Margoliouth, VII 56.

(5) Ibn, Hajar IX 364 (6) Tabari III. 1037. (7) Yâqût ed Wüstenfeld III 677 (8) Ibn Sa'd V. 3141 VII b 77; Ibn Qutaibah, *Mu'arif* 258; Yâqût, ed Margoliouth VII 56. Sam'ani 577 b. Ibn Qutaibah does not say, as Ibn Khallikan 1641 implies, that Wâqidî was judge on the West side of Baghdad but only that the judge of the west side of the cemetery spoke over him. Ibn Sa'd V 321.

(9) Ibn Hajar IX 355

وكان جوادا كريما مشهورا بالسخاء

(10) Yâqût ed. Margoliouth VII 56.

وكتب الى اوقدنى الى الامامون مرة يشكو ضائقة ربه بسببها دین وعین وقدره
فوقع الامامون على قصته بخطه فيك خلعتا سخاء وحياء فاسخاء
اطلق يدك بقبضير ما ملكك والعياء حملك على ان ذكرت لنا بعض
دينك وقد امرنا لك بضعف ما سالت وان كنا قصر ناعن بلوغ حاجتك
فجنا يتك على نفسك وان كنا بلغنا بغيتك فزدني بسطة يدك فان خزان الله
مفقودة وينه بالخير ميسرة وانت حد تندي حين كدت على قضاء
الرشيد ان الندي صلعم قال للزبير يا زبير ان مغا تديم الرزق بازاء العرش
ينزل الله سبحانه للعبد ارزاقهم على قدر نفعناهم فمن كثر كثر له ومن قل قل
قلل عليه قال اواقدي وكنت نسيت الحديث وكان تذكره لي به اعجب من صلته

Khalifah wrote on the margin of the petition : " Thou possessest two qualities : generosity and shamefacedness. Thy generosity looses thy hands so that thou dissipatest thy property ; thy shamefacedness, however, causes thee to state only a portion of thy debts to us. Therefore we have ordered to be paid to thee the double of that thou askest. If in so doing we come short of the amount thou needest, the fault is thine own ; if, on the other hand, we have fulfilled thy requirement, then open thy hand still further to beneficence ; for the treasures of Allah are opened and His hand is ever stretched out to the good. Thou thyself, however, didst relate to me at the time when thou wast judge under Hârûn, how the Prophet (Allah bless and keep him !) said to Zubeyr : " The keys of life's provision lie before the throne, and Allah sendeth down to men their provision in proportion to that which they themselves expend. He who giveth much, unto him will much be given ; he who giveth little, unto him will little be given." Wâqidî for his part, said when he received the writing : I myself had forgotton the hadîth, and that he should call it to my remembrance was to me more wonderful than his gift."

Under the Khilâfat of Al-Mâ'mûn, whom Wâqidî appointed executor of his will,¹ he died at the end of 207 A.H. at the age of 78 years, and was laid to rest in the Al-Khaizuran cemetery.²

Wâqidî was a zealous collector of the knowledge propagated in his time and had all scripts accessible to him copied. At his death he is said to have left 600 chests of books,³ the work of two slaves who copied for him day and night. Moreover, he had bought books to the value of 2,000 dînârs. These collections formed the basis of his own literary activity, which extended over various fields. The *Fihrist* offers a list of his works consisting of 28 numbers,⁴ and Yâqût, in *Mu'jam al Udaba*, gives one

(1) Ibn Sa'd V 321

و اوصى محمد بن عمر ابي عبد الله بن هارون امير المؤمنين قبل وصيته وقضى دينه

(2) Ibn Sa'd V 321, VIIb 77 ; Ibn Qutaiba 226 ; *Fihrist* 98

(3) *Fihrist* 98

خلاف الراصدى بعد وفاته ستمائة قمر كتب لكل قمر مرموزها حمل رجلين وكان له غلامان مملوكان يكتبان الليل والنهار وقبل ذلك بيع له كتب بالقي دينار

(4) ed. Flügel 98.

agreeing with it in essentials.¹ Therein are named :

(a) Works on Fiqh, the Qurân, Hadîth, etc. .

(1) *Kitabu'l-Ikhtilaf* Differences of opinion of the Fuqaha of Al-Madînah and Al-Kûfah concerning the Right of Pre-emption, the Poor-Rate, the assignment of property for life, the reversion of property at the owner's death and the other chapters of Fiqh.²

(2) *Kitab Ghalat al-Hadith.*

(3) *Kitabu's-Sunnah wa'l-Jama'ah wa Shammi'l Hawa.*³

(4) *Kitab Dhikr al-Quran.*

(5) *Kitabu'l-Adab.*

(6) *Kitabu't-Targhib fi 'Ilmi'l-Quran.*

(b) Works of historical import.

(7) *At-Tarikhu'l-Kabir.*

(8) *At-Tarikh wal Maghazi wal Ba'ith.*

(9) *Akhbar Makkah.*

(10) *Azwaju'n-Nabi.*

(11) *Wafatu'n-Nabi.*

(12) *As-Saqifah wa Bai'at Abi Bakr.*

(13) *Siratu Abi Bakr wa Wafatuhu.*

(14) *Al-Riddah wa'l-Dar.*

(15) *Al-Sirah.*

(16) *Amru'l-Habasha wa'l-Fil.*

(17) *Harbu'l-'Aus wa'l-Khazraj.*⁴

(18) *Al-Manakih.*⁵

(19) *Yaumu'l-Jamal.*

(20) *Siffin.*

(21) *Maulidu'l-Hasan wa'l-Huseyn.*

(22) *Maqtalu'l-Huseyn.*⁶

(23) *Futuhu'sh-Sham.*

(24) *Futuhu'l-'Iraq.*

(25) *Darbu'd-Dananir wa'd-Darahim.*

(26) *Mara'i Qureysh wa'l-Ansar fi'l-Qata'i wa Wad'a 'Umar al-Duwain.*⁷

(27) *At-Tabaqat.*

(28) *Tarikhu'l-Fuqaha.*

(1) VII 58.

(2) *Fihrist* enumerates still further chapters.

(3) *Fihrist* adds ; *wa tark el Khawariji fil fitan.*

(4) *Fihrist* : *Kitabu'l-gharib fi'ilm al-Quran wa-ghalat el-rifa*

(5) It might equally be a work on matrimonial legal questions but, since Yaqût includes it among works of a historical character it must have been a historical monograph.

(6) *Fihrist* names also a special *Kitab Maqal al-Hasan.*

(7) *Fihrist* cites in conclusion : *wa tas'nifal qabail wa maratibiha wa ansabiha.*

In addition to the works named in this list, Ibn Sa'd¹ cites also a *Kitab Tu'am al Nabi* which evidently treated of the incomes assigned to the wives of the Prophet and other persons from the lands of Kheybar; perhaps it represents only a chapter from the *Mara'i*, and for that reason is missing in the *Fihrist* and in Yâqût. Of the historical works two (numbers 16 and 17, and perhaps number 9) treat of subjects from the pre-Islamic history of Makkah and Madînah; four (Nos. 8, 10, 11, and 15) deal with the history of the Prophet or particular portions thereof; the remaining works, however, deal with excerpts from the history of Islâm after the death of the Prophet. Quotations from several of these works have been preserved for us in various historians, and from Wâqidî's *Kitabu'r-Riddah wad-Dar* we possess numerous extracts in the still unpublished *Kitabu'l-Ghazarwat* of Ibn Hubeysh (died 584 A.H.), a work which Leone Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta, has used to great advantage in his *Annali dell' Islam* for the *Riddah*—i.e., the revolt of the Arabian tribes after the Prophet's death. This work of Wâqidî's, too, was formerly well known in Spain, and is named e.g., in the *Fihrist* of Abu Kheyr² (died 575 A.H.). There it is called simply *Kitabu'l-Riddah*, whereas elsewhere it appears under the title of *Kitabu'l-Riddah wa'l-Dar*. By *Dâr* is probably meant *Yaumu'd-Dar*, a customary expression for the murder of the Khalîfah 'Uthmân. How Wâqidî came to treat of the *Riddah* of the year A.H. 11 together with the *Yaumu'd-Dâr* of the year 35 A.H. in one book is not clear. Perhaps it is a question of two originally independent works which later were erroneously made into one book;³ numerous reports of Wâqidî's concerning the murder of 'Uthmân are preserved in Tabari⁴ and presumably they are from the *Kitabu'd-Dar*.

The Tarikhu'l-Kabir was evidently a work in which all the important events of Islamic history were enumerated in the form of annals, and reached at least to the year 179 A.H.⁵ Tabari has preserved for us numerous fragments from the *Tarikh* which Wâqidî, it would seem, had finished before he settled in Baghdad.

Wâqidî's *Kitabu't-Tabaqat*—next to Al-Heytham ibn

(1) VIII. 32.

(2) *Bibliotheca Arabo-Hispana* IX 237.

(3) Gaetani, *Annali dell' Islam* anno 11§ 70F

(4) Tabari I 2941—3060.

(5) Tabari III 639.

Adî, he is the first to compose such a work¹—supplies the basis of the similar work of his pupil Ibn Sa'd, and from the latter it appears that Wâqidî dealt above all with the categories of the Companions of the Prophet and those of their descendants living in Madînah, with the traditionist of Kûfah and Basrah, however, no longer systematically² Wâqidî's *Kitabu't-Tabaqat* can thus be regarded as a supplement to his other works devoted to the life of the Prophet. Of these, Ibn Sa'd has made use of the books which deal with the Wives of the Prophet and the Death of the Prophet also in the corresponding portions of his work, as well as one in which the Missives of the Prophet were brought together, which is not named as a separate work and so was probably but a component chapter of the *Sirah*.³ Elsewhere, also, much of Wâqidî's *Sirah*, or of the *Kitabu'l-Ba'th*, which evidently deals with the time from the Prophet's Mission till the emigration to Madînah, has passed on to Ibn Sa'd. Ibn Sa'd quotes Wâqidî once or twice as authority for the biblical pre-history, but he (Wâqidî) appears not to have considered this in much detail; on the other hand Wâqidî frequently appears as authority of the events of the Meccan period.

Of all Wâqidî's writings the *Kitabu'l-Maghazi* alone has been preserved to us complete, and as a substantial book. Alfred von Kremer published the first third of the text of this work in the *Bibliotheca Indica* after an incomplete MS. found by him at Damascus.⁴ One other incomplete and one complete manuscript of the whole book are to be found in the British Museum, and the abridged German version which Julius Wellhausen published under the title of *Muhammad in Madinah* rests on these MSS. August Fischer is preparing a complete edition of the Arabic text in Leipzig.⁵

(1) Loth. in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 23 page 603.

(2) Loth ibid 604 and 607 note 4. In Ibn Sa'd V 314 Wâqidî gives further the date of death of a traditionist who died in Madînah in 186 A. H. This work also was perhaps completed in Madînah and some additions afterwards made in Baghdad.

(3) Concerning the relation of this Section of Ibn Sa'd's work to Wâqidî cf. D. H. Baneth, *Beiträge zur Kritik und zur sprachlichen Verstandnis der Schreiben Muhammads* (Dissertations-Auszug, Berlin 1920).

(4) *Waqidis History of Muhammad's Campaigns* edited by Alfred von Kremer, Calcutta 1856. Wâqidî's work only extends to 360 pages, 10 lines, what follows is derived from a later work. p. 1 line 9 to p. 9. Line 2 also is not from Wâqidî;

(5) ed. Kremer No. 1 line 9 to 2 line 6.

At the beginning of his *Kitabu'l-Maghazi* Wâqidî gives a list of his weightiest direct authorities consisting of 25 names, and his pupil Ibn Sa'd too mentions eleven of these as Wâqidî's chief authorities for the *Maghâzi*.¹ From this list, which has been commented upon in detail by Sachau,² it appears that Wâqidî must have begun to collect his materials early, for some of these direct authorities died only a little after 150 A.H., at a time when Wâqidî was only 25 years old or less. Almost all these authorities are natives of Al-Madînah or had come to live there; Wâqidî can therefor be considered as representative of the Madînah school. The list given at the beginning of the work does not, however, contain the names of all the direct informants quoted by Wâqidî, but only those on whom the principal account is based. This is often interrupted by individual reports for which, each time, a special Isnâd is given. The Index of Transmitters (of Tradition) which Wellhausen has appended to his translation affords a survey of all authorities named by Wâqidî, and among such direct or indirect authorities figure chiefly those authors of biographies of the Prophet whom we have already valued: Zuhri, Ma'mar, Abû Ma'shar; also, but more rarely, Mûsa ibn 'Uqbah, and Ibn Ishâq never at all. That is all the more remarkable because Wâqidî, in a biographical article preserved in Tabarî,³ expresses himself concerning Ibn Ishâq with great approval: "He belonged to those learned in the *Maghâzi* and the *Ayamû'l-'Arab*, and their stories and genealogies, was a transmitter of their poems, had a comprehensive acquaintance with Hadith, was rich in knowledge, eagerly intent to collect it, filled a prominent position in the world of science, and was trustworthy withal." That Wâqidî made use of Ibn Ishâq's work cannot be doubted;⁴ perhaps he has drawn upon it even more than that of any other of his forerunners, and possibly that was just the reason why he did not wish to make Ibn Ishâq's share too conspicuous by frequent mention of his name, and contented himself with including him among those anonymous sources of whom he says at the end of his list: "Others besides those

(1) Ibn Sa'd IIa 1, lines 3—10. The list consisting of six names of Wâqidî's authorities for the edicts of the Prophet is found in Ibn Sa'd ib 15; that of 8 names of his principal authorities for the *Tabaqat* ibid. IIIa 1.

(2) *Studien für ältesten Geschichtsuberlieferung der Araber* 21 ff

(3) Tabarî III 2512

(4) The proofs are to be found in Wellhausen 12 seq; F. Horowitz *De Waqidit libroqui Kitab al Magazi inscribitur* (Berlin, 1898). 9 seq.

mentioned have transmitted reports to me." But, besides Ibn Ishâq, Wâqidî made use of all other 'sources that were anyhow attainable, and offers a great deal which is not to be found in Ibn Ishâq at all, or at any rate which in his work is not supported by the same authorities as in Wâqidî's. The *Kitabu'l-Maghazi* is thus much richer in accounts of the events of the Madînah period than the work of Ibn Ishâq, though indeed a part of these accounts belong not properly to historical but rather to juristic Hadîth. In this respect also Wâqidî's book stands nearer to the Hadîth collections: that Wâqidî simply joins one Hadîth on to another without attempting to unite them by additions or glosses of his own, as Ibn Ishâq does generally. Wâqidî also not unfrequently quotes poems, though these, as a matter of fact, are mostly missing in the MSS. which have come down to us, either because Wâqidî himself did not insert them on that occasion or because one of the transmitters of his work left them out. But even if we had all the declared poems, they could hardly amount to the number of those picked up by Ibn Ishâq. Besides the writings of his forerunners¹, Wâqidî made use also of original sources, sometimes following the texts quoted by his forerunners, sometimes following originals he had himself examined². In his *Kitabu'l-Maghazi* Wâqidî records some of the edicts and treaties issued by the Prophet, and the section which Ibn Sa'd devotes to the Prophet's circular letters rests for the most part on the collection of such documents undertaken by Wâqidî upon the basis of the labours of his predecessors. Wâqidî follows a fixed plan in his presentment of the Maghâzi; he begins by giving the chronological dates of the setting out of the expedition from Madînah and of its return thither, follows it up with the account of the campaign—in the longer sections it is generally one principal account composed of many individual accounts, to which peculiar versions are then added—and at the end there is, in most cases, information concerning the Prophet's *locum tenens* during the time of his absence from Madînah,

(1) In (Ibn Sa'd Ia 39) Wâqidî says:

حدثنى عبد الله بن جعفر الزهرى قال وجدته فى كتاب ابي بكر بن
عبد الرحمن بن المسور الخ ibid II b 69
حدثنى موسى بن محمد بن ابراهيم بن الحارث التميمى قال وجدته
هذا فى صحيفة بخط ابي فبهما الخ

(2) So says Wâqidî in Ibn Sa'd *ib* 37.

قال محمد بن عمرو نسخت كتاب اهل اذرح فاذا فيه الخ

songs, exposition of Koranic verses which contain allusions to the event in question, lists etc.

The author's "I" occurs only seldom in the work of Wâqidî, unless in the Isnâd-formula : "So-and-so related to me ;" Wâqidî is, however, not only a collector and arranger of the first order, of the material transmitted to him by others. In fixing the dates of events he goes far beyond his predecessors, and his chronology¹ is not mere repetition of already accepted data, but the result of independent research. Moreover, Wâqidî has made his own remarks about the origin of the tradition, and Ibn Sa'd² has preserved for us a longer, comprehensive treatise of Wâqidî's, in which he states his own opinion without invoking any authority whatever, a rare exception in the case of a writer who—apart, of course, from the autobiographical details quoted above—hardly ever makes detailed statements without the addition of the accurate Isnâd.

While Wâqidî is repudiated by the Muhaddithîn,³ he is held a sound authority for the Sîrah, the Maghâzi, the Conquests and Fiqh.⁴ But essentially his interest in history begins only with the rise of Islâm ; unlike Ibn Ishâq, he has given no great attention to the heathen period preceding it, and even less, it would appear, to the history of the pre-Islamic Revelations. Ibrâhîm Al Harbî says expressly :⁵ "Wâqidî was the most erudite of men in the region of Islâm ; but of the Jâhilîyah he knew nothing."

In the *Fihrist*⁶ Wâqidî is described as a Shî'î and even as an adherent of the milder régime. An utterance of his is there quoted, according to which 'Alî was one of the miracles of the Prophet, as the rod which changed into a serpent was one of the miracles of Moses and the raising of the dead was among those of Jesus. It is however noteworthy that Wâqidî either does not produce at all, or quotes only in a mitigated form, such outspoken parti-

(1) S. Wellhausen 15.

(2) Ibn Sa'd IIb 126, lines 25 to 128 and line 12.

(3) v. The judgments in Ibn Hajar IX, 363 seq ; Yâqût, *Udaba* VII, 655.

(4) Ibn Sa'd V, 314 ; Yâqût *Ibid*.

(5) Ibn Hajar IX, 365

(6) ed. Flügel 98

وكان يشيع حسن الله هب وهو الذي روى ان عليا عليه السلام
كان من معجزات النبي صلعم كالعصا لموسى عموا حياء لموتى لعيسى
بن مريم عم وغير ذلك من الاخبار

san statements for 'Alî as we find, for example, in Ibn Ishâq. Similarly the words of the Prophet to 'Alî, quoted by Ibn Ishâq: "Art thou not glad, O 'Alî, that thou standest to me in the position of Hârûn to Mûsa?" are missing in Wâqidî;¹ as are also the words which, according to Ibn Ishâq, the Prophet uttered on the occasion of the Barâ'ah: "Only a man from the folk of mine own house shall convey the message."² Such omission or modification of traditions favourable to 'Alî is striking in the case of an author who is described as a Shî'î, and the explanation is perhaps to be found in the appended statement of the author of the *Fihrist* that Wâqidî had applied himself to the Taqîyah,³ that is to say, had not made known his inclination for Shî'ism. In other places Wâqidî shows his impartiality by giving the version favourable to 'Alî as well as that adverse to him; as when he reproduces the report according to which the Prophet died in 'the lap of A'ishah as well as that according to which he died in Alî's lap.⁴ Moreover the author of the *Fihrist* is the first and, as it seems, the only author who marks Wâqidî as a Shî'ite, even the *Kutubu'r-Rijal* of the Shî'ites do not mention him

As we have seen, Wâqidî rejoiced in the favour of the 'Abbasid Khalîfahs, and it is obviously respect for the ruling House that causes him to omit the name of Al-'Abbâs from the list of the opponents of the Prophet taken prisoners at Badr, and in the catalogue of those who furnished the army of Qureysh with provisions (*Mut'imun*⁵) to substitute a "Fulân" for Al-'Abbâs's name. Similarly it is to please the ruling House that Wâqidî puts in the statement that Al-'Abbâs stood first in the list of pensions established by 'Umar.⁶

The last of the compilers of a biography of the Prophet to be considered by us here is Muhammad Ibn Sa'd known as the Secretary of Al-Wâqidî (*Katibu'l-Waqidi*) whose work has been edited by Eduard Sachau in

(1) Ibn Hishâm 897 cf. Wâqidî-Wellhausen, 393.

(2) Ibn Hishâm 921; cf. Wâqidî-Wellhausen, 416 and the note to Ibn Sa'd IIa 127.

(3) 98 يلزم النفية

(4) Ibn Sa'd IIb 50, lines 12 to 51, and line 24.

(5) ed. Krenmer 140; in an account preserved in Ibn Sa'd IVa 6, Wâqidî mentions the capture of 'Abbâs cf. further: Noldeke in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 52, page 21 seq.

(6) Ibn Sa'd IVa 21; cf. Cactani, *Annali*, anno 20, pp. 264, 266, 841.

conjunction with a number of collaborators,¹ and on whom Otto Loth composed a monograph² in 1869.

Muhammad Ibn Sa'd ibn Manî' was born at Basrah in 168 A.H.³ and later sojourned, among other places, in Madînah, where we find him in the year 189 A.H.⁴ When he is described as a Maula of Al-Huseyn ibn 'Abdullah ibn 'Ubeydullah ibn Al-'Abbâs,⁵ that does not mean that he himself, but that his grandfather, and possibly also his father, stood in that relation to Al-Huseyn; for the latter had died in 140 or 141 A.H.⁶ That Ibn Sa'd himself no longer maintained any kind of relations whatsoever with that branch of the Abbasid house is clear from Ibn Sa'd's own statement that that branch had died out with Huseyn.⁷ In some sources Ibn Sa'd bears the *Nisbah* of Al-Zuhri,⁸ from which it is to be supposed that he himself, or his father before him, had affiliated himself to the Zuhrah, a subdivision of Qureysh. In Baghdad he entered into close relations with Al-Wâqidî and, as the author of the *Fihrist* says, founded his books very substantially upon the writings of Wâqidî.⁹ Of the writings of Ibn Sa'd, the compiler of the *Fihrist* cites only the *Kitab Akhbar Al-Nabi*, and this biography of the Prophet alone seems to have been edited by Ibn Sa'd in the form in which it was afterwards current and communicated to his pupils for further transmission; while the *Tabaqat* were first preserved in their current form by Al-Huseyn ibn Fahm (211-89 A.H.). Both works were afterwards, by Ibn Ma'rûf, about 300 A.H., united in one book,¹⁰ of which the Prophet's biography forms the first part. The *Akhbaru'n-Nabi*—Volumes Ia. b. and IIa. b. in the Berlin edition—have an introductory section dealing with the history of the former Prophets, to which is appended the

(1) Ibn Sa'd *Biographien Muhammads seiner gefahrten und der späteren Träger des Islams bis zum 230 der Flucht* 19 vols. Leiden E. J. Brill 1904-28.

(2) *Das Classenbuch des Ibn Sa'd*. Leipzig 1869.

(3) Ibn Sa'd VIIb 99.

(4) Ibid V 314

ولكذہ یعنی (ا با عاقمة الفرأوى) عمر حتى لقينا سنة تسع وثمانين ومائة
با لمدودة

(5) Ibn Sa'd VIIb, 99; Baladuri, *Futuh* 319 mentions him as Maula of the Banu Hâshim.

(6) Ibn Hajar II 342.

(7) Ibn Sa'd V 231.

(8) Ibn Khallikan I 642.

(9) ed. Flügel 99 وا ف كذب من تصديقات الوا ذى

(10) Loth, *Das Classenbuch*, 25 seq.

history of the ancestors of Muhammad. Then follows the presentment of the story of Muhammad's childhood and of the following years up to his Mission, in which two sections on the tokens of Muhammad's Prophethood before and after the first Revelation find a place. Then come the events from his first standing forth as a Prophet till the Hijrah. The second part of the first volume treats of the Madînah period, more especially in detail of the Prophet's edicts, the embassies of the Arabs, the Prophet's personal characteristics, mode of life and belongings. The first part of the second volume is devoted to the Prophet's campaigns, therefor to the *Maghazi* in the stricter sense of the word; the second part of the second volume sets forth the conclusion of the personal biography of the Prophet in detailed sections concerning the Prophet's illness, death, burial and heritage, as well as a collection of elegies composed for him. What then follows in this volume—accounts concerning the most eminent legal experts in Madînah—properly forms the introduction to the *Tabaqat* and has nothing more to do with the actual biography of the Prophet, of which the conclusion is expressly indicated by the words, *Akhir Khabar Al-Nabi* which stand before the beginning of this appendix.

Ibn Sa'd is—since we possess only the *Maghâzi* of Wâqidî as a self-contained work,—the earliest author, after Ibn Ishâq, from whom a complete biography of the Prophet has come down to us. In some places Ibn Sa'd gives much fuller details than Ibn Ishâq, as, for instance, in the sections concerning the qualities and habits of the Prophet, concerning his missives and embassies, concerning his illness and death; while other matters, which occupy much space in Ibn Ishâq, he leaves quite unnoticed, such as the pre-Islamic past of Arabia in so far as it has no concern with the Prophet's immediate ancestors. Ibn Sa'd has a turn for the systematic arrangement of material, and he seems to be the first to place the '*Alamatu'n-Nubuwwah*' together, a practice in which later works on the *Dala'ilu'n-Nubuwwah* follow him; just as his section on the *Sifatu Akhlaqi Rasuli'llah* is the precursor of the later *Shama'il*-literature.¹

The *Akhbaru'n-Nabi* of Ibn Sa'd are based for the most part on the materials collected by his teacher, Wâqidî. For the biblical pre-history, indeed, he quotes him only very seldom,² his chief authority for that being Hishâm

(1) Noldeke-Schwally *Geschichte des Qorans* II, 135.

(2) Ibn Sa'd Ia 21, 22.

ibn Muḥammad ibn Al-Saib ibn Al-Kalbî. In the history of the Meccan period of the Prophet's life, however, Wâqidî is his chief authority though his narratives are often enlarged by Ibn Sa'd with reports for which he is indebted to other sources. Similarly, Wâqidî is the chief authority in the sections concerned with the Prophet's Madînah activities, his statements being here too supplemented by those of other experts. On the other hand, in the sections on the qualities of the Prophet's character, and his habits, Wâqidî is quite left behind, being only rarely mentioned. Ibn Sa'd¹ prefaces his accounts of the actual Maghâzi with a comprehensive list of his most important sponsors, and in it names Wâqidî as his immediate and direct authority; Ru'eym ibn Yazîd, who handed on to him the traditions of Ibn Ishâq; Huseyn ibn Muhammad, who transmitted to him those of Abû Ma'shar; and Isma'il ibn 'Abdullah, who conveyed to him those of Mûsa ibn 'Uqbah. Ibn Sa'd had therefor access to the works of his weightiest forerunners, and on them his account of the actual campaigns is principally founded, though, as a comparison with the text of Wâqidî's *Maghazi* shows, Ibn Sa'd relies above all upon Wâqidî, and in a much less measure upon Ibn Ishâq, Abû Ma'shar and Mûsa ibn 'Uqbah. For each of these campaigns Ibn Sa'd provides a principal account which stands without any indication of origin, since the authorities have been given once for all at the beginning of the *Maghazi*; he then amplifies this principal account by means of individual reports, which for several Maghâzi are very numerous and are each introduced with a special *isnad*. Thus, as regards the Maghâzi, Ibn Sa'd stands to Wâqidî in a relation similar to that in which Wâqidî stood to Ibn Ishâq. Whereas, however, Wâqidî never mentions Ibn Ishâq, Ibn Sa'd makes no secret of the fact that the work of Wâqidî is the foundation of his own work. We have also to acknowledge an advance, in the sense of the unity of the presentment, in the fact that Ibn Sa'd never interrupts his principal account or main narrative with the addenda collected by himself, as Wâqidî does, but places this additional material at the end of the main narrative in every case. In one particular Ibn Sa'd systematically supplemented Wâqidî's statements, since for each campaign, he answers the questions: Whom did the Prophet, during his absence from Madînah, leave behind as Governor there, and who carried the flag? Wâqidî too, indeed, had already paid attention to these

(1) *ibid* IIa 1.

questions, but had not answered them in every case. Ibn Sa'd took great pains over the collection of reports concerning the last illness and death of the Prophet; Wâqidî appears mostly as his authority here also; Ibn Sa'd has obviously made use of Wâqidî's *Kitab Wafat al-Nabi*, but he has very greatly amplified it.

Ibn Sa'd hardly ever in his work comes forward with a personal observation and, except certain statements connected with his plot, hardly any statement is without an indication of the source from which it is derived. Besides such accounts as he borrowed from his predecessors, he gives the full text of numerous original documents, and the number of poems he has taken, especially elegies, is by no means small; but in this respect he is far behind Wâqidî and not to be mentioned in the same breath with Ibn Ishâq. Ibn Sa'd also prefaces the *Tabaqat* proper, which begin with Vol. III of Sachau's edition, with a list of his principal authorities. There again appear, besides Wâqidî, Ibn Ishâq, Abû Ma'shar and Mûsa ibn 'Uqbah, whose statements he received, however, through the intermediary of their indirect or immediate pupils. Further he names in this place as his authorities the Madani Ma'n Ibn 'Isa (died 198 A.H.); the Kûfi Al-Fadl ibn Dukeyn (d. 219 A.H.), the Kûfi Hishâm ibn Muhammad ibn Al-Saib Al-Kalbî (died 204 A.H.), whose father Muhammad was the most renowned expert in genealogy. For the genealogy of the Ansâr, however, Ibn Sa'd appeals mostly to another authority, 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Umârah Al-Ansârî¹ the author of a *Kitab Nasab Al-Ansar*, perhaps identical with the 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Umârah ibn Al-Qaddah mentioned in Dhahabî's *Mizan*, of whom, however, nothing further is known.

The *Tabaqat* form a weighty supplement to the Biography of the Prophet in so far as they refer to the "Companions" (*Ashab*) of the Prophet, the men and the women—the eighth volume of the work is devoted to these latter—who had a part in the Prophet's public or domestic life, or who came forward as transmitters of Hadîth. To the biographies of the Comrades (*Ashab*) are appended those of the Tâbi'ûn, who, however, have themselves no

(1) cf. Sachau in the introduction to Ibn Sa'd IIIa p. XXVII; Horovitz in the introduction to Ibn Sa'd IIIb p. V. seq.; Sachau, *Studien* 82 seq.; De Goeje in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 57. p. 379; Reckendorf in *Orientalistische literaturzeitung* 1923 p. 352.

longer any personal connection with the Prophet's biography. I shall here go into no further particulars concerning the *Tabaqât*, but their peculiar *genre* has been dealt with by Otto Loth not only in the monograph above-named but also in the essay : *Ursprung und Bedeutung der Tabaqat*,¹ in which he discusses the relationship of the *Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa'd to those of Al-Wâqidî. More recently E. Sachau in the introduction to Vol. III-a, of his edition, has still more closely expounded the methods followed by Ibn Sa'd in the *Tabaqat*.

In the historical compilations of the period which followed—in those of Tabarî, of Mas'ûdî, of Ya'qûbî among others—the biography of the Prophet forms but a section in the exposition of world-history, and only authors of later centuries again devoted monographs to it, such as Al-Halabî (d. 1044 A.H.) and Ibn Sayyid Al-Nâs (d. 734 A.H.), in whose works the authors of the oldest biographies, who form the subject of the present essays, are again frequently mentioned.

(1) *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 28 p. 593 seq.

JOSEPH HOROVITZ.

(Concluded).

THE HIDDEN PEARLS

Concerning the notables of the eighth Islamic century.

Ad-durar al-Kaminah (The Hidden Pearls): thus Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalâni entitles his biographical dictionary of men and women of the eighth century of the Hijrah concerning whom he was able to obtain any information from many sources. Ibn Hajar, the author of several biographical dictionaries of traditionists, which have been published in India and especially at Hyderabad, is too well known for me to enlarge upon his own biography. He was born on the 12th of Sha'bân 773 at Askalon, lost his father early and was brought up by relations. As early as 784, when eleven years of age, he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca with his uncle, and stayed there till the following year. He was intended for the career of a merchant, but went to Cairo to study traditions. In 793, at the age of twenty, he went for the same purpose to Upper Egypt. Five years later in 798 he married the daughter of Karîm ad-Dîn-b. 'Abd al-'Azîz and the following year made a journey to the Yaman, where he made the acquaintance of al-Fîrûzabâdî, the author of the *Qâmûs*, in Zabîd. In 800 he made his second pilgrimage. He returned to Cairo and in 802 he went to Damascus where he stayed till the following year. Having returned to Cairo towards the end of 803 he shortly after undertook a second journey to the Yaman, to 'Aden and Zabîd, passing through Mecca. In 806 he appeared in Cairo for the first time as a teacher of Hadîth and Law. In 824 he was appointed lieutenant (Nâ'ib) of the chief Shâfi'î judge, al-Bulqînî, and three years later he himself was raised to the dignity of chief Qâdhî on the 27th of Muharram 827. Any position from the Sultân downwards during the rule of the Cherkess Mamlûks was never held for long, and this was also true in Ibn Hajar's case. He held the post of chief judge six times¹ and finally

(1) He was Qadhî of Egypt (1) Muharram 827 to Dhû'l Qa'dah 827; (2) Rajab 828 to Safar 830; (3) Jumâda 1.834 to Shawwâl 840; (4)

resigned at the end of Jumâdâ II. 852. He died soon after, on the 28th of Dhû'l-Hijjah 852 (21 February 1449) at Cairo.

It is not my purpose to enumerate his very numerous works, in the composition of which he must have employed a number of secretaries, as the arranging in order of them must have entailed a great amount of labour and absorbed much time.

Shams ad-Dîn adh-Dhahabî had ended his large historical work, the *Kitab al-'Ibar*, which is mainly biographical, with the year 700 of the Hijrah; and the *Durar al-Kaminah* were intended to carry this work a century further. The difference, however, was that the work of Ibn Hajar was arranged in alphabetical order so as to make reference easier. With admirable industry all kinds of biographical works¹ were drawn upon to make the book as complete as possible. At the end of one of the manuscripts² the author tells us that he had completed his material by the year 730, but made continual additions till 737. He himself regrets that it is after all not to his satisfaction, because he had not been able to obtain all the information which he desired.

The work, which is one of the main sources for the biographies in Brockelmann's History of Arabic Literature, would no doubt have been published long ago, but for the lack of good manuscripts. Brockelmann has used the Vienna manuscript, which is complete in three volumes copied about 100 years ago in Constantinople. Though complete, this copy abounds in errors, not only in the spelling of names, but not infrequently in the dates, due to misreading of the original from which the copy was made.³ A far better manuscript is preserved in the

Shawwâl 841 to Muharram 849; (5) Muharram 850 to Muharram 851 and (6) Rabi' II. 852 to Jumâda of the same year when he retired on account of illness.

(1) Ibn Hajar mentions the most important in the introduction of the *Durar*, but he used many other works, especially the so-called *Mashyakhah*, or lists of teachers drawn up by various scholars. These are often hurriedly written volumes, and one or two which I have seen, written in a hurried hand must have given the reader much trouble in using them for information. The hurried hand is no doubt responsible for many misreadings.

(2) The British Museum MS. The others have not got this information.

(3) The misreading of the numerals سبع and ثمان is well-known, but as Ibn Hajar frequently, Sakhâwi practically always, uses figures, errors between the Arabic forms of 2 and 3 also 2 and 6 are not infrequent. The India Office MS. mixes up all figures.

British Museum, belonging at one time to Baron von Krämer. From this manuscript that of the State Library in Cairo is a copy. It is nearly complete, but in the second volume a whole Kurrâsah has been lost, containing 92 biographies, some of men of importance. By the kind assistance of Ahmad Taimûr Pasha I have been able to acquire from Damascus a third manuscript, copied apparently for Ibn Hajar himself, as it contains two or three marginal notes by him. Its chief value however lies in the numerous additions and corrections made in the margin by Shams ad-Dîn Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmân as-Sakhâwî, who continued the *Durar al-Kaminah* in his large biographical dictionary "Adh-Dhau' al-Lâmi". He has added about 200 lives, many of them those of Hanafi lawyers, because Ibn Hajar, as a fervent Shâfi'i, purposely either omitted them or gave inadequate information. This propensity of Ibn Hajar is pointed out by Sakhâwî on several occasions in the margins, and he also corrects at times bad errors of the author as regards names of persons and dates. This manuscript contains unfortunately only the first volume, while the second one is supplied by a later copyist who had a very good original, but made his work easy by leaving out many biographies and copying only part of those which he includes. He omits practically all poetical citations and the lives of Amîrs and women. Both the last two manuscripts are careful in vocalising uncommon names, but in many cases even in these two copies words remain unpointed, proving that the words have baffled the earliest copyists. In the British Museum MS. these words are generally indicated by a small *Ta'* written over the word denoting the word *Ghulat* "mistake." In Sakhâwî's copy Ibn Hajar himself has written in the margin on one occasion: "The book must be looked up again."

From many indications it appears that the original of the *Durar al-Kaminah* remained for a long time in loose sheets and the scribes who copied them could adjust any inconsistencies in the arrangement of the lives. They themselves have not always been consistent—as, for example, the scribe of the British Museum copy, who treats the word Allâh in the name 'Abd Allâh as beginning with *Lam* while in Sakhâwî's copy it is treated as beginning with *Alif*. Hence the biographies with the name 'Abd Allah in them appear earlier in the latter manuscript. At a very early period also the beginning of the biographies

under the letter *Kha'* had been lost, as all manuscripts have here a gap, indicated in Sakhâwî's copy by blank leaves. The latter has inserted these four biographies, but I have found from casual references in other parts of the work that several other biographies have also been lost, which were in the work originally. A fourth copy to which I have had access, and which I have compared throughout, is preserved in the Library of the India Office. It contains the first half of the work in two volumes, and has been copied in India. For incorrectness it could hardly find its equal. Not only has the scribe continually misread names, dates and even ordinary words, but on almost every page he has omitted lines and now and then skipped two or three pages, so that in the middle of a page we have under one heading the beginning of one biography running into the biography of another person mentioned, in the better manuscripts, pages further on. This copy instead of helping to settle the text could only cause confusion and errors, and any deviation from the other manuscripts must be accepted as mistakes of the copyist.

The work is most remarkable and, as the shadows of the persons who lived in the eighth century of the Hijrah pass before us in a curious medley, we get a fairly vivid picture of the life of the times such as chronological histories cannot give us. There are Sultans of Egypt, rebellious nobles, scholars of all sciences down to a poor dealer in old clothes at Damascus who asked a price from a customer and when the latter agreed to pay the price demanded would not accept it, because he had asked more than the worn trousers were worth. The longest biography is that of Ibn Taimîyyah with whom Ibn Hajar seems to sympathise to a great degree, as with the Hanbalis in general. The scope of the biographies is the whole extent of the Muslim world, Sultâns of Dihli, scholars and kings of Spain and Morocco, Tartar princes of distant Russia, conquerors in Somâli-land and Negro rulers on the banks of the Niger. Naturally the greater part of the work is devoted to scholars of Egypt and Syria. This is what one might expect because those countries had become the centre of the world of Islâm. The crusaders had finally been ejected from Syria, the last waves of the Mongol onslaught had burst upon Syria to be finally broken by the valour of the Mamlûks of Egypt, and with it the barrier between Egypt and the Eastern lands of Islâm. In Spain the Christians were steadily

advancing upon the Muslim kingdoms though some signal successes against them were still recorded. Men of all these lands came to Cairo as the fountain-head of learning, and the centre of the whole picture is the Mamlûk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria of which practically the first half of the century is occupied by the reign of the Malik an-Nâsir, while the second half presents the sad picture of eight descendants of an-Nâsir following one another in quick succession, mostly ending in their being murdered, till the Cherkess Barqûq establishes at the turn of the century the rule of his still more turbulent and unruly kinsmen.

The historical accounts vary considerably in value and, as an example, one finds with surprise that, in the biography of the Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bân, the author has left all dates blank, yet they are scattered throughout the two volumes of the work. But in the same biography we get the information that Sha'bân hid in the house of a singer (a woman) before he was tracked by his rebellious Amîrs and strangled by them.

Valuable is the information concerning the last Mongol rulers of Persia and their nobles, because Persian historians who are our chief sources for their history generally composed their works for their Mongol masters, while Ibn Hajar had no fear of recriminations for speaking the truth. In other respects Persian historians are unreliable, and many have the bad habit of bringing many words and very little concrete information, like the history of Wassâf. India is too far away, but we get information from hearsay of the fabulous wealth and resources of the Sultans of Dihli. We also get some of the earliest information concerning the Turkish Empire but even Ibn Hajar does not realize that the Turkumân, as he calls them, are laying the foundations of a great Muslim Empire which in time will sweep away the Sultanate of the Mamlûks.

His information about Spain and Morocco is to a great extent derived from the "*Ihatah*" of Iisân ad-Dîn ibn al-Khatîb. He had a complete copy of this work brought by a son of the author to Egypt; but he had a number of other sources and, for the time after the composition of the *Ihatah*, his information is derived from reports of immigrants and pilgrims who came to Cairo. Comparing his dates with those of Maghribi historians, I have discovered not a few divergencies. Through embassies which arrived at Cairo he also obtained information about

the Sultanates of Central Africa and Abyssinia. On the other hand his information on nearer quarters is inadequate, as, for example, about the Urtuqi dynasty.

Wherever his sources are available in manuscript or printed editions we can ascertain that he condenses his information considerably, but retains the most valuable facts. At times he, or his secretaries, have misread the books from which they copied; and Sakhâwî, as already mentioned, has frequent occasion for correcting him; but on the other hand his extracts will be of use for future editions of the works used.

The main feature of the work are the biographies of learned men, traditionists foremost, lawyers, poets and occasionally physicians, mathematicians and makers of instruments; also a fair sprinkling of wealthy merchants and travellers to distant lands.

The flight of learned men before the Mongols had moved the centre of learning to Egypt and Syria, but it was not only learning which flowed to these countries. Egypt especially attained a height of prosperity unequalled before and after, as it had become an emporium for the trade from the lands of Christianity and also by the way of South Arabia to India, while other merchants carried on trade through the whole breadth of the Mongol empire to far away China. We learn that a merchant at Damascus had estates somewhere there in the care of trustworthy agents, and that he from time to time travelled thither and stayed away two or three years. When the troops of Ghazan entered Damascus there were a number of merchants and other persons well-known to the officers of the Mongol army and their property was spared. Many of them knew the Mongol language, besides Persian. The sums of money found in the possession of Amîrs, at the time of the fairly frequent confiscations of their property, appear even to us, who read of American millionaires, as fabulous, besides jewels and other property of inestimable value¹.

We are, through the "*Subh al-A'sha*," well acquainted with the organisation of the Mamlūk State, but here we get a vivid picture of the perpetual intriguing of Amîrs

(1) Baktût's property, after having been plundered by the servants, was sold for 1,200,000 Dinârs, though the goods only fetched very low prices. In addition, his armoury and cabinet of trinkets were given to Qusun and valued at no less than 600,000 Dinârs. The confiscated property of Sallâr, Tangiz and other Amîrs ran into higher figures than these.

and learned men one against another. Those of the Amîrs who succumbed in this struggle were generally sent to Alexandria and imprisoned there. A lighter punishment was exile to Damascus, and for influential nobles the post of governor of Safad appears to have been sufficient punishment. In cases of open rebellion against the Sultân, or treachery, a new method of execution of the culprit had been invented and more than one was halved, (cut through in the middle of his body), on the race-course of Damascus. Rizq b. Fadhl Allah, when arrested, committed suicide in prison rather than undergo the tortures practised at the trial. Jirjîn, the treasurer, was tortured to death in 715 because he was supposed to know the names of persons who had conspired against an-Nâsir. Jauhar ar-Rushdi and others suffered the old Byzantine punishment of being blinded. Baktût al-Fattâh was left eleven days without food and drink in prison till he died. Sallâr, who had been reputed to be the wealthiest man in Egypt, the owner of forty Tablkhana with all the fiefs appertaining thereto, also was made to die of hunger.

Being officials in a foreign country, few of the officers ever hesitated to leave the service of their sovereigns and enter that of their deadly enemies. An example is that of al-Afram who, feeling that as governor of Syria he had forfeited his life, went over to the Mongol ruler Khurbanda with his kith and kin and a large following of trusty soldiers, to be rewarded with the governorship of Adharbaijan. This was, however, not always safe. When Abû Sa'îd, in his attempt to rid himself of the tutelage of his uncle the Noyan Chûpân, murdered one of his sons, Dinashq Khôja, the latter's brother Timûrtâsh fled to the court of An-Nâsir and rose to the highest military offices. Yet when, in 728, the two princes made peace and exchanged presents, Abû Sa'îd asked as a favour for the head of Timûrtâsh. An-Nâsir complied and the unfortunate prince was duly killed, though his conduct had been blameless, and his head was sent to Baghdad. With it An-Nâsir sent the request: "I have sent you the head of your enemy, send me the head of mine!" He referred to Qara Sunqur who had fled to the court of Abû Sa'îd. The latter replied that he would have gladly reciprocated but that Qara Sunqur had unfortunately died a natural death a short time before the request arrived. The Sultân, nay, every noble, was continually suspicious of those in whom he had placed his greatest trust. Tangiz had for many years (712—740) honestly

governed the province of Syria for An-Nâsir and the latter's confidence in him was so great that he even gave two of his daughters in marriage to two sons of Tangiz. This did not, however, prevent the Sultân a few years later from having him treacherously arrested and killed, simply because Al-Hasan ibn Timurtâsh, ruler of Asia Minor, had secretly sent a letter to An-Nâsir accusing Tangiz of having proposed, against suitable reward, to hand over Syria to him. Really this was only a ruse of Al-Hasan to rid himself of the powerful Amîr as he was contemplating an invasion of Syria, which was frustrated by his own death shortly after the murder of Tangiz. Sallâr, upon whom favour had been showered most lavishly, was allowed to die of hunger in prison. When Ibn Hajar tries to distinguish a high official he appears to have no more eloquent term of praise than: "He did little harm."

The enormous wealth was, however, in many cases used for public benefit, and the rich nobles vied with one other in erecting Madrasahs in Cairo, Damascus and other cities of the realm and also in endowing them munificently. Others collected valuable manuscripts and bequeathed them to the foundations they had made, to be of general use to scholars. The prices paid for valuable copies are far in excess of what even fine manuscripts obtain to-day. We are told that Baibugharus, during the terrible plague which raged in 749,² paid for the burial of 1,000,000 persons in Cairo alone.

In other cases the Amîrs used their wealth for open debauchery, like Bahâdur al-Mansûrî. Another Amîr, Bahâdur al-Karkari, actually had his own son bastonaded to make him drink wine. When one of the periodical confiscations of the property of an Amîr took place, the servants as a rule robbed everything they could lay hands on before the residue reverted to the treasury of the Sultân. The property then was sold and in the biography of Baktamur al-Mansûrî we are told that in consequence of the quantity of goods coming suddenly upon the market prices fell from a hundred to one. Morals were low; girls and boys were imported in quantities, and Ibn Hajar

(1) *كل قليل الشر* (1)

(2) Nearly a third of the persons whose biographies are found in the *Durar* fell victims to the plague in the year named, and the year following when the scourge reached Morocco and Spain.

mentions it as a strange fact that the Amîr Jangli, a Mongol by birth, had no liking for girls and boys, but kept to his wife only, the mother of all his children.

As the military commanders became rich beyond the dreams of avarice and still strove for more, so we find the same greed with men of learning. Many were not satisfied with one lucrative office, but strove to snatch as many as possible. The Subki family were a striking example. On many occasions Ibn Hajar tells us that a man had given bribes to obtain the office of judge, inspector of the treasury, etc., but that it had not come off.¹ Of a son of the chief-judge, Ibn Daqîq al-'Id, he casually mentions that many people had found fault with him for taking bribes from persons who wanted appointments from his father. Another chief-judge Al Qazwînî, honest himself, was in the long run exiled to Damascus because his sons not only accepted bribes from unworthy people, but also appropriated the property of *Waqfs* (pious foundations) and behaved in Cairo openly in such manner as to cause a public scandal. It is a distinction of the highest order when Ibn Hajar can say of a judge or lawyer: "It was not known that he ever accepted a bribe or a present." We get, on the other hand, also accounts of men of the highest integrity, judges and lawyers who would go and investigate matters themselves and not favour high or low. These men generally remained poor.

We find some curious information concerning the intercourse of Muslims with Christians and Jews. Apparently non-Muslims were on fairly equal terms under the Mamlûk rule, but Baibars al-Burji caused them to be considerably restricted; they were not allowed to wear fine clothes or ride horses; Christians had to wear a blue turban, Jews a yellow one. Also a number of churches were destroyed. Like so many ordinances, these were soon broken along with many others, which were periodically renewed. We get a curious account of the loan of some chandeliers from the mosque of 'Amr to the Christian church, called al-Mu'allaqah, in the biography of 'Alî ibn Ya'qûb al-Bakrî. The loan was for a special festival and when 'Alî al-Bakrî heard of this he collected a mob, which entered the church, ill-treated those present at the celebration and carried the chandeliers back to the mosque of 'Amr, where 'Alî upbraided the Imâm and the Khatîb. The Inspector of the Army, whose position was analogous.

(1) quite frequently لم يتفق

to that of a head of the police, heard of it and sent troops to disperse the rioters. 'Alî al-Bakrî had meanwhile gone to the house of the Amîr Arghûn and insulted him, saying that the wazîr, Karîm ad-Dîn, who was a Copt, was responsible for this scandal. Then the affair was brought before the Sultân an-Nâsir, and 'Alî was cited before a council of judges and Amîrs. The pomp of the council did not deter 'Alî, and, in the presence of all the notables of the realm, after reciting suitable passages from the Qurân and tradition, he said : " The best Jihâd is to speak the truth before a tyrannous Sultân." The Sultân in wrath shouted : " Am I a tyrant ? " He rejoined : " You are ! You have placed the Copts over the Muslims and have favoured their religion ! " At this the Sultân could not suppress his anger and grasped his sword to strike him down, but the Amîr Tughâi stepped forward and held the Sultân back. Then, turning to the Qâdhî Ibn al-Wakîl, the Sultân said : " Qâdhî ! Shall this fellow insult me ? Answer him ! " Ibn al-Wakîl, trying to appease the Sultân, replied : " He has really done nothing to deserve punishment." Then the Sultan shouted at 'Alî : " Get out of my sight ! " The latter left the council quickly. In the consultation which followed the Qâdhî Ibn Jamâ'ah agreed that 'Alî al-Bakrî had insulted the Sultân, and the latter commanded that the offender's tongue should be cut out. 'Alî was brought in again and the Amîr Tughâi was on the point of carrying out the command, when, upon the appeal of 'Alî to the Amîrs, they had pity upon him and the execution of the sentence was deferred to a later time. This was the chance for Ibn al-Wakîl. He went up to the castle and asked for an audience with the Sultân who had returned from the Council. When he was admitted Ibn al-Wakîl was weeping and the Sultân, thinking that something had happened to him or his family, said : " *Khair ! Khair !* " (" Goodness ! What is the matter ? ") He made answer : " 'Alî al-Bakrî is a learned man, but hot-headed." The Sultan rejoined : " That is quite true." Then, with persuasion, Ibn al-Wakîl appeased the Sultan's anger and he commanded 'Alî to be released and exiled to Syria. This 'Alî was also one of the fiercest antagonists of Ibn Taimiyyah during his trials.

The chief portion of the work, however, is occupied by biographies of traditionists, lawyers and learned men in general. We are told the names of their teachers and pupils, also the title of the books which they studied

and composed. The books studied are many of the well known works on tradition, but now and then mention is made of rare works which have since been lost or have up to the present not been re-discovered. It is well-known the value traditionists laid upon a high *Isnad*, or chain of transmitters, containing as few links as possible. The principle was good as long as it was carried out with common sense, as the introduction of errors was minimised; but even this depends upon the trustworthiness of each transmitter. In the eighth century this was carried to a point of absurdity. Ibn 'Abd al-Dâ'im for example was a very old man, had heard traditions at an early age and now parents brought to him their boys and girls one year old (or up to the fifth year) and he granted them permission to teach in after life traditions he was reading at that moment to his audience. Sometimes permission was granted for a big book even if only the first chapter had been read. In two different places the author tells us of the inestimable value in later life it had been to the Imâm Shams ad-Dîn adh-Dhahabi that he was granted by an aged relation such an universal permission to teach (Ijâzah) *the day he was born*. Yet Ibn Hajar tells us in the biography of Ibn 'Abd ad-Dâ'im that the latter copied lean and fat (*i. e.* good and bad) always in a hurry, which caused him to make many mistakes, and that in his later years he even mixed these up.

If we review the biographies of learned men, over 6,000 in number, we find among them very many of the most celebrated authors of Arabic literature and it is difficult to single out names. There is Ibn Fadhl Allâh the author of the *Masalik al-Absar*; Dhahabi, author of many historical books on biography; Nuwairi, the author of the large encyclopaedia of Islamic learning; the historian and poet, Ibn al-Wardî; the Shâfi'î lawyer Taqî ad-Dîn as-Subkî; as-Safadî, the author of the largest biographical work in the Arabic language, the *Wafî-l-Wafayat*: the traveller Ibn Batûtah, and so many more, some of whom have been casually mentioned in the preceding pages.

Another feature is the mention of women—not only of such as had studied traditions, and there were many, but also of princesses and even of such as earned a livelihood by entertaining by their singing and playing musical instruments. One of the latter —Ittifâq by name—though not pretty (as Ibn Hajar informs us), by her manners fascinated several of the sons of the Sultân an-Nâsir, and had children by two of them certainly. Over-

whelmed at times with treasures, which again were confiscated after the death of the donors, she ended finally by marrying the Wazîr Muwaffaq ad-Dîn, who made her an allowance of 700,000 Dirhams a year till the time of his death. Ibn Hajar apparently does not know what became of her in the end.

A sad feature is the open hostility towards one another of the various Muslim sects and classes of lawyers. The trials and disputations of Ibn Taimiyyah fill much space in the work, not in the biography of Ibn Taimiyyah only but in those of his adherents and adversaries. The prosecution of Shî'ahs is a special feature. They were principally found in the Mongol provinces, but Al-Medînah also was one of their centres, and it was only after An-Nâsir got safely established on the throne that a Sunni Qâdhî could be appointed in the City of the Prophet (whom God bless) and even then he had a very hard task with the ruler Tufail. Since Salâh ad-Dîn had made an end of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt many Shî'ahs quietly kept to their tenets, but others were more foolish and took a special delight in reviling Abu Bakr and 'Omar publicly. This was an offence for which the Mâlikî lawyers especially found no other punishment adequate than death, and in spite of the appeals for mercy such sentences were carried out, as they would not believe in the repentance of the offender. The protests of the Hanafî lawyers in several cases were of no avail, as they had certainly the Shâfi'î lawyer against them to support the Mâlikî; and the Shâfi'î Madhhab was predominant in the Mamlûk dominions. But even in Mecca Egyptian troops had to establish order when the rulers, favouring Zaidî doctrines, plundered not only the pilgrims but their own subjects as well. The biographies of the Meccan Sharîfs, Thaqabah, Utaifah, Rumaithah, Ajlan, etc., make very sad reading.

The work contains a large number of Turkish, Mongol and other names, which are not always, but very frequently, in the older manuscripts, carefully vocalised; and wherever this is not done I have taken great pains to ascertain the correct spelling. Considering the importance of the *Durar al-Kaminah* as a source for history, it is imperative that these correct spellings should be carefully indicated in the planned edition. It is further important that the edition should be furnished with good indices of places and persons mentioned casually. I have prepared a list of the Madrasahs and titles of offices

which should form a special appendix so as to be of easy reference, because these recur continually and are no longer intelligible to all readers.

The poetry cited in the *Durar* is comparatively small in quantity, and all bad in quality. Ibn Hajar has written a *Dîwân*, but whenever he attempts criticism he does not give me the impression of excelling in this branch so much as in others. The verses which he calls at times *barid* are in my opinion often much superior to those verses which he calls middling good (*wasat* or *mutawassit*). In addition nearly all verses are very badly copied in all copies and have given more trouble than they are worth. Many do not conform to any metres, or one verse is correct and the following all wrong.

F. KRENKOW.

NEW LIGHTS ON MOGHUL INDIA FROM ASSAMESE SOURCES

PART II.

Padshah Buranji.

THE chronicles which are chiefly devoted to the history of the Badshahate of Delhi are known in Assam as *Padshah-Buranjis* or Chronicles of the Badshahs. They abound in episodes and narratives, some of which are not found in other histories of the Muhammadans in India. They no doubt indulge in gossip, and gasconades, but their value as exhibiting the inner life of Delhi and Agra, left out by the average historian, is supreme and unquestionable, while their general tone and spirit are in agreement with that of contemporary Persian narratives. The facts recorded in the *Padshah-Buranjis* are materially corroborated by other accounts.

1. *The manuscript.*—Of the *Padshah-Buranjis* preserved by the Assamese I have seen two and heard of two others. This paper is based on the two chronicles I have seen.—

MANUSCRIPT A.—This MS. of the *P.B.* was recovered several years ago by Sir James Buckingham, Superintendent of the Amguri Tea Estates, Ltd. in Upper Assam, from an Assamese villager. After the death of Sir James, this MS. was despatched to England along with others collected by the enterprising tea-planter. Colonel C. Simkins, sometime Superintendent of the Amguri Tea Estates, arranged a loan of the MS. *P.B.* from the family of Sir James Buckingham in 1923 for Sriyut Benudhar Sarma who prepared a copy for the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti or Assam Research Society, Gauhati. The original MS. was afterwards returned to Lady Buckingham. Unfortunately, Mr. Sarma did not note down the number of the folios and other necessary particulars. I am arranging to have a fresh loan of the MS. through Mr. W. G. McKercher. The manuscript, as I learn from the transcribed copy in possession of the Assam

Research Society, is incomplete. The last page ends abruptly in the middle of the letter addressed by the Adil Shâhi Sultan to Emperor Shâh Jahân. There is also a page missing between the two divisions of Chapter XI. The page would have given us a few more place-names, and a few other chieftains, who were allies of Sewai Jai Singha of Amber. The chapters are not named, but we have the usual marks adopted by all Assamese writers and copyists to indicate the termination of one Chapter, and the commencement of another. The book has thus 15 distinct divisions, each dealing with a separate theme, and we have called them 'Chapters.' The MS. is written on *Sanchi* leaves made from the specially seasoned and treated bark of aloe-wood. From evidence of the script, and the present condition of the ink used, we can place the date of writing as not later than the first few years of the eighteenth century. We will designate this MS. as *Manuscript A* or simply *A*.

MANUSCRIPT B.—This MS. was discovered by me in May, 1925, in the godown of the American Baptist Mission at Gauhati along with several others, some of which were general chronicles of Assam, C. 1. The *Padshah-Buranji* formed the third part of a MS. written on *sanchi* bark with the usual fast-coloured Assamese ink. The first part of this manuscript deals with the history of Assam, with special reference to its conflicts with the Muhanmadans. It ends with the defeat of Mansûr Khân in 1682, during the reign of the Ahom monarch Gadadhar Singha. A portion of this chronicle was published in 1853 in the first Assamese magazine, *Arunodai*, which served as the organ of the American Baptist Mission of Assam. On folio 55-a, we have the copy of a letter written by Prince Azam to Laluk Sola Barphukan, appointing the latter King of Assam in return for his surrender of Gauhati. The page is illuminated with gorgeous borders, with reproduction of the seal and hand-impression (*Panja*) of the Emperor's son. The Assamese chronicler or scribe, not being able to read, or thinking it unnecessary to reproduce the original benedictory verses in Arabic, points out the places where they occurred in the epistle with this note, "Here was *Arbi*," and "Here also *Arbi* was written." The Prince's letter was written in gold, and its date is given as *Saka* 1600, *Ashar* or June-July 1678.

The second part, from folio 57 to 68, contains 18 letters that passed between Ahom Kings, generals and plenipotentiaries and Mogul representatives. The letter-

writers and addressees include, among others, Jayadhwaj Singha, the Emperor Aurangzêb, Mir Jumla, Ram Singha, Lacit Barphukan, and Nawâb Diler Khân. The language of these diplomatic epistles is curiously cosmopolitan. We have the usual strings of Sanskrit epithets, even in letters addressed by and to Mogul generals. The main text of the letters is written in a mixture of Hindi, Persian and Assamese and the uninitiated copyist has played havoc with the vocabulary. Letter No. 18 purports to explain several Persian words, *viz.*, *rif'at-buland*, *hawali*, *manjil*, *ezhar*, etc. This letter is reported to have been brought by one "Captain Fing," evidently a *Firinghee* captain, in *Saka* 1715, or 1793 A.D., who was possibly one of the lieutenants of Captain Welsh, the head of the British contingent deputed to Assam in the same year.

The third part of this manuscript, from folio No. 69 to No. 78, contains a *Padshah-Buranjî* in two chapters only. The first chapter corresponds to Chapter X of MS. A. The first episode of Chapter II of MS. B, dealing with Shâh Jahân's interview with Prithirvi Shâh occurs also in Chapter IV, MS. A. But the two other episodes describing the rise of Timurlane and Jahângîr's conquest of Secunderabad are found only in MS. B., and nowhere in MS. A.

The two common portions of the two MSS. seem to be reproductions of the same original. There are textual variations here and there which may be due to scribal idiosyncrasy. The second manuscript will be referred to as *Manuscript B* or simply *B*.

The narratives are not arranged in chronological order, though the first two chapters aim at giving an idea of the establishment of Muhammadan supremacy in India as a fitting introduction to a discursive treatise on the Delhi Sultanate. A bird's-eye view of the entire mass of information can however, be presented as follows, —

An ambitious Muhammadan sovereign, the inheritor of fabulous wealth and resources, marches with his hordes towards India, and defeats the Rajput Prince, Pithor Raja. The victorious adventurer occupies the throne of Delhi, which was in the hands of Hindu sovereigns from time immemorial, and thus inaugurates Muhammadan supremacy in India. Though unwilling to introduce any radical change in the social and religious customs of the conquered people, the new Padshan of Delhi organises his army on the *mansabdari* system, fixes the divisions

of his palace, and allots different functions for the different days of the week. During the reign of his successors Timur marches from Central Asia and conquers Delhi. His descendants, Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Jahângîr, Shâh Jahân and Aurangzêb consolidated their powers by friendship with Hindu chiefs. Refractory rulers were subdued and fresh additions were made to the Mogul Empire from time to time. The Hindu adherents of the Mogul Emperors were pitted against disloyal Hindu rulers, and Mân Singha, whose valour resounded from one end of India to the other, grumbled because the Emperor did not give him any respite from war, thinking that, being disengaged from war abroad, he might organise a Rajput clique against the sovereignty of the Moguls.

Strategy was no uncommon feature of the military operations of those days, and it was adopted whenever direct warfare held no prospect of success. The ultimatums issued to hostile rulers were written on the supposition that enemies might one day become friends, and friends might one day become enemies¹. Victors in war were honoured with rich presents and titles. The age of chivalry had not entirely gone : two Rajput gladiators rush to a mortal combat in the presence of two eminent sovereigns.

The Begums of the period display their wares, personal splendour and precious gems to the only and the greatest customer of the age—the Emperor of Delhi. Fâtima Begum, the irresistible daughter of Sultan Shujâ', spreads her bewitching charms over the gallant heart of her father's enemy and nephew, Prince Mu'azzam. Gulmukhmal enters into the seraglio of the diplomatic 'Siliman Padshah of Farrang' who deposes to Secunderabad warlike spies and soldiers in the guise of peaceful merchants and citizens. Military conquests dog the steps of commerce, and Secunderabad finds itself under the vassalage of Farrang. The motherly heart of the world-famed queen Arzûmând Bano Begum Mumtâz Mahall, pines at thought of the inevitable fratricidal conflict of her spirited sons, and puts an end to her life.

Aurangzêb sits on the throne of his ancestors. He prepares a list of the rulers who had not yet offered their

(1) The sixth pillar of Bacon's *Architecture of Fortune* runs as follows : "To follow that ancient precept, not constructed to any point of perfidiousness, but nobly to caution the moderation—that we are to treat our friend as if he might one day be a foe, and our foe as if he should one day be friend." Morley's *Aphorisms*.

submission to the authority of which he was now the accredited symbol. Sewa-raja's reply to the Emperor's threats would have cost him his life but for the intercession of the son of Mirza Rajah Jai Singha Kuchhwa of Amber. Sewaraja escapes from captivity, and his custodian Ram Singha naturally incurs the wrath of the Emperor. The Rajput prince makes himself unworthy of any further imperial confidence by loosening the bonds of the imprisoned Sikh Guru. So off to Assam, and the noxious airs and waters of the witchcraft-laden land of Kamrup! Shaista Khan offers the Raja of Amber a reception which is an object-lesson, pointing to the possibility of Hindu-Muslim friendship in the past, present and future.

The young 'barbarian,' Prince Azam, the unworthy son of a puritanical father, misuses his powers in Bengal, and the Nestor-like Shaista Khan is dragged from his patriarchal repose to guide the destinies of that most troublesome territory on the Lower Ganges. The forces of disruption begin to work as soon as the strong hand of the Great Mogul is withdrawn from the scene. Sewai Jai Singha, the Raja of Amber, creates a colossal confederacy with his Hindu allies, including Mulahar Rao, and strikes at the very root of Muhammadan supremacy in India.

The book is of interest to all students of Mogul history; but its primary importance to Assam can never be questioned. Assam, in those horrible days of war and foreign invasion, wanted to know about the forebears of Mîr Jumla, Ram Singha and Aurangzêb, who were so vitally connected with her own destiny. Assam demanded knowledge of Mogul strategy and warfare, the efficient counteracting of which alone could safeguard her well-being and independence. Assam wanted to know the rules of courtesy and decorum then adopted by the Moguls, which was necessary for her success in diplomatic missions. Assam wanted to know the position of the important centres of activity in Mogul India, so that her ambassadors and agents might travel from place to place to trace the movements of generals and commanders who were to be sent against her.

Anonymity is the rule of Assamese *Buranjis*. That was an age when chronicles served the same purpose as newspapers and journals do at present: the recording and communication of current events, with retrospective surveys of past affairs for those to whom they were neces-

sary. Faithful narration of facts was always accompanied by the risk of provoking the animosity of men who thought their prestige, personal or ancestral, was jeopardised thereby ; chronicles had to deal with good deeds as well as bad, and the position of the contemporary historian was always an unfortunate one, especially in view of the absence of any protective legislation safeguarding *bonafide* narration and fair criticism of facts. So the chronicler was driven to anonymity, except when chronicles were compiled under royal commission in which case all responsibility was transferred from the individual writer to the State. In the preamble to an Assamese Buranji dealing with the history of the Tungkhangiya Dynasty, 1681-1806, the writer solemnly prohibits the disclosure of the facts stated therein to any one but to a trusted friend, not even to one's son if he was of an unreliable character, adding that betrayal of trust amounts to an indecent gesture shown to one's mother¹. When we remember that even in English journalism, anonymity was generally superseded by the system of signed articles only in the latter half of the nineteenth century², we are not surprised at the almost universal absence of the chronicler's name in the precious Buranjis they have left to posterity. No chronicler ever dared to touch even the fringe of publication in view of the spirit of uncritical retribution which was to be seen everywhere in old Assam. All this led to the multiplication of Assamese Khafi-Khans.

Though the author of *Padshah-Buranji* was free from even the remote possibility of any individual retribution, as his theme concerned personalities who could never know what he had written about them, yet he could not extricate

(1) Preamble to a MS. Buranji compiled under the supervision of Srinath Duara Barbarua in 1803 A.D. which is being translated by the present writer into English,—

“Salutation to Sri-Krishna, Salutation to Ganesa, Salutation to Parvati. This is the Buranji written in *Saka* 1725, under the orders of the Duara Barbarua, keep it secretly. Do not give it to your son if you have no confidence in him. Show it to your friend if he is not hostile to you, Pandits have prohibited the betrayal of princes ; and if trust is violated it amounts to an indecent gesture shown to one's mother. So keep this book in confidence. More specially it is an unfathomable Sashtra, who does ever find its bottom ? Even great sages have become victims of mistake ; so Pandits should not at random find fault with the book. If one is bent upon detecting blemishes he will find many. This Buranji of the Tungkhungiya dynasty is written on Thursday on Panchami Tithi, on the 22nd day of Phalguna.”

(2) Lord Morley : *Studies in Literature*, pp. 328-332.

himself from the influence of the time-spirit. Any proof of his historical proclivities would have landed him in troubles even when he was personally innocent. It would have been certainly interesting to know who this man was who unfolded the romance of Delhi and Agra to his unsophisticated countrymen. But internal evidence helps us to form some idea of the abstract personality of the author, of his equipment and of his sources of information, which in the domain of historical scholarship is certainly superior to the cravings of idle curiosity.

The materials at the disposal of the author were of two distinct classes,—(a) oral testimony, and (b) written records.

(a) *ORAL TESTIMONY*.—The author makes positive references to his sources of information when it was derived from the lips of persons whom he possibly met, as distinguished from information obtained from written records. By mentioning the names of his informants, he allows his readers to judge the value of the narratives and he shrinks from any attempt to give the impress of authenticity to hearsay evidence.

(i) *Muhammad 'Ali of Secunderabad*.—Chapter III—A, dealing with the strategic conquest of Secunderabad by Siliman Padshah of Farrang ends with the following remark,—“From that time till now Secunderabad has continued to be the territory of Siliman Padshah. The son of Siliman Padshah was entrusted by his father with the Government of Farrang. From this territory of Siliman Padshah, Delhi is situated at a distance of three months' journey. Muhammad 'Ali is a Mogul of that place. He is a very great scholar, and knows all the languages (*logat*) Arabic and Persian. He taught the sons of Mansûr Khân, and for this he received an honorarium of full rupees one hundred per month. The above narration is taken from his mouth.”

Nawâb Mansûr Khân was deputed in 1678 by Prince Azam, then Governor of Bengal, to occupy Gauhati from Laluk Sola Barphukan, and remained in Assam as the Fauzadar of Gauhati for more than three years, till his forces were defeated by King Gadadhar Singha in 1682, after which Gauhati was re-occupied by the Ahoms. It was a custom with Mogul governors and generals to take learned men *and *aulias*¹ with them wherever they

(1) One of the double plurals common in India. *Auliah* is the plural of *wali* “saint,” Ed. “Islamic Culture,”

went, and Muhammad 'Alî might have also stayed with the Nawab at Gauhati, imparting education to his children. Our author might have come in contact with him during this peaceful period of Mansûr Khân's Fauzadarship, or even after the defeat of the Nawâb's forces, as post-war friendship between former belligerents is not of unfrequent occurrence.

About Mansûr Khân's stay in Assam, our own Buranjis supply the most authentic information. Laluk Barphukan, brother of Ram Singha's redoubtable antagonist Lacit Barphukan, handed over Gauhati to Mansûr Khân, who was deputed to take delivery of the same by Prince A'zam. The only condition imposed by Laluk for this bloodless surrender of his charge was the prince's promise to place him on the throne of Assam. A chronicle of Class I contains the following statement,—“On Wednesday, the 14th of Phalgûn, 1600 *saka*, Nawâb Mansûr Khân came with his forces and occupied the fort of Gauhati; and he remained in possession of that place for three years and five months. The Ahom King and his nobles, after mature deliberation, despatched an army to reoccupy the fort of Gauhati in the month of Ashar, 1604 *saka*.”

(ii) *Gakulpuri*.—The story of Shâh Jahân's interview with Prithivi Shâh is given in full in Chapter IV of MS. A. It also occurs in Chapter II-B, where some details regarding the presents interchanged between the two sovereigns are omitted. The name of the narrator is mentioned in MS. A., but is omitted in B. This omission is however compensated by the insertion of the stories of Timurlane's ascendancy and Jahângîr's conquest of Secunderabad, which we do not find in MS. A.

The concluding words of Chapter IV-A are as follows,—“The two monarchs Shâh Jahân and Prithivi Shâh met each other with their soldiers and retainers which were as large as the sea. But there did not occur any hitch or misunderstanding, for which the masters of the ceremonies belonging to the two Kings were praised by all. Here is finished what was said by Gakulpuri.”

But who was this Gakulpuri? The author does not mention his name, and Gakulpur is a place-name in India. Toponomous personal names are not uncommon in India and elsewhere, *e.g.*, Lahôri, Shirâjî, Ardaştânî, Jôdhpûrî, Aurangabâdî, etc. And in Assam the original names are generally omitted, being replaced by toponomous appel-

latives, *e.g.*, Guahatia Barua, Abhaypuria Rajkhowa, Camaguria Raja and so forth.

But our chronicler, whose desire for citing the sources of his information is manifest, would never have left us uninformed, if he had not known that the word *Gakulpuri* would mean nobody else but one particular individual. Besides, as we shall see presently the name of our *Gakulpuri* was not known, for some reason, even to his own contemporaries.

The great *Gakulpuri* of Assamese chronicles hailed from Brindaban¹, and his career in Assam had enormous political significance, culminating in the dethronement and execution of King Udayaditya, 1670-1673, during whose reign the Mogul forces under Ram Singha were completely defeated. *Gakulpuri* came to Assam as a Sannyasi, and lived first at Hajo and then at Kamakhya, where by his religious observances and alleged power to work miracles he gathered round him a large circle of enthusiastic devotees. Hearing reports of the Sannyasi's personality, King Udayaditya took him to his capital at Rangpur, and constructed for him a monastery, and the Ahom monarch himself became his first disciple. The Sannyasi exercised such a hypnotic influence upon the credulous King, that he pressed the highly venerated abbots of ancient Assamese monasteries to receive their initiation from the Sannyasi "whose name, caste and origin were unknown." A reaction set in under the leadership of the King's brother who murdered Udayaditya and himself occupied the throne with the name Ramadhwaja Singha. The first act of his reign, 1673-1675, was the execution of the thaumaturgic Sannyasi.

Assamese chronicles, C. I., are unanimous in saying that the name and origin of the *bairagi* or Sannyasi of *Gakulpur* Brindaban were never known, which aggravated the irritation caused by the infatuated monarch's abnormal devotion to the stranger, especially at a time of ceaseless hostility with foreigners. So our chronicler's inability to mention the name of his *Gakulpuri* informant is excusable. In a manuscript *Buranji* presented to me by a descendant of Lacit Barphukan, the name of this Sannyasi has been specifically mentioned for the first time as Paramananda. So in our opinion, the *Gakulpuri* of our author could be no other than the Paramananda *Bairagi* of Assamese history whose hypnotic personality

(1) For an account of *Gakulpur*, see F. S. Growse's *Tirthas of Brindaban and Gakulpur*, J. A. S. B., 1872, No. 4.

brought about the disastrous downfall of his royal devotee and patron.

(b) **WRITTEN RECORDS.**—From the detailed character of the narratives given in some of the chapters, we cannot but infer that the author had before him written records and documents. He gives the length of the periods intervening between the reigns of Judhithira and Jahângîr in chapter IV-A. The facts connected with the eastern campaigns of Man Singha and Jai Singha are stated elaborately. We have specifications of the distances between the Mogul capitals and other important towns and localities. The allies of Jai Singha II of Amber are named, with the number of their soldiers, horses and camels. All this could never be possible if he had not before him ready-made documents or lists. The author himself refers to existing chronicles of Mogul India in the preamble to Chapter VI-A, —

“After the death of Jahângîr, his son Shâh Jahân sat on the throne in an auspicious moment. The events which took place during the first eight years of his reign *are recorded in other books* ; only the events which took place after the lapse of eight years of his reign *will be found in this book.*”

In the information derived from the two classes of sources we have noticed one distinction. The stories narrated by Muhammad ‘Alî and Gakulpuri are of a somewhat general character, not without some flavour of romance, characteristic of orally transmitted episodes. The narratives of the second order are marked by congestion of details and subordination of sensationalism to facts. But each of the narratives or chapters is of the nature of a historical idyll, artistically conceived and executed, with the constituent parts linked together by a unity of purpose and design. As we shall see, the description of the Naorôza has been inserted only in connection with the annual *pesh-kash* which Cooch Bihar had to transmit to the Emperor during its celebrations. The description begins with the query, —“What is Nao-rôza, ?” which the author anticipated invariably from his reader. The history of Timurlane has been given in order to introduce us to Jahângîr.

As to the source-books of the author, we are absolutely in the dark. But I would venture to remark that in addition to the existing literature in Assamese, he had access to Persian and Urdu sources. This will lead us to

the question of the author's equipment as gleaned from the language of the book.

Maulâna Muhammad 'Ali, whose great scholarship, specially his proficiency in Arabic and Persian, won for him the munificent patronage of Nawâb Mansûr Khan, did not certainly narrate his story in the language of the Assamese people, nor did Paramananda Bairagi, whose stay in Assam cannot have been of very long duration. To carry on a conversation in Assamese is one thing, and to tell a sustained story with all the thrill and picturesqueness of details is quite another matter. They must have used Urdu or Hindi which was easily understood by our chronicler, the most assiduous member of the junta that sat on a moonlit night to listen to the romantic adventures of Rajas, Omras* and Padshahs. That the author was fairly acquainted with Urdu or Persian is evident from the large admixture of words of Islamic parlance in the book. These words have been inserted not merely to impart to his narratives an atmosphere of the *Badshahi Khândan*, but they came naturally to the writer which may be due to his long contact with Hindi-Urdu-Persian-speaking people and literature. We have read other chronicles of the period, but though they have an archaic *naivete* of their own, they do not indulge in such abnormal use of a vocabulary of non-Assamese or non-Sanskritic origin. The author of the *Padshah-Buranji* uses the inevitable phrase which Muhammadan speakers or writers would employ in the same context. This betrays his wonderful knowledge of the ceremonies, formalities and customs in vogue among Muhammadans. A few examples will illustrate our point, —

Zabah	ذبح	Aurangzêb cuts his brothers Dara and Murad.
Gour	گور } خدا	Shâh Jahân's consort prefers to court her <i>burial</i> with the name of <i>Khoda</i> instead of seeing her sons' fratricidal conflict.
Khuda		
Nikâh	نکاح	Muhammad Jahân, the brother of Shâh Jahân, <i>marries</i> the widow of the Turkî Sultan,
Tamâm	تمام	Jai Singha is a great hero; he has conquered the <i>whole</i> of Bengal.
Vilâyat	ولايت	Then the <i>province</i> of Kashmîr became disloyal to the Emperor.

* Another of the double plurals common in India, *Umarah* being already the plural of *Amir*, e.g., Nawâb (Ar. *Nuwab*, plural of *Na'ib*).
Ed,—“I, C,”

- Shâbâsh شاہباش Rungaddin said to Sarbabhaum Chandra,—“ *Well said, Pandit, your words are wholesome to me.*”
- Shâhbâz شاہباز Shâh Jahân wrote to the Adil Shâhi Sultan,—“ *my kites will tear to pieces your royal falcons.*” Emperor Jahângîr said,—
- Harâmzâda حرام زادہ “The Rajas and Jamindars of that country are very *troublesome.*”
- Haramkhor حرام خور Aurangzêb said to his vazîr,— “Please tell me which of the chiefs have now become *disloyal* to us.”
- Takht تخت Shâh Jahân after sitting on the throne sent a letter to the Adil Shâhi Padshah.
- ‘Arzhi-‘Arzah عرضی عرض Sitting at the Roz-adawalat, Rungaddin listens to the *petitions of complaints.*
- Fâtiha فاتحہ The Kazi advises Humâyûn to invite men to the *feast.*
- D‘oa-sepâsi دعا سپاسی Shêr Shâh says that he has become the Padshah of Delhi through the *blessings* of all.
- Takîd تاکید Mîr Jumla wanted leave from Shaîsta Khan very *quickly.*
- Baghal بغل Man Singha carried in his *arm-pit* dozens of Padshahs like Hus-sain Shâh.
- Wâq‘aya-Dâkhil واقع داخل After *submitting* his report Man Singha returned to Decca.
- Padshah-Hazrat پادشاہ حضرت This is known at the two feet of the *Padshah Hazrat.*
- Sulaimân-Paigambar سلیمان پیغمبر Did *Sulaiman-Paygambar* ever meet any injury at the hands of the ants ?

Besides the above the following words are used in their appropriate context,—

- Bêhâya بے حیا
Sambhâl سنبہال
Sâf صاف

Akhûn .	آخون
Shitâb	شتاب
Ghairahu	غیره
Jîn-panjâl	جین پنجال
'Amal	عمل
Mahalli	محلی
Nazdagi	نزدگی
Qabûl-Qarâr	قبول قرار
Dil-âsa	دل آسا
Sufârish	سفارش
In'âm	انعام
Lâlach	الانچ
Loghât	لغات
Zahar	زهر

The author has maintained throughout the book a precise distinction between a Nawâb, a Râja, a Padshâh, and a Padshâh-zâda. Other words of the official vocabulary are also used correctly;—

Waq'ayanavîs
 Khan-Khana
 Sipah-Salar
 Amîr-ul-
 Omara
 Mansabdâr
 Darbâr
 Wazîr
 Kawzi
 Diwân
 Hazûr-navîs
 Panchhazâri, etc.
 Diwân-Khâs
 'Am-Khâs
 Farmân
 Sirpao.

The correct use of words of Persian origin in their appropriate context, and the extensive knowledge of Islamic history and formalities which the book betrays, sometimes tempt us to think that the author might have

been a Muhammadan scholar, to whom the words and the ideas came spontaneously as they do even now. Hindu writers and speakers very rarely use those words and phrases, unless they insert them consciously and artistically to impart to the narrative a realistic tinge. The knowledge that there were Muhammadan writers connected with the Assamese literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would be a discovery of the highest importance. Against this presumption there is the use of the benedictory phrase in the beginning of a Chapter "Glory to Srê Krishna" which a Muhammadan would never use, unless we take it as a mechanical interpolation by subsequent Hindu copyists. At the same time the fundamental Sanskritic ring of the vocabulary and construction which is in consonance with the Assamese Vaisnava works of the period will encourage some to believe that the author could not be a Muhammadan. But we know that there were learned Muhammadans in Assam in those days, some of whom were appointed in the diplomatic service, who could very easily acquire a mastery of Assamese prose style. Of the Muhammadan officers of the Ahom Court, there were 16 Diwâns, 1 Nawâb-Dekah, 2 Persian readers and one engraver, "who were supported by the State according to the old custom in Assam," and our author might be one of them. There were also learned Hindus, accomplished in Persian, which was an indispensable symbol of culture and an easy passport to official preferments.

Of the Hindus conversant with Muhammadan history and culture, there were the ambassadors of Assam, whose ingenuous retorts stupefied distinguished Mogul generals and whose training and accomplishments were viewed with jealousy by fellow-plenipotentiaries of other nations¹. The idea of compiling the *Padshah-Buranji* might be conceived and executed by one of them. So the question regarding the identity of the author will remain ever open, until we come upon new and independent evidence, or read the chronicle more critically from this standpoint than has yet been done.

(1) For such a retort see the story of the Himalayan bluff made by the Assamese ambassador Kaupatia Madhabcharan to Ram Singha, in *Mir Jumla and Ram Singha in Assam*. A Kachari Katakî or envoy, when accused by the Ahoms of untraditional conduct excused himself on the ground that his King did not train Kachari ambassadors so thoroughly as was done in Assam. Srinath Duara's *Assam Buranji*

The last two events mentioned in the *P.B.* are Prince A'zam's deputation of Nawâb Mansûr Khân to occupy Gauhati, which occurred in 1679 ; and (2) the formation of a Rajput-Mahratta confederacy under Jai Singha II of Amber and Malahar Rao Holkar (according to Irvine, sometime between 1719-1731). While in other chronicles dates are recorded to the minute, the *P. B.* is curiously deficient in this respect, except on one occasion when the overthrow of Pithor Raja, the last Hindu King of Delhi, is mentioned, rightly or wrongly, to have taken place in "the year 843 of the era of Sakaditya," --as the purpose of the chronicle was to supply general information, while the chronology has been roughly maintained by the sequence of the monarchs which is stated with precision.

The two dates 1679 A.D. and 1719-1731 A. D. are no indication of the exact date of composition. The Chapter on the Nawabs of Dacca, where the episode of the first date occurs, and the other on the allies of Jai Singha II might be subsequent additions to the main chronicle, while the story heard orally from Gakulpuri must have been put in black and white not later than 1673 A.D., in which year the Sannyasi was executed. Muhammad 'Alî remained in Assam during the Fauzdarship of Mansûr Khân, 1679-1682, during which period, or soon after, his story must have been recorded. The different chapters may have been compiled at different periods, and may also be by different authors.

The habit of putting together separate works on the same subject, though by different authors was not uncommon in Assam. We have come across chronicles which end in the events of 1682, but they contain a list of Assamese Kings up to the year 1826. A single manuscript sometimes served the purpose of a modern shelf of books, and the combination of several works of the same interest eliminated the necessity of preparing separate thick wood-covers which generally enclose each Assamese manuscript. The date of transcription does not give us any clue to the date of composition, beyond fixing the latest date for the same.

The language of the book is in keeping with that of other chronicles of the seventeenth century. The necessity for such a compilation dealing with the antecedents of Mîr Jumla and Ram Singha, and the previous history of the monarchs of Delhi, was most acutely felt when the Mogul generals were knocking at the gate of Assam, threatening to destroy her independence and solidarity.

So, taking all things together, we may easily surmise that the main bulk of the book was compiled between 1663 and 1685 A.D., and the copy of Manuscript A was made later than 1731 A.D. Manuscript B could not have been copied earlier than 1793 A.D. The character of the script and the present condition of the ink further support such a conclusion.

Scholars who have devoted their life to the unfolding of the history of the Delhi Sultanate, or who have access to an extensive library of books and manuscripts on Mogul India, will be better judges of the value of the *Padshah-Buranji* as a source-book. But as I do not belong to either of these two categories, I offer my remarks in a tentative manner, with the hope that my more fortunate fellow-workers stationed in livelier centres of historical culture will excuse the observations of a man who lives in a place where generals were sent by the Great Moguls as a good riddance or as a punishment for delinquency in imperial duties, a place which abounds in mosquitoes but not in books, where the atmosphere is surcharged with germs of lingering diseases and death, but not with indomitable and widespread zeal for learning and scholarship.

I am not in a position to say what will be the total output of new information derivable from the *Padshah-Buranji*. But the value of a historical document is never judged by the amount of fresh revelations which it contains. Facts already accepted, or settled as incontrovertible, gain additional meaning and force when they are confirmed by statements recorded in an independent historical work, compiled in a detached corner under a curious juxtaposition of circumstances, where the author had access to sources which might now be lost. This confirmation from independent quarters guards the so-called settled facts from future dislodgement and refutation. When material corroborations are accompanied by occasional discrepancies on minor points from the synthetic reconstructions of academic historians, the disagreement only points to one possibility that our author had materials which are now lost or forgotten; all our settled facts would not have been recorded as such if access to the lost materials had been attainable. Of facts of a confirmatory character we have many in our *Padshah-Buranji*. Besides there are numerous discrepancies, which, instead of detracting from the value of the book, only serve to open a new line of enquiry; they

also give us a glimpse into the mass of materials which are now effaced through the influence of time, and to which our author had evidently some access.

Chronicles are compiled everywhere on the basis of information gathered from written documents, as well as from verbal reports of reliable eye-witnesses and other informants. Several Persian chronicles of the Mogul court were indebted to the testimony of oral reporters. The evidence of learned scholars like Muhammad 'Alī and Gakulpuri would have been utilised by Muhammadan chroniclers if such an opportunity was ever found, and it would not have been discarded as utterly untrustworthy. Here for the first time we have in the pages of the *Padshah-Buranji* the unexploited fact-lore stored in the minds of these two not absolutely negligible personalities, which would have been welcomed in the illuminated nastaliqs of Muhammad Qâsim Hindu Shâh Firishtah and Muhammad Amīn bin Abū'l-Hasan Qazwīnī.

I will now proceed to cite a few instances to illustrate, from the *Padshah-Buranji*, re-affirmations of hitherto accepted facts, corroborations of doubtful issues, deviations from settled conclusion, as well as fresh revelations of a significant character.

(1) The Muhammadan victor of the Rajput prince Pithor Râja is given in the *P.B.* as Rungaddīn Padshâh, son of Muhammad Shâh of Alamanja, King of Nako, whose capital was at Majitpur. The author specifically mentions that *Hinduan* ended with Pithor Râja. The establishment of Muhammadan supremacy in India is ascribed to the *saka* era 843, or 921 A.D., the only date recorded in our chronicle. This contradicts the universally accepted conquest of Delhi by Muhammad of Ghor in 1192 A.D. after the defeat and execution of Pithor Raja, the Chauhan prince. *v. post.*

(2) The first Muhammadan conqueror of India, in the *P.B.*, divides his palace into several compartments, *viz.*, Mardâna-mahall, Zanâna-mahall, Diwân-Khâs, Rôz-Diwân Khân sâma, Rôz-adewalat; each of the seven days in the week has a particular function allotted to it. This division was kept up by subsequent Muhammadan rulers of India.

(3) The *mansabdari* system was first introduced by the victor of Pithor Râja, according to the *P.B.* His army consisted of 600,000 horse, which were placed under properly graded mansabdars and Fauzadars in command of 7,000, 6,000, 5,000, 4,000, 3,000, 2,000, 1,000, 800, 500 *

and 150 : and contingents were stationed at several parts of the kingdom. Mansabs indicated actual commands, and not mere titular ranks into which some of them dwindled under the successors of Akbar. Vincent Smith, in his *Akbar*, p. 362, says that the earliest mention of the grading of mansabdars was in the time of Babar.

(4) According to the *P.B.*, the sons of Shâh Jahân had the following mansabs, —Dâra, mansab 20,000, and sawar 20,000 ; Shujâ', mansab 15,000 and sawar 15,000 ; Aurangzêb, mansab 15,000, and sawar 15,000. After the subjugation of Bengal, Raja Man Singha was allowed by Jahângîr to retain his mansab of 8,000. But Prof. Beniprasad, in his *History of Jahangir*, p. 119 n. says "Man Singha, Mirza Shâh Rûkh and 'Azîz Kokah the Khân-A'zam were the three personages who attained to 7,000."

(5) In Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. II., pp. 260-261, Sultân Muhammad, the eldest son of Emperor Aurangzêb, accompanies Mîr Jumla in the pursuit and subjugation of Shujâ'; the Prince who was previously betrothed to Shujâ's little daughter Gulrukh Banu, now marries her, and deserts Mîr Jumla, and joins his father-in-law's camp. In the *P.B.*, Sultan Mu'azzam steps into the place of his elder brother, Shujâ's daughter being named Fâtima.

(6) Prof. Beniprasad in his *Jahangir*, pp. 97-98, gives a brilliant description of the Nao-rôza festivities, which materially agrees with that of the *P.B.* In the latter the Emperor is mentioned in unambiguous terms, as the only man who has access to the fancy bazaar, whereas no such prerogative is hinted at in Prof. Beniprasad's account, where, from the pitching of the tents of the nawâbs in the vicinity of that of the Emperor, and the flowing of wine in rivulets, the uncritical reader may think that they also were not denied access to the ladies' bazaar. Prof. Beniprasad believes that the Nao-rôza festivities continued for nineteen days ; but the *P.B.* corroborates the supposition of Sir Thomas Roe, Mandelslo and Terry that Nao-rôza meant nine days, and that its celebration continued for nine days.

(7) The *P.B.* is precisely accurate in occasionally designating Mîr Jumla as M'azum Khan and Mirza Mula and Prince A'zam as 'A'zamtara, and in this he follows the nomenclature adopted in other Assamese chronicles, C. 1. We learn from Bernier, *Travels* (Constable), p. 16 n, that Mu'azzam Khan was Mîr Jumla's surname ; while

Irvine in his *Later Moguls*, vol. I, p. 2, says that Prince A'zam is usually styled 'Alî-jat and often A'zam Tara.

But we have not been able to know why Man Singha is always referred to in the *P.B.* and in C. 1. as Mandhata.

(8) In the *P.B.* Mîr Jumla is described as the son of Mirza-Hazaru ; the general's son Masudami Khan is left at Dacca, when Mîr Jumla marches against Cooch Behar and Assam. Is he the same as Muhammad Amîn Khân, to whom, according to Bernier, Aurangzêb wrote the famous letter mingled with tears of joy and sorrow ?

(9) The wak'anavis plays a very important part in the *P.B.* He reports to the Sultân of Delhi when Timûr-abâd is strewn with gold mohurs. He accompanies Ram Singha as an impartial reporter on the activities of the suspected Raja. Sultân A'zam Tara tries to gag the wak'anavis, so that this unrelenting father may not hear of his misrule in Bengal.

(10) The Rajas of Amber were powerful Hindu adherents of the Mogul throne. Man Singha fights the Emperor's battles : but he is clever enough to see through the Emperor's perpetual preference of himself for the leadership of military expeditions. Jai Singha's Rajputs place the Kuchhwa Raja on the throne ; but Jai Singha's stalwarts propose to seize the person of Shâh Jahân, and he does not intend to deviate an inch from hereditary loyalty to the Mogul *satrapy*. Ram Singha, directly or indirectly, allows Sewa-raja and the Sikh Guru to escape from captivity and surveillance.

(11) According to Vincent Smith, *Oxford History*, p. 395, Mumtâz Mahall, died in June 1631, in childbirth. But the *P.B.* makes her swallow poison to avert the sight of her sons in fratricidal conflict.

(12) Aurangzêb deposes Nawâb Sulati-fat Khân, Bahâdur Khan and Shamsheer Khân against the Sewa-râja, Kandarpa Singha, but they do not attain any success. The Amber Râja is next despatched, who defeats the Sewa-râja, and cajoles him to the presence of the Emperor, from whose palace he escapes. The career of the Sewa-râja of our *P. B.* corresponds exactly with that of the great Mahratta hero, Shivaji Maharaj. If our author had used only the word *Sewa-raja* we would have taken it to mean Shivaraja, Shiva-raja or Shîvaji, but the specific mention of Kandarpa Singha, as the antagonist of Ram Singha and the subsequent guest of the Emperor, gives us a hard nut to crack.

(13) Prof. J. N. Sarkar writes in his *Aurangzeb III*, pp. 213-214,—"Service in Assam was extremely unpopular, and no soldier would go there unless compelled. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Ram Singha was sent to Assam as a punishment for his having secretly helped Shîvajî to escape from captivity at Agra." This is materially corroborated in the *P.B.*, where Ram Singh's deputation to Assam was caused by his connivance at the flight of the Siwa-râja and the Sikh Guru from captivity.

(14) *SECUNDERABAD*.—The description of Secunderabad as given in the *P.B.* amounts almost to a condensed gazetteer. I note the salient points which may be helpful in identifying the place.—

Geographical :—Secunderabad or Hiranagar is situated on the south, at a distance of nearly three months' journey from Delhi. Sec. was formerly a wilderness which was reclaimed by Sekendar Padshah of Irân. The Sultan invited men from all quarters to settle at Sec. till it yielded an annual revenue of Rs. 40,50,000. The kingdom measured 220 *kos* by 103 *kos*, and was surrounded on all sides by sea-waters, having a moat as wide as a river on three sides and the sea on the fourth. The moat could be traversed longitudinally in about ten hours. The dike had no mooring place for boats, and it was filled with monstrous crocodiles and sea-horses. The latter known as *Dariai Ghora*, came out of the waters occasionally to bask on the bank where they were seized by men and sold for Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 each. The inhabitants were all Muhammadans, and there was not a single Hindu there. They lived on maize and eggs of China ducks. Rice or paddy could not be had at Sec., unless it was taken there by merchants from other places, in which case its price used to be Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per seer. The articles sold in the shops were diamonds, pearls, emeralds, rubies, amber, corals, etc. Sec. had an army of 60,000 horse, in which Arabian, Turuki, Tazi and Suzarni ponies were used. It had also a large Nawarraah or flotilla of Suluf (Salb), Batel (Patil) and other classes of war-boats. There was a rampart on all sides of Sec. barricaded with natural trees and thick bamboo-clumps whose trunks touched each other. The forts were constructed with brick and stone, and trained soldiers were employed in the navy.

Historical :—After the establishment of Sec. Sekendar Padshâh returned to Irân, leaving Nawâb Ghâlib Khân, a commander of 9,000, to rule over the place as viceroy.

Siliman Padshah, of Farrang intending to occupy Sec., employed several devices including the despatch of soldiers to live in Sec. as peaceful citizens and merchants. Ghâlib Khân was murdered by a woman presented to him by Siliman. After a series of contests Sec. was conquered by Siliman Padshah, and remained in his possession till Muhammad 'Alî narrated the story to the Assamese chronicler. Nâsir Muhammad Padshâh ruled at Sec. during the reign of Emperor Jahângîr. The Emperor marched against Sec. and after a very hard struggle succeeded in conquering that kingdom. Jahângîr established a court and a garrison at Sec. with Amîr-ul-Omara Shêr Khân 'Alî Haft-hazâri as head. Muhammad 'Alî was a Mogul hailing from Sec., which he knew most intimately, this being the reason why we have such an unusually elaborate description of that Kingdom.

Is this Sec. the modern Sec. in the dominion of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad ? Golconda was established in 1512 A.D. by Sultan Kuli Qutb Shâh who was supposed to be the grandson of Mirza Jehân Shâh of Persia, *vide Ferishta, tr. Briggs, vol. 3, p. 322.* According to the *Tarikhi-Qutb-Shah*, a translation of which has been appended by Briggs, Qutb Shah was fifth in descent from Amîr Iskandar. The gold and diamond mines of Golconda were proverbial even in Europe. Siliman Padshah of Farrang might be a Firinghee adventurer, the strategy employed by him in the conquest of Sec. seems to be of an Occidental character. Farrang or Afranj is the name by which Muhammadans designated Franks or Firinghees or Europeans, even so early as Minhâj-i-Sirâj Abu 'Umr-i-'Usman Al-Jurjâni, the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. The author of the *P.B.* has clearly distinguished between the two words *Siliman* and *Sulaiman*. There are many instances of Firinghee conquests in the Deccan during the Mogul period. One will be tempted to identify Sekendar Padshah with the Macedonian conqueror, Alexander the Great, who founded, in the East, Alexandria, or Iskenderia of the Arabians, Herat, Nikaia or modern Jalâlabâd and Boukephala or Jhelum. The island state of Hormuz, the Ormus of Milton, was conquered in 1515 A.D. by Alfonso D'Albuquerque, the Governor of the Portuguese Settlements in India. But these places do not answer in all points the description of Sec. as given in the *Padshah-Buranji*.

(15) *Rungaddin Padshah*.—Who was this Rungaddin Padshah, the vanquisher of Pithor Raja, the last Hindu

King of Delhi ? Sober history says that the first Muhammadan victor of India and the vanquisher of Pithor Raja was Sultan Shihâbuddîn Mu'izzuddîn Muhammad Ghôrî, son of Bahâuddîn, and the generalissimo of his brother Ghiyâsuddîn, king of Ghazni and Ghôr. After the second battle of Tarain, in which Pithor Raja was defeated and killed, Muhammad Ghôrî returned to Khurasan leaving his slave-son Qutbuddin Aibak in charge of affairs in India, who occupied Delhi and conducted the government in place of his absentee lord, Muhammad Ghôrî. After the death of Muhammad in March, 1206, Qutbuddin succeeded his master as sovereign of the new Indian conquests as the first Sultân of Delhi. (*See Vincent Smith's Oxford History of India*, p. 222). There is no mention in the standard histories of India of any Rungaddin or Ruknuddin Padshah sitting on the throne of Delhi after the defeat and death of Pithor Raja.

The *Tabaqat-i-Nasri* of Minhâj-i-Sarâj Jurjani sketches the careers of *twenty* Ruknuddins, of whom only four have the remote chance of being directly or indirectly the original of the Rungaddin of our *Padshah-Buranji*.

(i) *Ruknuddin* Khur Shah, son of Alauddin Muhammad Shah, the last of the Mulâhidah rulers of *Alamut* and *Lanbâhsar*, *Tabaqat*, Raverty's translation, pp. 1206-1212. The strongest fortress of Alamut was Majmundiz, according to Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 221. Hulaku, the grandson of the Mogul conqueror Chengis Khân, fought with Khur Shah, the former concentrating his forces at Mazandaran or Tabaristan in Persia. Alamut was taken and dismantled by Hulaku in 1256 A.D., and Ruknuddin Khur Shah was treacherously murdered by Hulaku. The Rungaddin of the *Padshah-Buranji* is the son of one Alamanji Muhammad Shâh who ruled at Majitpur in Nako.

(ii) *Ruknuddin* Ghôrî Shanasti, son of 'Alauddîn Muhammad Khwarazm Shah, Sultân of Irân, and conqueror of Khwarazm or Khiva, Samarkand, 'Irâk, Ghazni, Ghôr, Kâbul, etc., and the formidable antagonist of Chengis Khân. Muhammad Shâh occupied the throne of Ghazni and Ghôr from Ghiyâsuddîn and his brother Sultân Shihâbuddîn Mu'izzuddîn Muhammad Ghôrî, and placed his eldest son Jalâluddîn Maugbarni on the newly conquered throne, while Ruknuddin was placed in charge of 'Irâk. During the war with Chengis Khân, Muhammad Shâh's stronghold was *Ilal* in *Mazandaran*, (*Tabaqat* p. 279). Muhammad Shâh died in 617 A.H. and was succeeded by

Jalâluddîn, and then by Ruknuddîn. The latter was also called '*Ghuri-Shanasti* or the Ghori-breaker, as he was born "on the night preceding the day on which Sultân Shihâbuddîn Muhammad Mu'izzuddîn Ghôrî retreated from before the gates of Khwarazm in the year 601 A.H." p. 281.

(iii) *Ruknuddin* Hamzah Kiwân-ul-Mulk, the Kâzi of Muhammad Ghôrî, who was sent as an envoy with an ultimatum to Pithor Raja. p. 466.

(iv) *Ruknuddin* Sar, Malik of Kidan in Ghôr. whose name figures in the list of kinsmen and relatives of Sultan S. M. Muhammad Ghôrî, p. 491, and who probably accompanied his master in the latter's victorious campaign in India.

Ferishtah's history does not throw any light on the Rungaddîn problem. Probably, the exploits of one of the above Ruknuddîns, which must have been stock themes of gossip, have been extended to the defeat of Pithor Raja, and the real hero S. M. Muhammad Ghôrî has been, eclipsed or partly transformed into Rungaddîn. The *Alamanja* and *Majilpur* of our narrative might be perversions of Alamut, Ilal-Mazamdaran and Majmundiz. Nako may be Lako, a liquid variation of the cerebral '*Irak*, which is however written correctly in the classes of horses mentioned here and there, viz., "Arbi, Turki, Sujarni and 'Irâki." According to the *P. B.*, Rungaddîn's successor on the Alamanji throne was his son Sultan Muhammad M'azum. We get the names of some of the generals of the expedition,—Fartcijang-khan, the commander-in-chief of Rungaddîn; Shâh 'Adil Khan, son of the former; Adam, Rungaddîn's brother; Jambur Khân, Hurzabbar Khân, Hazûr Khan and Rahlol Khân. Pithor Râja's commanders were,—Unmatta Singha, Suranga Singha, Kumud Singha, Râna Singha.

The most reasonable explanation of the problem will be if we take Rungaddîn to be Kutbuddîn himself; Muhammad Shâh, R's father as Muizzuddin Muhammad Ghôrî; R's successor on the Alamanji throne, Muhammad M'azum as Al Mu'izz-us-Sultân Tâj-ud-dîn-Yildîz. The dynasty of Ghaznivite rulers to which Muhammad Ghôrî belonged was known as the Shanasabaniah dynasty, but after the death of Muhammad Mu'izzuddin Ghôrî, it came to be known as Al-Mu'izzî-us-Sultânî from Muhammad Ghôrî's name Mu'izzuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 496; this title was applied to Muhammad's successors Qutbuddin-Aibak in Delhi, and to Tâj-ud-dîn Yildîz in Ghazni. We thus

find an explanation for the title *Alamanji* used in the *P.B.*, and the Assamese chronicler's application of the title to Muhammad Mu'izzuddîn Ghôri himself is excusable, as it formed an important bead in the great conqueror's string of epithets. According to Minhâj, Sultân S. M. M. Ghôri "was wanting in children, and one daughter was all he had by his wife." p. 496-7. This fact was pointed out to him by a confidential favourite, to whom the Sultân replied, "Other monarchs may have one son, or two sons : I have so many thousand sons, namely my Turk slaves." The Sultân did not deviate from his word, and placed the crowns of Ghazni and Delhi on his Mamlûk sons Tâj-ud-dîn and Qutbuddîn. According to the *P. B.*, Alamanji Muhammad Shâh also has no son, by any of his 300 wives. In the multiplicity of Ruknuddîns and Muhammad Shâhs, and the acceptance of slave-sons as natural heirs, our Assamese chronicler's confusion with regard to certain *names* figuring in the history of a region noted for its innumerable principalities and chieftains, is certainly excusable. That he has been able to steer clear through this labyrinth of names and personages by giving us facts the *essence* of which is in entire agreement with standard histories, is matter for congratulation.

S. K. BHUYAN.

(To be continued.)

AIDS TO READING PERSIAN MSS. IN VIEW OF EDITORIAL WORK

INTRODUCTION.

IN the study of a Persian MS an important consideration is the individuality of the Copyist, so far, at least, as this may be diagnosed from an attentive perusal of his work as a whole. Each Copyist has his individual peculiarities and mode of writing, and we must of course, by close observation and comparison, become familiar with these in order to read him.

With regard to the errors which so commonly occur in Persian MSS. it should be observed that most of these are due to the carelessness or misconception of the Copyist in his use of the Arabic script—a script which lends itself peculiarly to error—and it is the purpose of this essay to point out a number of cases in which such carelessness or misconception may tend to change one word into another, or to confuse the reading. Such tendencies to error are indeed common enough to furnish those who keep them constantly in view with some general alternatives, or even rules, by which they may in certain cases be guided.

A number of more general hints or remarks have been added on certain occasional or habitual peculiarities of Copyists as to which it is necessary to be on one's guard.

It need scarcely be observed that in the consideration of any passage these rules or hints are only subsidiary to a close study of the context and of the general trend of the Author's thought and argument, as well as to comparison with other MSS.

The Notes which follow have been prepared from two MSS. of the *Ilahi Nama* of 'Attâr—one in the British Museum written in *naskhi*, and dated 1410; the other in the Bodleian Library, in *nast'lik*, undated, but probably of the 17th Century—as well as from MSS. in the India Office, others in the British Museum, and an Indian (Lakhnau) lithographed edition of 1872.

The *Ilahi Nama* is one of the most interesting of the moral and Sûfi works of 'Attâr, the second of the three great Sûfi poets—the first being Sanâ'î, and the third Rûmî. It is treated in a way rather characteristic of 'Attâr, which he follows also in his *Mantiku* 't-Tair; that is to say, the supposed teacher of the moral and Sûfi maxims is a personage introduced into the poem, and not the Author himself. Here the teacher is a Khalif, the father of six sons, on each of whom in turn he inculcates these maxims in the form of interesting stories.

Besides the *Ilahi Nama*, 'Attâr wrote more than thirty works of great interest for Sûfism, and it is remarkable that of all those only the *Mantiku* 't-Tair, and a small treatise, the *Pand Nama*, have been published in texts and translations—the former very unsatisfactorily, the latter as became a scholar so far in advance of his time as the Baron Sylvestre de Sacy.

In the older MSS. (let us now resume), especially those written in *naskhi*, we have to deal with various archaisms which do not occur in the later MSS., and the present writer may perhaps be excused for expressing his personal opinion that the retention of these in a printed text is not only unnecessary but also confusing.

Among such archaisms may be more particularly mentioned the dot over the letter *dal* in certain cases, the sign *sukun* often suffixed, the form *ank* for *anki*, and the sign *hamza* suffixed to a mute *he* before a vowel sound in the next word, to show that a *spiritus lenis* and not *h* must be heard before the vowel sound. As a matter of fact, however, no one who could spell *would* pronounce the *h* and the *hamza* only confuses the reading, since it may easily be taken for a *hamza* of more significance.

So far, we have for the most part been considering the mistakes made in words, but for the purpose of forming a satisfactory text we have also to take into account the general merits of the Copyist, and to consider how far he is qualified to perform his task. The necessity for this arises from the fact that in far too many cases the Copyist constitutes himself also an Editor, and exercises his individual judgment (or, generally, want of judgment) for the purpose of producing what he considers a satisfactory text. The most flagrant example of this is found in his addition in many places of superfluous verses to a poem. When the Author has fully and clearly expressed his thought, and any addition would only dilute and weaken it, the Copyist in his wisdom often thinks that some

amplification or explanation is required, and adds a number of verses of his own. These spurious verses, however, may be fairly easily detached by any Editor who has sufficient experience and judgment for the task.

In the present case, however, we are dealing chiefly, as mentioned above, with the mistakes made in words, and we are fortunate in possessing two MSS. so authoritative as those of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, since, in their more general correctness, they help us materially in the detection of such alternatives, rules, and habitual or occasional errors as form the subject of the present essay.

The MSS. of 'Attâr's works are on the whole notoriously corrupt, and for a translation which I have made of his *Ilahi Nama* I have been guided mainly by these two, of which, however, the British Museum MS. of 1410 is the more trustworthy. Additional MSS. consulted have been others in the British Museum, and several in the India Office. The Indian (Lakhnau) edition of 1872, which I have also used, is remarkable as following rather closely the B.M. MS. of 1410, but it is subject to the vagaries common to most Indian lithographs.

The Bodleian MS. differs to some extent in certain places (especially in the Introduction) from that of the British Museum, but the India Office MSS. are generally so different and evidently so corrupt as to be of little use for the formation of a text, though they help to serve the purpose of this essay, for which, of course, inferior MSS. are as indispensable as superior ones.

A number of the following Notes may be adopted as rules, but the majority are rather of the nature of cautionary suggestions which it is well to keep in mind when the sense of passages cannot be well made out from readings afforded. They may, I think, be followed with sufficient confidence, since only such alternatives have been offered as resemble one another enough to make them plausible.

They are corroborated too by the fact that the alternative preferred by me in my (unpublished) text of the *Ilahi Nama* makes good sense, whereas the alternative rejected does not. At the same time the alternatives offered here are (with the exception of one or two emendations) in no case conjectural, but are all supported by quotations from the MSS. consulted—quotations sufficiently long to serve as independent passages intelligible to the reader, and to justify my choice out of the

alternatives presented. The length of the quotations will also, I think, afford some additional interest to the subject and make it more generally acceptable.

The Notes, though not very numerous, are, I think, sufficient, when supported by the studies and investigations previously mentioned, to help appreciably in the formation of a text, and to afford a nucleus for a more extensive treatise on the subject. The labour of the study and collation of MSS., however, being so great, the production of anything like a terminal essay would be a work of years, and in the meantime the reader must make the best use he can of this عجلة الوقت

I have quoted the passages in which the correct alternative, as I take it, is found from my own (unpublished) text, in order to make them as intelligible as possible. Preceding (them in a single hemistich), is given the incorrect alternative, and following them a translation. I have also given a short abstract of each Story from which the passages have been taken, as an additional help towards understanding them.

The British Museum MS. is alluded to as B.M., that of the Bodleian Library as B.L., those of the India Office as I.O. 559, 350, and the Indian lithographed edition as I.E. This last I have taken as MS. since the Editor, I think, may be considered not only as an Editor but also as a Copyist.

In the Notes following, the alternatives discussed have been overlined.

Many more examples of each one might have been quoted if it had seemed necessary.

WORDS CONFUSED.

ای for این

[On an intensely cold and snowy winter's night Sultân Malik Shâh, the Seljûkide, wonders if any one is keeping guard, and looks out of his tent. He sees no guard, but only a poor stranger lying down in the snow, and in devotion to the Sultan doing the office of one. In reward for this he is promoted by the Sultan to high honours].

I. O. 559, 350 (Discourse 12) :

مزم این مهربان سلطان عالمی

B.M, B.L, L.E.

زبانگ پای سلطان مرد از راه بجست از جای و بانگی زد بران شاه
که ها ن تو کیستی شمع گفت حالی منم ای مهربان سلطان عالی
تو باری کیستی ای مرد کاری که سلطان را چنین شب پاس داری
زبان بکشد مرد و گفت ای شاه منم مرد غریبی بی وطن گاه
وطن گاه هم بجزد رگاه شمع نیست مرا جز خدمت شمع هیچ ره نیست
مرا تا جان و تن همراه باشد سرم آنجا که پای شاه باشد

“At the sound of the Sultan’s footsteps the man sprang from his place on the road and shouted to the King :

“ Ho, there ; who are you ?” The King immediately said :

“ I am the exalted Sultan, O friendly man. But who, pray, are you, O active man, who on such a night guard the King ?”

“The man opened his mouth and said : “ O King, I am a stranger with no home to call my own.

“I have no place of abode save the King’s threshold ; I have no course save the service of the king.

“So long as my soul and body are in company my head will be there where is the foot of the King.”

این برای

[Alexander, the Great, is wandering in the land of darkness in search of the Water of Life, when he comes across a great, resplendent ruby, and thinks it is for his guidance in the darkness, but hears by a voice from the Unseen that it is to guide a great swarm of ants to their abode when astray ; and through this he receives a discouraging lesson on his own littleness.]

B. M. (Discourse 14) :

خطاب آمد که ای شمع فروزان

B.L., L.E.

چو شد عاجز دران تاریکی را بهمانده هم سپه حیران و هم شاه
بدید آمدن قوی یکپاره یا قوت که دروی خیره گردد مرد و مبهوت

هزاران مور را میدید هر سوی که می رفتند هر یک از دگر سوی
چنان پنداشت کان یا قوت باره برای عجز او گشت آشکاره
خطاب آمد که این شمع فروزان برای خیل موران است سوزان
که تا بر نور آن موران گمراه شوند از جایگاه خویش آگاه
مگر نو میدگشت آنجا سکدر که چون شد بهر موری سبک گوهر

"When he had become frustrated by the obscurity of the road, and both army and King were bewildered,

"A great ruby came to view, at the sight of which one would become dazzled and stupefied.

"He saw on every side thousands of ants, each one hastening from a different direction.

"He thought that the ruby had come to light on account of his helplessness (in the dark).

"An address was vouchsafed him that this resplendent light was burning on account of the swarm of ants ;

"So that by the light the ants when astray might know where their abode was.

"Now Alexander grew hopeless there, thinking how stone had become a jewel for the sake of an ant."

Another example of این for ای

[The following Story treats of the instability of the world and its destruction of all those whom it has cherished].

B. M. (Discourse 17) :

که نیست ای بس عجب از گو سفندان

B.L., L.E. : —

چنین گفت آن امیر درد مندان که نیست این بس عجب از گو سفندان
که می آرند ایشان را بخواری که تا برند سرهاشان بزاری
که بی عقلند ایشان می ندانند از آن سوی تغار خون دوانند
از آن قصاب می باید عجب داشت که او هم علم داشت و هم طلب داشت
چو میداند که او را نیز ناگاه بخوادش بریدن سردرین راه
چگونه فارغ وایمن نشستم نمی جنبد ولی ساکن نشستم

“Thus spoke the Lord of the afflicted : “ It is not very wonderful in the case of sheep

“That they can drive them ignominiously to cut off their heads so wretchedly ;

“For they are without intelligence and know not ; hence they run towards the slaughter-house.

“But we must wonder at the butcher, who has knowledge and has pursued it—

“Knowing, as he does, that they will suddenly cut off his head also in this road—

“(We must wonder, I say) how he can settle down free from care and as if secure ; moving not, but settling down with a tranquil heart.”

کر for کان

[The Story is of Alexander's journey in quest of the Water of Life and of a miraculous drum and a collyrium box. The following verse speaks of the last].

L.E. (Discourse 14) :

دسی کان سرمه میلی در کشید ی ر ماهی تا بساق عرش د یدی

B.M., B. L. :

دسی کر سرمه میلی در کشید ی ر ماهی تا بساق عرش د یدی

“The person who with a style applied some of the collyrium would see from the Fish to the legs of the Higher Throne.”

پرسیدن for ترسیدن

[The Story describes how Nimrod as an infant is saved after a shipwreck, and subsequently, given great power, becomes inordinately proud and rebels against God. The littleness of worldly conceptions and of man is then spoken of].

I. O. 350 (Discourse 14) ;

چرمی ترسی کان لم تغن بالامس

B.M., B.L., I. O. 559, L. E.,

نم از چرخ بر تر زود ر آموز کم او هم سرنگون گردد شب و روز
هم کار جهان از ذره تا شمس چه می پرسی کان لم تغن بالامس

(For the Arabic quotation see the Kur'ân. X.25. Here کان must be read for Ka'anna *mel causa*).

"You are not higher than the sky ; learn from it ; for it also plunges headlong (into the sea) night and day

"All the concerns of the world, from mote to sun— why do you inquire into them ? " *The ground is bare as though it teemed not yesterday.*"

ا ز آ ن

(This may happen sometimes, though not always, through carelessness as to *madda* whilst the letter *ze* (ز) often becomes *nun* (ن), or *vice versa*).

[The inevitability of death. Even the earth at the bottom of the sea is constituted of the dust of the dead).

B.M., B.L. (Discourse 16) :

ند بد ندای عجب آن یک طلبگار

L.E. :

سلیم کوزه می خواست روزی که تا آبی خورده بی هیچ حوزی
که آن کوزه نبوده باشد آنگاه ز خاک مرده افتاده در راه
چنین خکی طلب کردند بسیر اندید ندای عجب از یک طلبگار

I. O. MSS. read differently 559 : 530 چندین طلبگار

چندان طلبگار

"Solomon asked for a jug one day, such that he might drink some water from it without any pain of heart :

"A jug that had not been made of the dust of some dead person fallen on the way.

"They had much search made for such earth, but, wondrous to relate ! they could not get it from any seeker."

آن for ا ز

[The humility of a certain dying Shaikh who has so humble an opinion of his religious state that he expresses a wish not to be buried amongst Muslims].

I. O. 350 (Discourse 17) :

رسید از شیخ را عمرش به هشتاد

B.M., B.L., L.E. :

چو بود آن شیخ سالی شصت و هفتاد ز بعد آن مگرد ر نزع افتاد
کی گفت ای بدان عالم قدم زن کجا د فتن کنم جائی رقم زن
چنین گفت او کم من شوریده ایمان نخواهم د ر بر جمعی مسلمان
چو من نور مسلمان نی ندارم بگورستان د ینداران چه کارم
نخواهم با جهودان نیزهمبر کم بیزار ست از ایشان پیهمبر
میان این دو گورستان زمینم بدست آورکم من نه زان نه زمینم

"A certain Shaikh reached the age of sixty or seventy ;
after that he came to the point of death.

"One said to him: "O you who are proceeding to the other
world, where shall I bury you ? write down a place."

"He answered thus: "I, who am so astray from the Faith,
do not wish to be buried near a number of Muslims :

"Since I have not in me the light of Islâm, what business
have I in the grave-yard of the faithful ?

"But again, I cannot be a companion of the Jews, because
the Prophet is averse to them.

"Get some ground for me between these two grave-yards,
because I belong neither to the one nor to the other."

این for ا ز

[In the story it is conceived that by the breath of the musk-deer taken in purity from the breath of dawn some of its blood is changed to musk. From this a Sûfi principle is evolved].

B. M. (Discourse 22) :

که جان را کیمیا یست از آلهی

B.L., L.E. :

کم داند آن چنان دم در جهانی که خون زو مشک گردد در زمانی
چو خونی مشک گردد از دم پاک بود ممکن که روحانی شود خاک
ولی چون نور حق در جان در آید نیت حالی برنگ جان بر آید
چه گویم بیش ازین امکان ندارد که جانم بیش ازین فرمان ندارد
اگر تو کیمیا سازی چنین ساز ولی این کیمیا در راه او باز
چون نیست این کیمیا در عرش و کرسی ز جان خود طلب دیگر چه پرسی
بسا ز این کیمیا گرمرد راهی که جان را کیمیا نیست این الهی

"Who in the whole world knows of such a breath that through it in a moment blood becomes musk ?

"Since blood becomes musk through pure breath, it is possible that dust may become spirit.

"But when the Light of God enters the soul, your body immediately takes the colour of soul.

"What can I say ? There is no further possibility of speech for my soul has no command upon it beyond this.

"If you produce alchemy, produce it thus ; but devote this alchemy to Him.

"Since this alchemy is not in the '*Arsh and Kursi*, seek it from your own soul ; what ask you further ?

"Contrive this alchemy if you are a man of the Path ; for this for the soul is an alchemy divine."

به for نه

The misuse of these two, the negative and the emphatic often causes considerable difficulty, especially when the passage and context are intricate. An example of this confusion is seen in the following verses.

[Hârûn, the Khalif, encountering Buhlûl is severely admonished by him on his responsibilities, and on his exactions from the subjects. Then Hârûn asks some words of counsel from him].

B.M. (Discourse 16) :

و گر نه من نگفتم به تو دانی

I. O. 559, and L. E. have نگفتم but read a little differently.

B. L. :

نصیحت خواست از بهلول هارون بد و گفت آن زمان بهلول مجنون
 که ای استاد بردنیا چنین راست نشان اهل دوزخ بر تو پیدا است
 ز رویت معر گردان آن نشانی و گر نه من بگفتم به تو دانی

Hârûn then asked some counsel of Buhlûl. Buhlûl, the insane, then spoke thus to him :

“O you who are so well and firmly established over the world, the marks of the damned are discernible in you.

“Efface those marks from your face ; these indeed are my words to you, but you know better.”

I think we may fairly well assume that نگفتم not بگفتم is correct here, though there is room for consideration, since we might assume the sense of B. M. to be :

“And indeed (you may take it that) I have not spoken, (for) you know better ;” but I scarcely think this a likely reading considering the context and the tone of Buhlûl.

همی for نمی

and *vice versa*.

One of these is often used wrongly for the other, but the following emendation must serve as an illustration, as I have not an example at hand. The emendation is, I think, supported by the subsequent verse, which without it seems a *non-sequitur*).

[The words following, which are at the end of a Story about Hârûn and Buhlûl, are moral reflexions of ‘Attâr on the short duration of life].

L. E. (Discourse 16) :

نمی ماند نمی مانی تو بر پای

B. M., B.L. :

نمی ماند کجا مای تو بر پای

Emendation :

چوسنگی صد هزاران سال بر جای همی ماند نمی مانی تو بر پای
چم خواهی کرد در جائی درنگی کم آنجا بیش ماند از تو سنگی

(In this, I am assuming for good and proper sense that the second verse is an apodosis to the first).

“Since a rock endures for a hundred thousand years, (whilst) you subsist not (long).

“Why should you wish to linger in a place where a (mere) rock lasts longer than you ?”

نم and بم

(The order of the dots in these).

When the negative نم and the emphatic بم are used together they are often written in the wrong order. نم should precede بم but the reverse of this is often found.

(The angels, considering the great wealth of Abraham, doubt his entire devotion to God, but are ultimately convinced).

B.M., B.L. (Discourse 19) :

بنگد ارد خالی چون خلیاست

I. O. 559, L. E.

ملا یک چشم برکا رش کشادند زکارش در گمانی ا و فتادند
کم او مشغول چندین گو سفندست خدا میگوید او پاک و بلندست
کم او مستغرق رب جلیاست نم بگد ارد خالی چون خلیاست

اضافه (vocative particle) for ای

ای when long are frequently confused, from the fact that the Copyist evidently often wrote from dictation, and that the sound is almost identical. In the following example the evidence is in favour of (اضافه).

[Advice given by Hallāj, the famous Sūfi, to his son].

L.E. (Discourse 19) :

سر را گفت حلاج ای نیکوکار

B.M., B.L.

سر را گفت حلاج نیکوکار بجیزی نفس را مشغول میدار
وگرنه او ترا معزول دارد بصدناکردنی مشغول دارد
که تو در ره نهمرد قوی ذات ندانی زددمی هرگز بمیقات

“Hallāj, the beneficent said to his son : “ Keep your soul occupied with something ;

“Otherwise, it will depose you from good work, and keep you engaged in a hundred unworthy acts.

“For you are not a man of firm nature on the Path : you can never rest for a moment at the proper time and season.”

Another example of ای for اضا ف

[The story is of the ill-starred love of Ka'b's daughter for a handsome slave. Her love, however, is only the expression through an earthly object of her love for the Deity in His all-transcendent beauty].

B.L. (Discourse 21) :

که بشوقصم ای کبک سخن گوی

I. O. 559, 850.

دل از زخم غلامش آنچنان سوخت که در یک چشم زخمش نیز جان سوخت
نبودش چشم زخمی خواب و آرام که بر سر داشت زخمی آن دلا رام
کجا میشد دل او آرامیده یکی نام نرشت از خون دیده
چنین آورد در نظم آن سخن بوی که بشوقصم کبک سخن گوی

“Her heart burnt so because of the slave's wound that her soul also at one fell stroke of the evil eye was burnt.

"She had no sleep or rest through the calamity of that charmer's having a wound in the head.

"How indeed could her heart be at rest? She wrote a letter with the blood of her tearful eyes.

"That jasmine-scented one thus expressed her thoughts in verse : hear, you, the theme of the eloquent nightingale."

("Nightingale ; " "lit.," "partridge.")

درهم or هر دم بر هم

(In the following example I take درهم to be correct).
Advice of Hallāj, the famous Sūfi, to his son.

I. O. 559 (Discourse 19) :

L. E. بغیبت می زند بر هم جها نی

B. L. بغیبت می کشد بر هم جها نی

B.M. بغیبت می کشد هر دم جها نی

شکم چون سیر گردد یک زمانست بغیبت گر سنم گردد ز با نست
چو تیغی تیز بکشا ید ز با نی بغیبت می کزد ر هم جها نی
بسی گر چه فرو گوئی بگو شش نیا ری کرد یک ساعت خموشش

"When your stomach becomes full for a moment, your tongue hungers after calumny.

"When a tongue draws a sharp sword in calumny, it throws a whole world into confusion.

"Although you speak much in its ear, you cannot silence it for a moment."

If B. L. be correct, I think بغیبت instead of belonging to the first hemistich should be attached to the second. The sense of the distich would then be :

"When a tongue draws a sharp sword, it draws every moment a whole world into calumny."

But this is scarcely satisfactory, since a tongue may be keen without being calumnious,

اینجا for آ نجا

By the omission of dots and of the orthographical sign *madda* it is sometimes difficult to decide, without close attention to the context, which is correct.

[Advice of Hallâj, the famous Sûfî, to his son].

B.L. (Discourse 19):

عجب نبود گر آ نجا شیر گرد (a dot or dots omitted).
Here اینجا is probably for اینجا but, supposing a *madda* omitted, it might be آ نجا

I. O. 559 :

عجب اینست اینجا شیر گرد

L.E

عجب اینست کا اینجا شیر گرد

B. M. :

ترا تا نفس می ماند خیا لی بود در مولشش د ا ثم کمالی
اگر نفس ز ما نی سیز گرد د عجب نبود کم ا اینجا شیر گرد د

“So long as your carnal soul remains before you as a spectre, perfection will lie in constantly putting it off.

“If your carnal soul become satiated for a moment, it will be no wonder if it become here a lion.”

تیره for نیز

نیز may occur for تیره by a slight separation of the two dots of the ت in تیره and the joining of the ه (often slightly indicated) to the preceding....re.

[In the Story the Sûfî aspirant is admonished to weep plenteously until, with the loss of sight, true spiritual vision come].

B. L. (Discourse 20) :

د گرره نیز شد د و چشم گر یا نش

B. M., I. O. 559, 350, L. E. :

شعیب از شوق حق ده سال بگریست از ان پس چشم پوشیده ه می زیست
خدا بینا ش کرد از بعد آن باز کم شد ده سال دیگر خون فشان باز
د گرره تیره شد د و چشم گریان نش د گرره چشم روزی کرد یزدانش

“Shu'aib from eager desire of God wept for ten years ;
thenceforth he went on living blind.

“Afterwards God restored his sight again, and again he
became a shedder of blood-stained tears for ten more years.

“Once more his two weeping eyes were darkened, and
again God gave him sight.”

حمد for جملہ

With alternatives apparently so unlike as نیز and تیرہ
may be classed the above. The dissimilarity, however,
is less when the ل is shortened, as it often is).

[Part of an invocation to God].

B. L. (Introduction to the Work) :

مرا توفیق دہ تا جملہ خوانم

I. O. 559 :

مرا توفیق دہ تا حمد خوانم صفات ذات تو بر لفظ را نم
زد رگاہی همین دارم اما نی مرا یا رب بدین مقصد رسائی
سخن انجام شد آغا ز توحید کنم از حمد و از تہمید تمجید

“Give me Thy favouring help, that I may speak Thy
praise; that I may express in words the attributes of Thine
Essence.

“From thy Court I am in hope that Thou wilt enable me,
O Lord, to reach my aim.

“The declaration of the Unity in the beginning is the end
and aim of speech : I will sing to the glory of God in
praise and repeated laudations.

مکر for فکر

[In the Story the son of a certain man begs his father to
take him to the abode of a sage famous for his skill in
medicine and astronomy, but so jealous of it that he never
admits any one to his house. The son, however, by a
cunning device, manages to gain the sage's confidence and
to learn all his secrets].

L. E. (Discourse 4) :

بسرکردش ز فکر خویش آگاہ

B. M., B. L. :

پسر گفتا کم آنجا بر لها نم کم من خود حیل این کار دانم
 پسر شد با پدر القصد در راه پسر کردش ز مکر خویش آگاه
 کم پیش این حکیم نه دو ان شو ز دل کینه برون کن مهر بان شو
 بد و کودک کی دارم کرو لال ندارم نعمتی هستم مقل حال
 برای آخرت بپذیرش از من چنین بارگران بر گیرش از من
 کم تا در خدمت تو روزگاری کند چند انکس ما نیش کاری

The son rejoined : " Take me thither secretly, for I know how to manage this business."

In short, the son set out on the road with his father. The son acquainted him on the way with his scheme.

He said : " Go into the presence of the Indian Sage : Divest your heart of all ill-feeling and be friendly to him."

Say to him : ' I have a son who is deaf and dumb ; I have no wealth, I am in poor circumstances.

Take him of me for the sake of a future reward ; relieve me of this so heavy a load ;

That he for a time may in your service execute whatever commands you lay upon him."

گوید for گرید

[An example of this occurs in a Story about Joseph and his brethren].

L. E. (Discourse 3) :

چگونه گرید اواز بیقراری

B. M., B. L.

بد و گفتا کم چون داری پدر را کم میگویند کم کرده پسر را
 چنین گفت او کم نابینا بماندست چو یوسف نیدست و تنها بماندست
 جهانی آتش در جان نشستم میان کلبم ازلان نشستم
 چو از یوسف فرا اندیش گیرد دران ساعت مراد در پیش گیرد
 چه گویم من کم آن ساعت بزاری چه گوید هر زمان از بیقراری

Then said he : " what say you of the father—of him whom they call ' Bereaved of son ?' "

He answered thus : " He has become and is still blind ; since Joseph is not there, he remains all alone.

A world of fire is feeding on his soul ; he is seated in the hut of sorrows.

When his thoughts turn upon Joseph, at that time he brings me near him.

How can I describe how pitiably then he gives incessant utterance to his restless grief ! "

(چنان for بدان)

This, perhaps, is slightly conjectural, and depends on the writing of the old B. M. MS. in which *dal* in certain positions is dotted. The conjecture, however, is supported by the reading of B. L. and L. E., namely چنید which is not so good as چنان but better than بدان which here has no sense.

[The Story is about Alexander and his search for the Water of Life and for a marvellous drum and collyrium-box of which he has read. He finds on his way through the land of darkness a great, resplendent ruby].

B. M. (Discourse 14.) :

(بدان for) بدان پنداشت کان یا قوت پوره

B. L., L. E. :

بدید آمد قوی یکپاره یا قوت کم دروی خیره گردد مرد و مبهوت
چنید پنداشت کان یا قوت پوره برای عجزا و گشت آشکاره

Emendation : چنان

"A great ruby came to view, at the sight of which one would become dazzled and stupefied.

"He thought that the ruby had come to light on account of his helplessness (in the dark).

چو for چم

[On the instability of the world and its destruction of all].

B. M. (Discourse 17) :

چم میداند کم اورا نیز ناگاه

L. E. :

(کم میداند کم اورا نیز ناگاه)

B. L. :

از آن قصاب می باید عجب داشت کم او هم علم داشت و هم طلب داشت
چو میداند کم اورا نیز ناگاه بخوانندش بریدن سردرین راه
چگونه فارغ و ایمن نشستم نمی جنبد ولی ساکن نشستم

“But we must wonder at the butcher, who has knowledge and has pursued it—

“Knowing, as he does, that they will suddenly cut off his head also in this read—

“(We must wonder, I say) how he can settle down free from care and as if secure : moving not, but settling down with a tranquil heart.

زمان for زنان

Mim being often only slightly indicated, and one dot frequently doing the office of two for two adjoining letters, the Copyist may mistake a word like زمان for زنان

I. O. 559, (Discourse 16) :

چو دریا زان زنان برخاست جوشی

B. M., B.L. :

برآمد از پس پرده فر وشی چو دریا آن زمان برخاست جوشی

Dots.

Dots omitted, or misplaced.

This is very frequently the case, and only experience and close study of the passage and the context as well as of other MSS. can afford the correct reading.

Under this heading may be considered cases where a dot is required *under* a letter in one line, and the same dot *above* a letter immediately below in the line beneath. In such cases one dot is often made to do the office of the two required.

Besides the very frequent omission or misplacement of dots due to sheer carelessness, we have the habitual writing of one dot for three in the letters چ ژ پ and the use of گ for ک

چ for چ and پ for ب

B. L. (Discourse 20) :

چوناگاهش نظر بر شاه افتاد } طعامی ساخت شهر کرده بر زهر
دل ما زین سگ بی دین بپرداز }

B. M.

چوناگاهش نظر بر شاه افتاد }
بر }
پرداز }

and

L. E. :

شنیدم کارد شیریل زنی داشت که آن زن شاه را چون دشمنی داشت

مگر یک روز آن زن از سر قهر }
چوناگاهش نظر بر شاه افتاد }
طعامی ساخت شهر کرده بر زهر }
بلرزید و برفت از رنگ رویش }
از آن زن در گمان افتاد }
طعام او بمرغ داد آنگاه }
بمرد آن مرغ و حیران ماند آن شاه }
بموبد داد زن را شاه عالی }
که قالب کن ز قلبش زود خالی }
بریزش خون و در خاکش بینداز }
دل ما زین سگ بی دین بپرداز }

"I have heard that the hero, King Ardashîr, had a wife who was inimical to him.

"Now one day the wife in anger brought some food to him filled with poison.

"When suddenly her glance fell upon the King, the plate fell from her hand upon the threshold.

"She trembled, and her face lost its colour ; her husband became suspicious of her.

"The king then gave the food to a bird ; the bird died, and the King remained astounded.

"He at once consigned the woman to a priest, and commanded him, saying : " Make void immediately her body of her heart.

"Shed her blood and cast her into the earth, free my heart from this conscienceless wretch."

ژ for ر

Such cases do not often occur, but I have met with زند • for زیان and زیان • for زند •

ک for ی

ک is found in all, or nearly all MSS. for ک (Very rarely ک might be written in the form گ).

Thus, e.g., we have کل for کل or کل, کران for کران, کمان for کمان etc., etc.

Omission of dots ; with, at the same time, the closeness of words to one another.

From the practice of writing words so closely together it is often difficult to take them correctly, especially as most MSS. make no distinction between ب and پ

ک and ک ژ and ز چ and ج

As an example we may take the following from a Story about Joseph and Zulaikhâ in Discourse 20.

B.M., B.L., I. O., 559, 350, L. E., (Discourse 20) :

درآمد جبرئیل و گفت آنگاه که او را بر نمی گیریم از راه
که او آنرا که ما را دوست دارد جهانی دوستی در پوست دارد
چو او را دوستی او دوست بود مرا بهر تو با او دوستی هست
که گفتی هر گز گل در بوستان خواه هلاک دوستان دوستان خواه
که هر عمری بجان گردانمش • • • برای تو جوان گردانمش من

But the correct reading is most probably چو آن since in the first hemistich it is not implied that she would be kept *young*, but simply *alive*; and besides this, she is supposed in the Story to be no longer young.

“Gabriel appeared and said “ We do not remove her from the road,

“Because for him who loves Us she has a world of love within her soul.

“Since she has always love for you, I have love for her for your sake.

“Who has said to you, ‘Seek the death of the rose in the garden; seek the destruction of the friends of My friends’—

“For if I keep her in life for a life-time, it is for your sake I keep her so.”

Dots combined

The common practice of combining dots which belong to adjoining letters often causes considerable confusion, and close attention must be observed, especially where the writing is small, as in the B. M. *naskhi* MS. of 1410. The difficulty is increased in this by the Copyist's putting two dots under final *ye* (ی) Cf. e.g., بی for بی (in most MSS written بی).

As another example we have in the same MS. تنها for بها

Dots superfluous.

Dots are often inserted to avoid a slight space and to make the writing more even and symmetrical. We have an example of this in the Story of the wealthy Abraham and the doubts of the angels.

B. L. (Discourse 19) :

خطاب آمد از حق شوی ملایک

B. M., I. O. 559, L. E. :

خطاب آمد از حق شوی ملایک که هان چون بود ابرا هیم ما ای

که چون جبریل نام ما ندا کرد بزام ما هم نقدی ودا در د

An address reached the Angels from God : “ Now then !
How is Abraham, the rich and powerful, in your sight ?
For when Gabriel uttered My name, he devoted all his
property to My name.”

Letters confused.

This occurs frequently, especially in small writing *Ha* (ه) may be confused with *vav* (و); and also with initial *mim* in the naskhi script. *Dal* (د) may be confused with *vav* (و), and also with *re* (ر) For the latter, cf. the numerous cases in the *Shah-nama* of بران for بدان Initial *mim* (م) may be confused with initial *fe* (ف) if the dot be omitted.

For confusion through indistinctness, of *he* (ه) with *vav* (و) cf. B. M. (Discourse 15), in two verses of which it is difficult to see whether *he* or *vav* is meant.

[The Story is about Sultan Mahmūd and a bleacher, of whom the Sultan asks the price of all his bundle of linen].

B. M. (Discourse 15) :

جوابش داد گازر کای شهنشاہ ترا کر باسد و گز بسد رین راہ

چوزین جمله ترا د و گز بسند ست چرا پر سی زد یگر تا بچند ست

(Since the quantity is supposed to be enough for a shroud, I prefer د but in a later verse ده is written distinctly, and B. L. and L. E. both read ده)

“The bleacher gave him answer: “ O great King, two ells of linen are enough for you in this path.

“Since two ells are sufficient for you out of all this, why do you ask the price of the rest ? ”

Letters or syllables omitted.

A letter or syllable may be omitted by inadvertence if the succeeding letter or syllable begin with an identical letter or syllable.

The following verse, quoted under another heading, is an example :

B. M. (Discourse 16) :

ز روی معوکره آن نشانی

B. L. ,L. E. :

ز روی معوکره آن آن نشانی

“ Obliterate that mark from your face.”

Words repeated.

The first word of a verse may, by a species of attraction be wrongly repeated as the first of the following verse

An example of this occurs in a Story about the Khalif.

Ma'mûn and a favourite slave whose devotion he tests and finds subservient to self-interest.

B.,M., B.L., (Discourse 18) :

چنان آرید روی زهر آنکا :

L. E. :

چنان باید کم کوی و شهر و بازار همه بصره بیارائی بیکبار

جلا ب آرید روی زهر آنکا بروریزید و بر گیریدش از راه

L. E. is here probably correct in writing جلا for چنان which latter gives no sense.

“ You are to adorn Basra throughout : city, streets, and markets. Then bring rose water with poison in it, pour it over him, and remove him from the path.”

Orthographical signs.

Sukun

Sukun, though not often written, is frequently found in some carefully written and old MSS., such as the B. M. *naskhi* MS. of 1410, in which the writing is so small that the *sukun* may easily be mistaken for the dot of a letter.

Hamza

It has been remarked in the Introduction that *hamza* may be suffixed to a mute *he* (ه) that immediately precedes a vowel sound, simply to indicate that a

spiritus lenis, and not the *h*, should be heard before the vowel sound, since the mute *he* must, of course, never be pronounced, though the vowel preceding it should be emphasised if the metre require a long syllable.

The insertion of this *hamza* is not only unnecessary but also confusing, as it may easily be mistaken for a *hamza* of more significance and it is so in the following : I. O. 559, 350, L. E. (Discourse 17) :

ندیدم چاره بیچاره گشتم

(Here the *hamza* is taken for *ya-ye tankir*).

B. M. :

سرایای جهان مدباره گشتم ندیدم چاره و بیچاره گشتم

(*Na-didam chara 'u bi-chara gashtam*).

B. L. reads the same, but omits *hamza*.

آنجا and اینجا

آن and این

Careful consideration is often necessary where these words are used, since the Copyist is frequently careless and writes one indiscriminately for the other, cf. the following verses in the *Masnawi* of Rûmî under the heading بقیة قصہ پیر چنگی و بیان مخلص آن (Book I. Bulâq edition).

The Harpist in his vision of the spiritual world is evidently speaking of the earth and the sky as distant from him hence این and اینجا would refer to the spiritual world, and آن and آنجا to the terrestrial.

کان زمین و آسمان بس فراخ کرد از تنگی دلم را شاخ شاخ
وین جهانی کاندین خوابم نمود در کشایش پر و بالم را کشود
آن جهان و راهش از پیداشدی کم کسی یک اعظم اینجا بدی

The آن of verse three should of course be این and Bahru'l'Ulûm in his text and commentary reads so. Similarly اینجا should be آنجا

A further remark may be offered upon the misuse of این and آن when contrasted این properly means "the former," as being nearer to the speaker when he begins the verse; آن means "the latter," as being farther; but this rule is often ignored.

Conditional Past

The 2nd Person Singular of the Past Conditional is, strange to say, unknown to the Grammarians, and apparently to many of the Copyists, who attempting, in their ignorance of it, to afford the correct metre corrupt the text.

L. E. (Discourse 20) :

مرا گر چستی و اسباب و املاک زرو سیمم ترا بودی هم پاک

I. O. 559 :

مرا گر چستی اسباب و املاک زرو سیمم ترا بودی هم پاک

B.M., B. L. :

ز بید ه گفتای عاشق تو بر خویش چه خواهی کرد ای کذاب ازین بیش
تو کردی دعوی عشق چو من کس چو ز دیدی ز من بود تبسی بس
ز سر تا پا هم دعویت دیدم کم درد عویت بی معنیت د بدم
مرا بایست حسرت و چون بچستی یقینم شد کم تو در کار سستی
مرا گر چستی اسباب و املاک زرو سیمم ترا بودی هم پاک

Zubaida said to him : " O you in love with yourself, O liar ! what would you do more than this ?

That you claimed to be in love with one like me, but when you saw gold, you had no further regard for me at all ?

I have found you from head to foot nothing but pretence
I have found you only pretence with no reality.

It was essential to seek me, but since you did not do so
I am assured that you were slack in the affair.

If you had sought me, all my goods and lands, all my gold and silver would have been yours entirely."

Rhyme, Metre, Refrain.

It is of the utmost importance to see if the rhyme and metre of a verse are correct, since if they are not so, the verse must be erroneous in other particulars also.

If there be a refrain, *radif*, the Copyist, not observing it, may make a rhyme to it, when the rhyme intended is really in the preceding word. Although *double* rhymes often do occur, such inadvertence will, of course, make the text erroneous.

کم must always head a کم allocution or an explanation. B. L. in a verse of Discourse 15, besides having no rhyme infringes this rule :

زبان بکشاد هیخ و لغت ای شاه کزین شاه نیا ید ننگت ای شاه

B.M., L. E. :

زبان بکشاد شیخ و گفت آنگاه کزین شاه دیا ید ننگت ای شاه

The Shaikh then opened his mouth and said : “ Are you not, O King, ashamed of this sovereignty ? ”

Imala, امال

It should be always borne in mind that, as a rule, a *ma'ruf* sound cannot rhyme with a *majhul*. Thus, if the rhyming syllable in an Arabic word have the vowel sound ā, and this be changed by *imala*, the resulting sound must be e and not i.

[A Story about Ka'b's daughter and a slave.]

B.L., B.M., I. O., 559, 350 (Discourse 21) :

ز عدلش میش و مرگ اندر حوالی بهم مرگ آشتی کرد و حالی

Here the Arabic *hawala* becomes by *imala* *havale* to rhyme with the A. P. *hale*.

Ma'ruf and Majhul. معروف و مجهول

As mentioned under “ *Imala*,” a *ma'ruf* sound cannot as a rule, rhyme with a *majhul*. I have met with a few exceptions in the case of *i* and *e*, but they are rare.

As regards *u* and *o*, they are more numerqus, but not to a startling extent.

The above is one of the most important rules, for by strict attention to it errors can often be detected, ambiguities removed, and obscure verses elucidated.

Generally speaking, if a *ma'ruf* vowel be seen as a rhyme to a *Majhul*, the verse should be considered erroneous, or at least very doubtful, and attention to the almost general rule is desirable, and not to the comparatively few exceptions which scholars with a pronounced taste for statistics may exert themselves to unearth.

Tashif, تصحیف

By the figure of rhetoric called *tashif* is implied a change of dots or the insertion or omission of them. As a figure of rhetoric this is effected voluntarily, but as regards our subject it may occur through carelessness, inadvertence or the individual judgement of a Copyist in his ambition to edit, and so would come properly under our heading "Dots." As a curious example, however, of how great a change in sense may come from a slight change in the dots may be offered the following from the Story of Ka'b's daughter in Discourse 21.

(As regards the readings of B.M., and B.L., it should be remembered that initial *mim* is often confused with initial *fe*).

B. M. (*Discourse 21*):

بعد ل و د ا د ا میری پاک نین بود کم حد ا و ملک را د ر ز مین بود

B. L. :

کم حد ا و ملک را د ر مین بود ,,

L. E.

بعد ل و د ا د ا میر پاک نین بود کم حد ا و ملک را د ز مین بود

I. O. 559, 350 :

کم حد ا و ملک زان مین بود ,,

(Of these readings I assume that of B. M. to be the best).

The last two readings would imply that Ka'b was of royal race. He must have been a Governor in Balkh under Nasr b. Ahmad, the Sâmanide, whose predecessor, Isma'îl, took Balkh, Khvârazm, etc. Ka'b seems to have been noted chiefly as being the father of the celebrated female Sûfi known as "Ka'b's daughter," who is the heroine of this Story.

Translation of the distich quoted :

He was a Ruler the purity of whose faith appeared
in his justice and equity ; and whose limits were those
of the heavens over the earth.

C. E. WILSON.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

VII. THE WAZIR,

WITH the end of the feudal state and the rise of bureaucracy the Wazîr steps into light under the first Abbasid. The Omayyads knew of no such official¹. In the beginning of the 4th/10th century the chancellor was further defeudalized, the caliph taking away from him the administration of the Abbasid family estates, which yielded his predecessors an annual income of 170,000 dînârs; a fixed salary at first of 5,000, and later of 7,000 dînârs was assigned to him². But as compared with the other officials he held a position of exceptional importance. He received stipends for his sons, 500 dînârs a month for each, indeed a minister's salary³.

The most noticeable change was that in the empire originally founded on a military basis, the Wazîr, the chief clerk, stood higher in rank than all the generals. The mighty official hierarchies of the earlier Orient were once more revived. When in the year 312/924 the all-powerful marshal Mûnis returned to Baghdad, the Wazîr proceeded on his barge to him—"a thing which no Wazîr had ever done before"—to congratulate him on his safe arrival. On his departure the Marshal kissed his hand⁴.

Like the other officials at the beginning of the 4th/10th century the Abbasid Wazîr generally used the Darra'ah (mantle), Qamîs (coat), Mubattanah (shirt), and the Khuff (shoes)⁵. The official colour was black⁶.

At Court festivities the Wazîr wore the Court-dress (Thiyâb al-Mauhib), Qabâ (Gown), and the sword, sus-

(1) Al Fakhri, ed Ahlwardt, 180. (For the earlier history of the Wazîr, see my *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization*, pp. 242 et sqq. Tr.). (2) Wuz, 280, 350, Misk, v, 268. (3) Wuz, 23. In the Fatimid Empire even all his brothers received 2-800 Dinars a month, Maq. 1,401. (4) Wuz, 50 sqq.; Misk v. 214.

(5) Wuz, 325 (6) In the poem of Isfahani apud Al Fakhri, ed. Ahlwardt, 334.

pended from his girdle (Mintaqah) ; the only piece of civil dress on him then was the black Imâmah (turban)¹. This costume was solemnly bestowed upon him by the Caliph on his appointment to office. In a procession of courtiers, generals, officers, he was fetched from and escorted back home, and the historian takes pains to state that a wazîr once, on such a festive occasion, wanting to pass water, alighted at the house of an officer, whose salary he increased for this accommodation². On his return home the wazîr received the congratulations of the people in the order of their rank. The Caliph sent him money, robes of honour, incense, food and drink, and ice³.

Even the routine of the wazîr's work about 300/913 has come down to us, with a note that he kept up his earlier habits as the head of a department. His counselors saw him early in the morning. To each he then assigned the papers connected with his department with necessary directions. In the evening they brought the papers back for inspection and remained on till night. When the work was over and papers connected with expenses, orders, accounts had been laid before him and dealt with, the Wazîr adjourned the meeting by rising from his seat⁴. At these meetings each officer, with his inkstand in front of him, occupied a fixed seat, facing the wazîr, the chief secretary sitting straight in front of him⁵.

(1) Sabusti, *Kit. ad-dîwanat*. fol. 66 a ; Misk, VI, 45, 46 ; Yâqût *Irshad*, V, 356. In 319/931 the people were surprised to see the Wazîr on a festive occasion in a soldier's cap (Shashiya) and with a sword suspended from his shoulder-belt (Arib, 165). We know of the daily routine of a Wazîr about 275/888. He rose towards the end of the night and prayed till sunrise. Then he received people who had come to pay respects to him. This done, he rode to the Caliph's palace where he discussed matters with him for full four hours. Then on return home he dealt with the affairs of those present and absent until midday. He then took his meal and rested. Late in the afternoon he occupied himself with State finances. An abstract of all income and expenditure was laid before him. This done, he looked into his own affairs and matters concerning his own servants. He then conversed and took rest (Sabusti, Berlin, fol. 118b.) About the middle of the 4th/10th century the Buwayyid Wazîr at Rai used to go to office before sunrise with candles and beacon-grates (Yâqût, *Irshad*, V, 858). Also at the end of the 5th/11th century the Wazîr went early in the morning (after sunrise) to the office, came home at 10 o'clock, remained undisturbed till midday and after that did what he pleased. (es-Subki, III, 141).

(2) *Arib*, 164.

(8) *Wuz.*, 81.

(4) *Wuz.*, 285. (5) Yâqût, *Irshad*, 1, 842.

Of important documents the wazîr kept a copy in his archives which, as a rule, after his fall, made their way to the house of his successor¹. When in 304/916 Ibn al-Furât succeeded 'Alî ibn 'Isa these papers filled up a whole house to the ceiling. We also read of a bamboo chest in which private papers were kept, and on the lid of which the wazîr had made a list of its contents².

Up to 320/932 the former palace of Sulaiman ibn Wahb, with a circumference of 200,000 yards, on the Eastern Bank of the Tigris (called also Dar-al-Mukharrim), had been the official residence of the wazîr. Later they realized a fabulous sum of money by the sale of this extensive plot of land in one of the most expensive quarters of the town. They parcelled it out into numerous plots and sold them to various people, using the sale-proceeds as the donative of the Caliph Qâhir to his troops³. The palace of one of the Caliph's sons was then assigned to the wazîr⁴. In front of the wazîr's office so many foot-soldiers were quartered as guards that thirty men could be sent out at a time for special purposes⁵. At the great audience of the wazîr armed guards stood in readiness in the hall to escort persons specially honoured, and always the wazîr, from the hall. They marched in front with drawn swords. The guard is said to have consisted of as many as 200 soldiers⁶.

The wazîr generally went to Court only on the days of audience, which at the beginning of the century were Mondays and Thursdays⁷. On these occasions one of the four Secretariat chiefs used to ride to the palace with him⁸. There he had a special house set apart for him, where the courtiers paid their official call on him until he was summoned to the Caliph. From 312/924, however, the wazîr waited at the house of the Court-Marshal, an indication of his waning power⁹. At the meeting he sat opposite to the Caliph. On these occasions in his left hand he held a beautiful inkstand which was suspended from a chain. The demands of yet more exacting ceremonials of later

(1) Wuz., 208.

(2) Wuz., 59; Misk. V. 253. (3) Misk. V, 410; Wuz. (pp.23) mentions 173, 846 ells as its measurement.

(4) Misk. V, 391.

(5) Wuz., 121.

(6) Wuz., 112. (7) Wuz., 241; 352. (8) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 7; *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, Berlin, fol. 586. (9) Wuz., 268.

times (about 300/913) required a Chamberlain to stand by the wazîr holding his inkstand¹. On days other than the audience-days the wazîr had a representative at Court², but the courtiers kept him informed of all that happened at the Palace³. In 300/913, when the Caliph wanted to appoint a wazîr, he drew up a long list of candidates and sent it to his confidant who, by reason of old age, was constrained to give up his appointment as Wazîr. He made his note against each name. But when this very retiring wazîr suggested the appointment of a Qadhi as his successor the Caliph resented the suggestion. He would be laughed at, said he, by the Princes of Islam and peoples of other faith were he to do such a thing; for they would then assuredly say that either there is no competent official (Kâtib) for such an appointment in his dominion, or that he has gone astray in his decision⁴. But about this very time the Qadhi Al-Merwazi of Bokhara (d. 334/946) became the wazîr of the Samanid Prince of Khorasan⁵.

The tendency of the times was to create a caste out of every high official position. Like the clan of the Qadhîs, there grew up the clan of the wazîrs. The wazîr's sons formed a special caste, the highest in the official circle⁶. Even the post became hereditary. In his eighteenth year the son of the wazîr Ibn Muqlah succeeded his father⁷; in his twenty-fourth the son of Amid⁸. The family of Khâqân furnished four wazîrs in seventy years, and in fifty years that of Banu-l-Furât a similar number. Amid was the Wazîr of Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah, founder of the Buwayyid dynasty. His son and grandson became wazîr of Rukn-ud-Dawlah in Iran. Ten members of the Banu Wahib, originally Babylonian Christians, held the highest offices in succession. Of these four actually were wazîrs⁹. The wazîr nominated in 310/931, and belonging to this family, was a spendthrift in his youth, who had run into debts. He was so hard pressed by his creditors that the Qadhi had to put him under the Court of Wards. The efficient Marshal Munis accordingly apprehended that he would mismanage as wazîr the State-finances just as he had mismanaged his own¹⁰. The matter appeared all the more serious as the Wazîr essentially was Finance Minister. He had to prepare the budget; impose or annul¹¹ taxes;

(1) Wuz., 342. (2) Al-Fakhri, 392; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, II 156 (3) Wuz., 267; For Cairo, Ibn al-Athîr, IX.82. (4) Wuz., 322. (5) Flügel, *Die Klassen der hanafitischen Rechtsgelehrten*, 296.

(6) Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 66 a (7) Syûti *Husn al-Muhadhara* II, 127. (8) Yâqût *Irshad*. V. 356. (9) Amedroz, JRAS, 1908 p., 418; *Yatimah*, III 359. (10) Amedroz, 1908 431. (11) Ibn al-Athîr VIII, 51.

realize revenue from the provinces¹. In 303/915 the troops, clamouring for more pay, had already burnt his cattle and killed his horses in the stables². In the 4th/10th century the barques of the wazîr were invariably wrecked on the financial rock. When in 334/946 the wazîr heard that the troops were blaming him for delay in the payment of their salary he sheared his head, washed himself with hot water, wrapped himself up in his shroud and prayed all night. The soldiers eventually killed him. He was a theologian. He fasted every Monday and Thursday, and always prayed to God to let him die in power³.

The most critical year in the history of the Wazîrs is the year 334/946. With the entry of the Buwayyids into Baghdad the Chancellor of the Amîr (Chief administrator) also received the title of Wazîr; whereas the Chancellor of the Caliph ceased to be addressed as such⁴. Strictly speaking there was now no Wazîr any longer. Hilâl as-Sabi, in his "History of the Wazîrs" mentions the most prominent Chancellors of the 4th/10th century and divides them into: (a) Wazîrs of the Abbasid dynasty and the *Kuttab* (clerks) of the Dailamite period⁵. Thus even Gauhar, at the conquest of Egypt, refused in the beginning the title of Wazîr to Ja'far ibn al-Fadl since he was not the Wazîr of the Caliph⁶. To the Fatimids, at first, the name itself was apparently too profane; their highest official was the Qadhi. The second Egyptian Caliph, Al-'Azîz was the first to appoint a Wazîr, the Jewish convert Ibn Killis (d. 380/990); and even at a later period, in the presence of the Wazîr, the chief Qadhi could not be addressed as Chief Qadhi for the simple reason that that was regarded as a fitting title only of the Wazîr⁷. Maqrizi expressly states that after the death of Ibn Killis 'Azîz appointed no other Wazîr. Nor did Hâkim either. Only in the 5th/11th century under Zahir was this office resuscitated under the name of Wisâtah (a channel of communication)⁸, but the people did not make any refined or subtle distinction. The Christian Yahya ibn Sa'îd living about the year 400/1010, always speaks of Wazîrs.

Under the princes of the Empire the office of the Wazîr undergoes a change. Of the old Wazîrs of the Empire, Al-Fadl ibn Sahl (Wazîr of the Caliph Mamûn) had borne the title of *Durri Asataini* (master of two dominions),

(1) Wuz., 239 Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 713. (2) *Arib*, 58. (3) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 75.

(4) Misk. VI, 125; Mas'ûdi, *Tanbih*, 39. (5) Wuz., 3.

(6) Maqrizi, *Itti'az*, 70. (7) *Qalqashandi*, 9 tr. by Wüstenfeld (A.G.G. W. 1879), 185.

(8) *Khitat*, I, 439.

apparently because he could wield both the pen and the sword¹, but the military aspect was not emphasised or brought into prominence. A clever general, Al-Hasan ibn Makhlad, was, for the first time, appointed Wazîr of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid, but he was deposed in 272/885². On the other hand we find the Wazîrs of the Samanids and the Buwayyids active alike as the head of the army and as the chief of the Chancery³. Even so distinguished a man of letters as Sâhib had to lead an expedition when Wazîr⁴.

The decline in the dignity of the Wazîr, like the decline in morals, is amply evidenced by the fact that the irritable Buwayyid Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah in 341/952 condemned at Baghdad his Wazîr Al-Muhallabi, a member of the Omayyad aristocracy, to 150 stripes and imprisonment⁵. But this indignity notwithstanding, he took him back as Wazîr. But before doing so he first enquired whether it was possible for him to do so after the treatment he had meted out to him and, to his entire satisfaction, he found a precedent in the conduct of the condottiere Merdawaigh, who had his Wazîr once so severely beaten that he could neither walk nor sit and yet he placed him in charge of the office again. In 362/973 Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah's unworthy son appointed a Court Chef his Wazîr⁶. His cousin, the Sultan Adad-ud-Dawlah, had his Wazîr, Abû'l Fath ibn al-Amid arrested, blinded and his nose cut off⁷. Adad-ud-Dawlah compelled his cousin to have his Wazîr, the former chef, blinded and sent to him for conspiring against him. When sent, Adad-ud-Dawlah had him taken round the camp and then trampled to death by an elephant. Under orders his dead body was impaled on the Tigris

(1) *Arib*, 165. (2) Al-Fakhri altogether omits Ibn Makhlad who held office between Sulaiman ibn Wahb and Ibn Bulbul (Masûdi, VIII, 39; Tabari, III, Index). The statement that Ibn Bulbul united 'the pen and the sword' is to be put down to this omission of Ibn Bulbul's predecessor. Moreover we do not hear of any military activities of Ibn Bulbul; on the contrary Tabari (III, 2110) expressly states that he was only employed in the chancery. (3) For the Samanids, for instance, Mirkhond, *Hist. of the Sam.* Ed. Wilkin, 72, 84. For the Wazîrs of Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah, Saimari and Muhallabi, Misk, VI, 211, 484 ff; for Adad-ud-Dawlah, Misk, VI, 451, 482; for the Wazîr of Bâha-ud-Dawlah, Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 138. (4) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 39. (5) Misk, VI, 190 ff; Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 875. (6) His duty had been to carry food on his shoulder, covered with a towel, and to taste it before serving it. Misk VI, 862; 896; Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 462. People made fun of him saying 'from plate to the Wizârat.' Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 104 a. (7) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 497.

Bridge¹. A beautiful elegy was penned by a poet over this unfortunate man, who to be sure had many a cruel act to his credit :—

As the Earth was but too narrow to gather in thy
virtues
They made air thy grave and wind thy shroud².

Adad-ud-Dawlah introduced two innovations into the office of the Wazîr : first, he appointed two Wazîrs simultaneously ; and secondly, of the two one, Ibn Mansûr Nasr ibn Hârûn, was a Christian. Nasr remained as Governor of his tribal homeland, Faris ; but the other al-Mutahhar ibn Abdallah accompanied him to Baghdad. Al-Mutahhar was a proud man and when he failed to sweep the Babylonian swamps clear of the robbers who infested them, he opened up the arteries in his two arms with his knife, for he preferred to die rather than to appear before his master with his work undone³.

His successor merely became the *locum tenens* of the Wazîr, who resided in Shiraz. But this experiment was unsuccessful as the two constantly collided with each other⁴. Following his father's example, in the year 382/992, Bahâ-ud-Dawlah, residing in Shiraz, appointed two Wazîrs, one of these being his Governor in Babylon⁵. After the death of Sâhib (d. 384/994) who, for a long time, held the wizârat with distinction, a disgraceful bargaining for this post began in Iran. A successor was chosen, but as another high officer offered eight million dirhams for it, whereas the one already chosen had offered only six for his retention in office, the prince graciously excused two millions to each of the rival candidates and appointed them both, with the result that ten million dirhams made their way into the prince's pocket. They jointly issued and signed orders ; they mutually helped each other in sucking the country and, in the event of a war, they cast lots as to who should lead the army. But this position of affairs was not of long duration ; it ended by one getting the other assassinated⁶. And, finally, the Christian Wazîr of the East found a counterpart in Egypt. In

(1) Misk VI, 481 ; Yahya ibn Sa'id, Paris, fol. 105 a ; Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 507. (2) Ibn al-Athîr. Thus also writes Nadîm al-Arib of Ahmed Sa'id el-Baghdadi, 148 ; Ibn Taghribardi, 20. (3) Misk VI, 518 f ; Yahya ibn Sa'id, Paris, fol. 107 a ; Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 514. (4) Misk VI, 515 ; Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 66. (5) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 66. (6) Yâqût, *Irshad*, I, 71 ff.

380/990 the Fatimid Caliph Al-'Azîz appointed the Christian 'Isa, son of Nestorius, his Wazîr¹.

To the passion for titles, evidencing itself about 400-1010, even the Wazîrs fell victims,—a clear proof of the degeneration of the society of that time. In 411/1020 the Amîr of Baghdad conferred upon his Wazîr the princely prerogative of having the drum beaten, before prayer time, in front of his house. He also designated him 'the great Wazîr' (Wazîr-al-Wuzara)².

At Cairo the Caliph Al-Hâkim soon followed the example of conferring the fateful title of Wazîr-al-Wuzara. The historian Hilâl as-Sabi (d. 447/1055) mournfully refers to it as one of the pomposities of the times³.

In 416/1025 the Wazîr at Baghdad simultaneously received a number of titles: 'Alam-ud-Dîn (Insignia of Religion); Sa'd-ud-Dawlah (good fortune of the dynasty); Amîn-al Mulk (Trusted one of the Empire); Sharaf-al-Mulk (glory of the Empire)⁴. This was a prelude to the conditions now obtaining in the Orient. As against his titleless predecessors, the title-bedecked Wazîr was a shadowy, powerless phantom.

WAZIRS IN THE 4TH/10TH CENTURY.

Outstanding is the figure of 'Ali Ibn al-Furât, who in 296/909, in his fiftieth year, succeeded his brother al-'Abbâs as Wazîr. He was immensely rich. His contemporary, the historian As-Sulî⁵, thus speaks of him: Never have we heard of a Wazîr other than Ibn al-Furât who, while in office, possessed in silver and gold, in movable and immovable property, ten million dinars (about 100 million marks)⁶. He held court in grand style. He paid five thousand monthly pensions, varying from a hundred dinars to five dirhams⁷. He regularly gave away twenty thousand dirhams every year in stipends to poets; not counting occasional rewards and gifts for panegyrics⁸. Of those who constantly sat at his table nine have been mentioned as his privy councillors. Of these four were Christians. For two long hours fresh dishes were served⁹. For his underlings he kept a kitchen large enough to serve a whole regiment of troops: 90 sheep, 30 goats, 200 fowls, 200 partridges, 200 pigeons were daily consumed. Five bakers baked wheaten-bread day and night; sweets were

(1) Yahya ibn Sa'id, fol. 112 f. He indeed, did not officially bear the title of Wazîr. (2) Ibn al-Jauzi, 168 ab. (3) Hâkim died 411-1020. Yahya ibn Sa'id, fol. 128 a. (4) Wuz., 201. (5) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 173 a. (6) *Arib*, 37. (7) Wuz., 142. (8) Wuz., 201. (9) Wuz., 240.

always in preparation. In the house there was a large drinking-hall where stood a capacious cistern of cold water. All who needed found drink there: infantry, cavalry, police, clerks. To officers, courtiers, civil servants, the cup-bearers, clothed in the finest embroidered Egyptian linen, with towels over their shoulders, offered *sherbet*¹. His palace was a town in itself; seven of his tailors had their quarters there. On the walls lay hanging rolls of papyrus for the use of applicants and complainants, who were thus spared the trouble of buying them². On the day of his investiture wax and papyrus rose in price as, to everyone who came to congratulate him, he gave a mansurian paper roll and a candle ten pounds in weight. The cupbearer on that day used 40,000 pounds of ice³. Throughout his Wizarât he kept up the practice of presenting a candle to all who left his palace after dusk. In 311/923 he established a hospital at Baghdad and sanctioned for its maintenance 200 dinars from his private purse⁴.

An aristocrat born and bred, on assuming charge of his office, with his own hands he burnt without reading a list of his enemies drawn up by some one for him⁵. After his deposition he would rather die than ransom himself with the money of his supporters⁶. When the director of taxes sent on an order of his which looked like a forgery, and intimated to him that he had detained the bearer in custody, Ibn al-Furât wrote back (knowing that it was forged) that it was genuine for, said he, 'one who even in Egypt expected something good by the use of his name and authority was not to be put to shame⁷.' And when the fallen Wazîr 'Alî ibn 'Isa bowed as low as he could before him, kissed his hand, and rose even in the presence of his young ten-year-old son, Ibn al-Furât declared that in misfortune his lever (meaning his cheerful disposition) increased like that of a camel⁸. By long service he had become thoroughly familiar with all the pranks and tricks of the official life. In a masterly fashion he unravelled the tangled financial skein of the Empire, and in more ways than one justified his successor's glowing tribute on his death: "Today has financial skill passed away⁹." In politics, cool and calculated was the old Wazîr's judgment: "At bottom to rule is naught but a game of chance.

(1) Wuz., 195. (2) Wuz., 176. (3) Wuz., 63. (4) Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 23. (See Custom *Intro. to the History of Medicine*, pp. 208-10 Tr. (5) Wuz., 119: This is also related of the Caliph Mamûn. Tabari, III. 1075. (6) Wuz., 98. (7) Wuz. 118; Ibn al-Jauzi, *Muntazam*, fol. 28. (8) Wuz., 307. (9) Wuz., 283.

a piece of jugglery. When one does that well, it is called 'Politics'." Another maxim of his was : " In matters of government, progress, even if not always in the right direction, is preferable to standing-still." And yet another : " If you can fix up a matter with the librarian or the Secretary, do so, without bringing it up before the Wazîr"¹.

And yet cold-bloodedly he plundered the treasury. Already in conspiracy with his brother he largely swindled the State².

His critics recalled the fact that, when his property was confiscated, money-bags were found bearing the seals of the master of the privy-purse of the Caliph³. One of his officers tells us that in a few minutes he made away with 70,000 dinars. " After the insurrection of Ibn-al-Mut'azz, I along with Ibn al-Furât fixed the main items regarding the largesses that were to be paid to the troops and made arrangements for payment thereof. When Ibn al-Furât had finished with this business he got into his 'Flyer' and proceeded to the Mu'alli river. There he called a halt. The crew took the boat to the bank and he thus spoke to me : " Order the treasurer Abû Khorasan to bring another 70,000 dinars to me and debit it to the account of the largesses." Thereupon said I to myself : " Have we not already settled all the items ? What is this additional amount for ?" but indited what he directed. Then he signed, handed it over to a servant and said : " Leave not the treasury until thou bringest the money to my house." He, then, proceeded on. The money was duly brought and made over to his treasurer⁴.

His former companion and later rival, 'Alî ibn 'Isa, also of an old official stock, was the very reverse of him⁵. Pious, he fasted by day and devoted half of his income to pious uses⁶. In contrast to Ibn al-Furât, even towards the Caliph he never adopted a fixed rule of behaviour⁷. To the philologist al-Akhfash at a full audience he gave such a rough and rude reply that the 'world became black before him and he died of grief'⁸. 'Alî ibn 'Isa was never slovenly in dress. He took his shoes off only in the *Harem* or when he went to sleep⁹. He worked day and

(1) Wuz., 119. (2) Wuz., 134. (3) Wuz., 139. (4) Wuz., 134. (5) Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 76b. (6) His contemporary as-Sulî in Suyûti's *Husnul-Muhadhera*, II, 126. (7) Wuz., 312. (8) Yâqût, *Irshad*, V, 225. (9) Wuz., 325.

night¹ and, when exhausted, he retired to a recess near the door, which was screened off by a curtain and where cushions were placed to enable him to rest before resuming work². That he lost his sense of dignity in misfortune we have already seen. From sheer piety he proceeded against Christian officials³, and from pure scruples he would not let his sons take up any appointment during his term of office⁴. He sought to obviate deficit in the budget by effecting economy; by lowering the salaries of guards and officers; by stopping, among other things, the usual distribution at Court or to officials of flesh on the Baqr-'id Day. He strove to prevent embezzlement of public funds. But Ibn al-Furât taunted him by saying that he concerned himself with the morals of the people and was anxious whether the geese of the Baghdad ponds were not cheated out of their food, forgetting the most important thing of all—the abuse of public revenues⁵. Another officer reckoned that the Wazîr, in one hour, got twenty dinars but he occupied himself with trifles which were not worth the money he received in pay⁶. Notwithstanding this pious frame of mind, he lied after his fall to the Caliph in stating that he merely possessed 3,000 dinars. It was immediately shown that he had a deposit of 17,000 elsewhere and, within a short time, he actually promised to pay in to the State 300,000 Dinars: $\frac{1}{3}$ within thirty days and the balance later⁷.

Later he was reproached for having sworn that his landed property was only worth 20,000 dinars, whereas it was actually worth 50,000, and this discovery to 'Alî "was not unlike giving him a stone to swallow"⁸. Never were his hands clean, and his extreme mildness to the two financiers, who then sucked Syria and Egypt dry, could never be defended or justified⁹.

Between these two Wazîrs Mohamed b. Khâqân acted for two long years¹⁰. He belonged to the circle of high court nobility; in fact, was the son of a Wazîr. The verdict on him, not unlike the verdict on many a democratic leader, was: Careless and affable, yet mean and cunning. When asked for a favour he would beat his breast and say: Yes, with great pleasure! This habit won for him the name of the 'breast-beater.' He was a greater favourite of the people than of the nobility¹¹.

(1) *Arib*, 130. (2) *Wuz.*, 325. (3) *Wuz.*, 95. According to Bar Hebraeus he had even Christian advisers in the Ministry. (4) *Wuz.*, 266. (5) *Wuz.*, 260. (6) *Wuz.*, 351. (7) *Wuz.*, 288. (8) *Misk*, V, 19. (9) *Wuz.*, 280. (10) *Kit. al-Wuzara*, Ed. Amedroz, (11) *Wuz.*, 276. p. 89 Tr.

His portrait is adorned, now with harmless, comical, now with poisonous anecdotes, originally related of others. His practice was to appoint, then immediately to depose, and then again to reinstate officers and this not because of the absence of a sense of responsibility on his part, but rather on account of a craving to secure the customary fee for appointments¹.

At an inn at Hulwân seven officers are reported to have met who were appointed to one and the same office within twenty days; at Mosul five². In eleven months he is said to have appointed eleven prefects for the important district of Baduraya, of which a great part of Baghdad formed part.

Thus, at the beginning of the century, three Wazîrs stand out in bold relief, each wholly different from the other, the common feature between them being their rapacity in robbing the State-treasury.

Because he did not belong to the official circle, Hâmid ibn-al-'Abbâs, who became Wazîr in 306/918, constitutes a great exception to the general rule³. He began life as a revenue-farmer and rose steadily to fame and fortune. He was more than eighty when he assumed the office of Wazîr but, despite his elevation, he retained his farming lease. As he was quite ignorant of Secretariat work he merely bore the name and wore the uniform of the Wazîr. 'Alî ibn 'Isa, the former Wazîr, really did the work. Not without reason then did a poet satirize him by saying: We have a Wazîr with his nurse⁴. And the people called one, the Wazîr without the official robe, and the other, The official robe without a Wazîr inside it. When the Caliph felt a misgiving that 'Alî ibn 'Isa might not care to act as a subordinate, after having been the chief, the former revenue-farmer rejoined: The clerk is not unlike a tailor who now makes a coat for 10, and now for 1,000 dirhams. The clerical staff retaliated with contempt. And when he addressed his fallen predecessor in coarse language the latter scornfully replied: "I am not to be treated like a farmer at the weighing of his corn." He displayed a luxury characteristic of an upstart. He kept 1,700 chamberlains (Hâjib) and 400 armed mamlûks. The crew of his barge consisted of white eunuchs, the most expensive to employ.

(1) Contemporary stories about him. Al-Fakhri Ed. Ahlwardt 314. (2) Wuz., 263; Fakhri, 313. Kufa grew out of the Persian district of Mah el-Kufa. (3) Amedroz, *Intro. to Wuz*, a *biographical sketch*, p. 18. (4) *Kit, al-'uyun*, IV, 95 a.

On a quarrel with the black court-eunuch, Muflih, he threatened him by saying that he had a good mind to purchase 100 black eunuchs, call them Muflih and make a present of them to his slaves¹. He was, indeed, generous. When a courtier complained to him that he had come to the end of his stock of barley he handed over an order for the supply of 100 kurr of barley to him (a kurr was about 3,600 pounds). For his kitchen he paid 200 dinars (about 2,000 marks) a day. No one left his house at a meal-time without food; even the visitors' servants were provided with a meal. And thus many a time 40 tables were laid. He made a gift of a house to the Caliph which cost him 100,000 dinars². While on a drive he once saw the burnt-down house of a poor man. He forthwith ordered that unless it was rebuilt by the evening he would be most unhappy and it was, accordingly, done at great cost³.

And yet he shamelessly speculated in corn, stored it away in his barns at Babylon, Khuzistan and Isfahan and thereby caused a serious riot.

Another Ibn Muqlah (born at Baghdad 272/885) came from humble conditions of life⁴: in his sixteenth year he took service and through Ibn al-Furât rose into eminence⁵. In the school of the latter he learnt the art of amassing wealth within a few years. Under the first three Caliphs of the century he acted as Wazîr three times, and, when Wazîr, built a magnificent palace on the most valuable land in the capital. A great believer in astrology, he gathered astrologers round him and, upon their advice, laid the foundation of the palace after sunset. The most notable part of the palace was the fine, latticed garden where only palms were conspicuous by their absence. There birds of all kinds were collected together; nor were gazelles, wild cows, wild donkeys, ostriches and camels absent. He made all kinds of breeding experiments. When it was reported to him that a water-bird had mated with a land-bird and had laid eggs he gave 100 dinars to the informant⁶. A daring intriguer was he, and to his intrigues is ascribed the deposition of the Caliph al-Qâhir (322/934)⁷. He incited the Caliph and the general Bejkem against the then real ruler of Baghdad, Ibn Raiq,

(1) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 102. (2) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 19 a. (3) Ibn Jauzi, 26 ab. (4) When he had become Wazîr, a friend of his earlier days, the poet Jâhîz, reminded him of times when "bread was still coarse and there was no horse at the door or a barge on the bank." Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 64b. (5) *Kit. al-uyun*, IV, fol. 77a. (6) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 64 ab. (7) Misk, V, 447.

who had confiscated his property¹. But the Caliph played him false in spite of the fact that he had fixed the interview in consultation with the astrologers², and as punishment his right hand was cut off³. This was all the more cruel as Ibn Muqlah was one of the most renowned calligraphers of all times, and the chief founder of the new Arabic script which for centuries continued in use⁴. But he, instead of using the left hand, tied a reed-pen to his right arm, and thus wrote on⁵. But the punishment had no deterrent effect upon him. He went his way inciting and reviling as before. Three years later his tongue was cut out. He died in custody and the chroniclers describe how he, who once was a powerful man, fond of show and splendour, held the string at the well with his mouth while he emptied the bucket⁶.

Another Wazîr drank at night and had the usual next morning headache. Even the opening of the correspondence he made over to different officers, and committed the charge of most important affairs to Abul Faragh Isra'il, a Christian. Everything that he did was with a view to extort money (Misk., V, 247).

About the middle of the century Abu Muhammad al-Hasan al-Muhallabi acted with great success as Wazîr in Babylonia. He was descended from an old Islamic noble line, the family of Muhallab ibn Abî Sufra⁷. His ancestral-home was Basra, where in the 3rd/9th century they still owned magnificent houses⁸. To the later Wazîr things were very hard at the beginning. At one time he had not even enough money to purchase meat for his journey. A friend advanced him the money and later received 750 dirhams from him⁹. As Wazîr he held possession of Baghdad (in the fateful year (334/946), until Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah's entry there¹⁰. In 326/938 we find him first as deputy (wali) to the finance minister, Abu Zakariyya as-Sûsi¹¹; then as deputy to the Wazîr, from whose jealousy he had much to suffer later on¹². After the death of the wazîr in 339/950 Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah made him his 'secretary;' six years later he received the title

(1) *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 157 a. (2) Ibid, 158 b. (3) Ibid 160 b. 161 b. The physician Thâbit describes how he found the arm after it had been cut off. Misk, V, 581. (4) The library of Adad-ud-Dawlah at Shiraz possessed a Quran in 80 vols. copied by him, Yâqût, *Irshad*, V, 446. (5) *Kit.al-Uyun*, IV, 162 a. (6) Ibid, fol., 162 a. (7) Yat. II, 8. (8) Thâlibi, *Kit.al-Mirwâh*, 129 b. (9) al-Hamawi, *Tamarat al-aurag*, I, 82. (10) Misk V, 121. (11) Misk, V, 575. (12) Yâqût, *Irshad*, III, 180.

of Wazîr¹. His friend al-Isfahâni, author of the great "Book of Songs," applauds only his virtues as 'secretary'² but he was also an efficient general. as for instance, with great courage he repelled the attack of the Yamanite Arabs against Basra³. He died on a campaign undertaken for the conquest of Oman in 352/963, after holding for 13 years the highest official position in the State. He genuinely cared for order; he restored the older and the juster system of taxation; he caused the *hajib* of the chief Qadhi to be almost whipped to death for molesting women who came to the Judge for justice⁴. But the low cunning with which he traced the property of deceased officers excites our disgust, though such conduct was not deemed derogatory even to the dignity of Caliphs and Amîrs, and Miskawaihi refers to it with admiration⁵. On the other hand people were shocked at Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah for confiscating Muhallabi's entire property immediately after his death and extorting money from all connected with him, down to his boatmen. In Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah, Muhallabi had a hard task-master⁶. On one occasion, under his orders, 150 stripes were administered to him. Nor did Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah treat his Turkish marshal Subuktagin any better, though he enjoyed his complete confidence⁷. But, all this notwithstanding, Muhallabi, in matters of importance, did exercise great influence. He prevailed upon Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah to retain Baghdad as his residence and even to build his famous palace there⁸. The members of his round table were the most renowned scholars and authors of the day⁹. At these gatherings wine and pleasure recklessly rioted. Even Miskawaihi, in his cold and brief portraiture of the Wazîr, speaks of his generosity¹⁰. Once Muhallabi was presented with a beautiful inkstand set with precious stones. Officers talked in whispers about it. One thought he could make very good use of it by selling it and living on the proceeds of its sale, while Muhallabi might go to the devil. Hearing of this, Muhallabi presented the inkstand to him¹¹. The Qadhi At-Tanukhi thankfully relates how he graciously sent for him, the young son of an old companion, and provided

(1) Misk, VI, 214. (2) Yat. II, 278.

(3) Misk, VI, 190. (Vol., IV, 393; Vol. V. 304, 330 Eng. tr.)

(4) Misk VI, 168 ff. (Eng. tr. Vol. V, pp. 199-200; See also pp. 128 et Sqq, specially pp. 180-188; character of Muhallabi, pp. 153 et Sqq. Tr.). (5) Misk, V, 244. (6) Misk, VI, 248. (7) Misk, VI, 258. (8) Misk VI, 241. (9) Misk, VI, 242. (10) Misk, VI, 166. (11) Ibn al-Jauzi fol. 91 b.

him with a judicial sinecure, and showed his esteem for him in the presence of the chief Qadhi, an old enemy of his father, by talking seemingly seriously in a low voice to him, on a solemn occasion, as if he was discussing some State secret. "The next morning the chief Qadhi almost carried him on his head¹."

The most famous Wazîr, at the end of the century, was Ibn Abbad, in Rai, surnamed the 'Sâhib'², Chancellor of the Iranian Buwayyids (b. 326/928, d. 385/995). From a schoolmaster he rose to a royal position. The young prince, for whom he secured the empire, yielded to him in everything and honoured him in every conceivable manner³. On his death he was mourned like a prince⁴. He was fired with great literary ambition. His panegyrists compared him to Hârûn al-Rashîd. Like him, he gathered the best intellects round him. With masters of Baghdadian and Syrian literature such as ar-Râdhi, as-Sâbi, Ibn al-Hajjâj, Ibn Sukkera, Ibn Nubata he corresponded⁵. Of theological works alone he possessed 400 camel-loads and yet he was reproached for knowing nothing of theology⁶. True he devoted himself more to such studies as Logic, Mathematics, Music, Astronomy, Medicine; he even wrote a medical treatise⁷. He could not afford to be as generous towards men of letters as is related of the earlier patrons of poets. He generally gave 100 to 500 dirhams and a dress, and only rarely 1,000 dirhams⁸. He particularly liked, and made gifts of, light silk⁹. His staff, accordingly, dressed mostly in multi-coloured silk. The poet az-Zafrânî once asked Sâhib for a floral silk-dress such as he had seen his staff use. The Wazîr replied: "I have heard of Ma'n ibn Zaida that a man said to him: Give me an animal to ride, O Prince! He is reported, thereupon, to have given him a camel, a horse, a mule, a donkey and a slave-girl, saying: "If I but knew another animal for riding purposes in God's creation I would assuredly have given even that to you." And so we now present unto thee *Jubba*, shirt

(1) Yâqût, *Irshad*, VI, 253 ff. (2) He was the first to bear the title of 'Sahib' (Taghribardi, 56). About 400/1010 the 'Amid el-Juyûsh' is so called. (*Diwan ar-Radhi*, I, 231). Later every Wazîr and, in our time dregs of society, such as publicans and butcher's boys, are so called. Taghribardi, 56.

(3) Yâqût, *Irshad* II, 273. (4) Taghribardi, 57. (5) Yâqût, III, 32. (6) Yâqût, *Irshad*, II, 274, 315. (7) Yâqût, III, 42 ff. (8) Yâqût, *Irshad*, II, 304; Yâqût, *Irshad*, VI, 276. The poet al-Maghribi begs 500 dinars of him but Ibn Abbad tells him: be merciful and make it 500 dirhams. (9) Yat. III, 33; Yâqût, *Irshad*, II, 320. III, 34

and coat, trousers, turban, handkerchief, a wrapper, a mantle and socks of floral silk. Had we but known of another wearing apparel which could be made of floral silk we would have presented that also unto you¹.

It was Sâhib's misfortune to have incurred the displeasure of the sharpest tongue of his time. We have the laudatory letter which Abu Hayyân al-Tauhîdi addressed to him at the beginning of their correspondence ; a correspondence which ended with vituperative effusions. Vivid, striking, it is a perfect model of the masterly Arabic diction of the century.

The portrait of the Wazîr Ibn al-Amîd (d. 369/971), painted by Miskawaihi, who for many years was his librarian, leaves a powerful impression behind. Tauhîdi ridicules the historian by saying that his misfortune was that he constantly uses expressions such as "Muhallabi has said," "Ibn al-Amîd has said," and so on until the reader wearies of them. To begin with Miskawaihi applauds his memory²: "Several times he told me that in his young days he used to bet his comrades and the scholars with whom he associated that he would commit to memory a thousand lines in one day ; and he was far too earnest and dignified a man to exaggerate. In addition he was sole master of the secrets of certain obscure sciences which no one professes, such as mechanics, requiring the most abstruse knowledge of geometry, and physics, the science of abnormal motions, the dragging of heavy weights, and of centres of gravity, including the execution of many operations which the ancients found impossible, the fabrication of wonderful engines for the storming of fortresses, stratagems against strongholds and stratagems in campaigns, the adoption of wonderful weapons, such as arrows which could permeate a vast space, and produce remarkable effects, mirrors which burned a very long way off. He could, for his amusement, scratch the form of a face on an apple in an hour—a face so fine that another could not do it with all the appropriate instruments in a number of days. His letter to Ibn Hamdân has been preserved. It speaks of the decay and the building-up of the Province of Fars³ and is one from which it is possible to learn the whole duty of a Wazîr. He was the preceptor of Adad-ud-Dawlah, the most

(1) Yaqut, (2) Miskawaihi (Eng. tr. by Prof. Margoliouth, Vol. V., 295 Tr.) (3) Ibid, p. 298. Here Miskawaihi speaks of Ibn Amîd's difficulty in establishing a reign of justice.

efficient ruler of that century and Adad-ud-Dawlah never referred to him but as his master¹. Ibn Amid even headed the army in the field but on account of gout he had to be carried in a litter. He modestly listened to those who expounded a subject and not perhaps till months or even years after would he show himself at a discussion a thorough master of it. Exceedingly difficult was his position between a prince who, though ruling his soldiery by lavish liberality, had nothing to give for useful administrative purposes and the Dailamite tribesmen intent on exploiting the subjects. But despite difficulties the Wazîr restored order and Miskawaihi reports that he even put the leaders of the army in such fear that they trembled when they saw him in a reproaching mood. 'This I have often seen' says the historian. But he was aware of the envious temper of the Dailamites and he knew that they could only be ruled by simple and unostentatious methods. But when his son began to spend money freely and enter into rivalry with the Dailamite magnates, inviting them to games, to hunting expeditions, to dinners and drinks, the father foresaw the shipwreck of his house and died of suppressed grief.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

(1) Ibid, p. 302.

(To be continued).

THE SPIRITUAL VALUE OF ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

THERE are but two conquerors of the forgetfulness of men, Poetry and Architecture.

RUSKIN.

Archæology—architecture have revealed to us simply the organism, the bodies, of the cathedrals. Who will tell us of their souls ?

J. R. HUYSMANS.

Mohammedan Architecture has recently been criticised by a German Roman Catholic writer¹ as wanting in spiritual content. There is a direct reference in this criticism to the absence of the human form in mural carving, and to the fact that most of the decoration is geometrical in design. To me this judgment seems much the same as if one were to deny spiritual value to a fugue by Bach in comparison with the sensuous music of a Mass—or to a masterly scientific demonstration as compared with a lyric. In each of these contrasted pairs the material employed and moulded is the same, and the agent is human intelligence suffused and inspired and informed by human emotion. Who is going to define what are the limits of spiritual value in these cases,—the limits of vitality and spirituality ?

There are great differences between the subject matter of Christian iconography and Mohammedan impersonality in design, between the melting music of later composers and the austerity of contrapuntal composition, and between the strictly regulated operations of scientific demonstration and the passion of poetry. But can these differences be said to determine, where one or other form and content are spiritual or otherwise ? One kind is expansive ; constantly reminiscent, and unconstrainedly suggestive ; the other bracing, astringent, reserved. Both kinds have

(1) Joseph Dahlmann, S. J. *Indische Fahrten*.

their beauty, and positive beauty too. The reaction of the human mind to fate itself may be momentous after any one of these experiences : Beethoven is surely no greater than Bach for his more pathetic consolation for certain moods ; Milan or Burgos no more moving for their wealth of statuary than Granada or Delhi ; the revelation of an epithalamium no more entrancing than celestial exploration.

For whom ? may of course be asked.

For Arthur Symonds the mosque has " no solemnity, no mystery ; it is a place of closed-in silence, shut in even from the sky, in a paradise of abstract art." But he recognises an æsthetic culmination in Mohammedan architectural decoration : " Nothing so brilliant was ever imagined by a Gothic carver, so full of light, so airy, so serpentine in swiftness."

There are minds which find their supreme satisfaction in representations of the Family of Jesus of Nazareth, in rhythmic expression of passion, in verbal or tonal melody and harmony. And there are others which crave an expression that is remote from the personal, that is correlative to our finite existence, that suggests something very different from the ceaseless surge of emotion in which human life is immersed.

Mohammedan ornamentation at its best—and here we are only concerned with the best of everything—is characterised by a deliberate turning away from human passion, from idolatry, from the redundant and the excessive, and this renunciation also involves limitation of formal scheme. Art without form is of course unthinkable, but there are kinds of art in which the content bursts through the form, in which the form is obliterated by the passion expressed.

Mohammedan decorative art, which is, after all, " the workers' expression of joy in his work " (the essential of all art recognised by Ruskin and Rodin), in so far as it denies itself exuberance also denies itself certain qualities of spiritual expression ; but it finds its compensation in restraint, in contrast with external and unmastered rhythms, in a sanity which reduces thought and feeling to a cool and calm synthesis. And thus it is true to Islamic tradition in its fusion of the moral and the æsthetic.

It loses greatly in range of appeal, of course, in refusing to portray gradations of emotional tension in human form ;

but in contrast with the extravagance of non-Muslim sculpture in India how striking a foil it offers to the sensational everywhere around it, a riot of excess, wild often as the rocky jungle which the presence of a tomb or a mosque will marvellously subdue. Of it can truly be said, as Prof. Lethaby says of all true buildings, that "it touches depths of feeling and opens the gates of wonder."

Indeed there is this added grandeur in Islamic architecture that it not only humanizes a landscape but stands there with all its simplicity of form as a witness to the Divine. How this comes about it is not easy to say: it is not entirely because a tomb reminds us of our return to God who is our home, or because a mosque is a call to prayer. It is perhaps partly because the spirit of sacrifice and devotion shines through it: many of the buildings are prayers in stone, long, slow prayers that accompany the passing of the years. It is also due to some mysterious influence in the simple forms to which Mohammedan architects reduced their freedom of suggestion, and a wise simplicity is always a source of strength, always suggests far more than it expresses. Here, of course, we are passing beyond the ultimate purpose of the buildings which are the chief monuments of Mohammedan art,—just as we pass beyond the ultimate origin of their form, whether in forest hut, Egyptian granary dome or Turanian kibitka.

Ruskin goes so far as to say that "all forms of acknowledged beauty are composed exclusively of curves;" he associates decay or ruin or death with straight lines. But in the wider sense of life, to an understanding of which the world is coming, decay and death are also directions of movement, and their symbols must have their place in art. There is a great deal of art, especially in the Orient, which rarely admits such symbols of the static as straight lines and rectangles; but there is also much which employs these as details of contrast, symbols, as it were, of temporary station in the flux of life, of human construction defying the elements. In the finest Mohammedan architecture great use is made of the contrast of rectangle and curve, and the one is never allowed to dominate the other. It is a fusion of two directly opposed formal elements, just as all art must be a fusion of apparent incompatibles. If it seems to resist the life-movement, to be less a matter of instinctive urge than of geometrical calculation, that does not affect the spiritual value, which is conditioned by the total appeal made to the conscious and subconscious

organism of the beholder. "All architecture" said, Whitman, "is what you do to it when you look upon it."

From the wearisome iteration of mediæval Catholic iconography we so often turn for relief and interest to the non-essentials of the picture, just as one brought up in the traditions of such ecclesiastical art longs for a touch of the human in Islamic architecture. Power to represent the human figure and human life was highly developed by Mohammedan artists of Persia and India, and for some years the Western world, in its ceaseless hunt for new sensations, has been finding interest in such paintings, with their subtle power of supporting character by the most delicate play of line. For Europe art is largely illustration, as for the Hindus it is a storehouse of heroic and divine legend. But the Mohammedan's conception of art is by contrast rather as a symbol of discipline and restraint, as a refuge from action and an inducement to meditation, than as an expression of the exuberance or dance of life. In this way it is a crystallization of his personality, his love of repose, his urbanity and avoidance of waste of energy. It is a revelation of the ideals by which he feels his life should be guided. At its worst, in modern architecture, with its miniature domes and balconies and other feeble excrescences—cruet-stand architecture, it has been called—it reveals a love of empty show on a basis of solidity. At its best, it is a noble blending of stability and austere beauty. "The architect, with blocks of primeval mud hardened into rock beneath an extinct ocean, builds a great cathedral which stirs us by its majesty." So writes an American astronomer¹, and the spiritual conquest of matter by the Mohammedan architect bears the same witness throughout Islam. A. E.'s poetic and suggestive juxtaposition of national evolution and architecture might very well give a lead to young Muslims, to whom it may never have occurred:

"The State is higher in the scale of being than the individual, and it should be dominated solely by moral and intellectual principles. These are not the outcome of passion or prejudice, but of arduous thought. National ideals must be built up with the same conscious deliberation of purpose as the architect of the Parthenon conceived its lofty harmony of shining marble lines, or as the architect of Rheims Cathedral designed its intricate magnificence and mystery."

(1) George Ellery Hale.

If A. E. had such a knowledge of India herself as he has of some of her sacred books, he might have added—whether the inspiration came from its Muslim builders or was the spirit of India itself, as Havell maintains—“as the architect of the Tâj Mahall combined with a rare instinct for the value of architectural mass an exquisite sense of decorative elaboration.”

There is in the Mohammedan mosque and tomb an extensive range of appeal to mind and heart, from the delicate carving like the handiwork of frost, or the finish and loveliness of clusters of moss, to the solemnity of walls like those of fortress or mountain cliff. Some work, like that of the marble carving in the royal serail at Delhi is like an enlargement of missal designs; some, like that of the mausoleum of Mîrzâ Jehângîr, vies with the beauty of leaf-shadows at sunrise. There is decoration of pillars and cornices which is as beautiful as that of the finer lacquer work of the Far East; and exquisite sandstone relief in Fatehpur, midway between the wind-borne beauty of nature and human convention. Some carving, as that of the minarets of the Queen Mosque, at Ahmedabad, is as rich in detail as Hindu carving, without a trace of the grotesque. The mausolea of Salîm Chisti, ‘Itemâd-ud-Daulah, and the interior of the Tâj Mahall seem to be revelations of deep sorrow transmitted into dreams of such loveliness as the hand of man can only reveal when guided by supernal powers.

In contrast to these we have the massive perfection of such buildings as the tombs of Sheikh Ahmed in Sirkij, of Muhammad Ghaus in Gwaliar, of Adil Shah in Bijapur, and many others in which the instinct of the artist and the faithful toil of the artizans have devised and achieved such blendings of perfect and perfectly correlated abstract forms that deeply impressive sensations are induced, of mystery, awe and infinity. It is as though, in the words of Ruskin, man were striving to reveal his “reverent worship and following, not only of the spirit which rounds the pillars of the forest, and arches the vault of the avenue—which gives veining to the leaf, and polish to the shell, and grace to every pulse that agitates animal organization—but of that also which reproves the pillars of the earth, and builds up her barren precipices into the coldness of the clouds, and lifts her shadowy cones of mountain purple into the pale arch of the sky.”

A good deal of ground seems to move away from under our feet if we feel constrained to believe in Havell's

dictum that : " The Arabs, Tartars, Mongols and Persians who came into India had much to learn from Hindu civilization, and it was from what they learnt and not from what they taught that Mohammedan art in India became great. The Tâj Mahall belongs to India, not to Islam." But he answers this himself when he says a little later :

" It may, however, be urged quite reasonably and plausibly that, in spite of the Buddhist-Hindu derivation and resemblances in matter of detail, there is in the whole conception, especially in the purity, simplicity, and subtlety of the contours of the domes, a wide world of difference between the Tâj or the Môtî Masjid at Agra and the fantastic elaboration of most Hindu temples." Exactly so, and this wide world of difference is a spiritual one, radical and obvious, but none the less too subtle to express in words.

There is in the Tâj nothing of the gloom and seclusiveness of Hindu temples, nothing of the darkness before dawn. It is a flower unshadowed by any foliage, a cluster of shells permeated by sunshine flashed from an invisible sea, with its wonderful dome globed from the passing loveliness. It offers welcome and peace to all, and it is the seal of a spirit world remote from the Hindu complex, with its endless need of propitiations, its innumerable fears and semi-human obsessions. It stands there as a token of what human devotion can attain to, and it has all the largeness of intent and achievement which characterized those great men whom the passes of the North-West and the turbulent rivers of the Himalayan gorges could no more daunt than the fiercest wild creature of the forest or the most formidable conjunctions of fate. It sings a clear song and it symbolizes much that for its builders is but the shadow of a dream.

From a philosophical point of view, to deny spiritual value to a body of art which constitutes some of the salient manifestations of human genius is a proceeding highly irrational, quite apart from the fact that the forms of architecture criticised were erected as tokens of reverence. The word spiritual may be regarded in relation to the nature of an object or to the effect an object produces on the human mind. Spiritual and material are only directly opposed, of course, in the vague way of thinking of the man in the street. The antithesis disappears on deeper thought. One philosopher will regard matter and spirit

as two different mode of the underlying reality ; another sees energy or spirit in all matter ; and the reasoning of a third leads to his system of thought being called philosophy of spirit, and to the statement that the final truth is : Everything is spirit, and spirit is everything.

The creation of these great works of architecture was the result of very pronounced spiritual activity. The effect on the people for whom they were intended is very distinctly an effect of spiritual reaction ; and as for others not conversant with or susceptible to Muslim tradition, the many kinds of beauty enshrined in such buildings compels the spiritual activities of wonder and praise. It is a sheer spiritual attraction that draws travellers from all over the world, the bulk of them non-Muslim in sympathy, to satisfy cravings they cannot express by being in the presence of such moving examples of man's spiritual transformation of the shapeless rocks of earth. Some of them have attempted to tell us what they have felt in such surroundings, and from their words we are conscious of more than they were able to utter. Here is the testimony of a very matter-of-fact Englishman, one of the great surgeons of his day, the late Sir Frederick Treves. Speaking of the Môtî Masjid, he says :

“ As a place of prayer it is simple and chaste. Shadows of amber and brown fill its recesses as with incense. It is open to the sky, and the sky is blue. It is open to the sun, and the sun floods its courts and cloisters. The least devout must feel that it is a holy place, pure and spotless, and filled with the silent benediction of peace.

“ Any who would wish to fashion in their minds the most sufficing picture of a man in prayer could possibly find no spot in the world more fitting for such realization than the Pearl Mosque. The square would be empty save for the sun ; shadows alone would occupy the white aisles ; and, kneeling on the marble of the court, with only the heavens above him, would be the figure of a solitary man prostrate in prayer, with his turbaned head touching the stone.

“ The Pearl Mosque would better become this kneeling figure than would the steps before the high altar in St. Mark's at Venice, or the Sistine Chapel at Rome. These places are grand, resplendent and elaborate. The Pearl Mosque can claim only a divine simplicity, and that access to Heaven which belongs to an unruffled mere of white water.”

The frontispiece of his book, *The Other Side of the Lantern*, is a very beautiful photograph he calls "The Garden of the Unforgotten," in which are the graves of the Princess Jahanara, and those of the poets Amîr Khusrau and Nizâmuddîn.

Of this exquisite place Treves wrote : " Without the wall of this garden of memories is only a desert of violence and oblivion; yet within there would seem to have fallen upon the white cloister and its mosque that Peace of God which passeth all understanding."

Moreover, the deeper we go in individual reflection the stronger is the testimony to the spiritual value of art whose effect is not due to association of ideas. Kant expresses this very definitely :

" In the English manner of laying out gardens, in musical compositions, in the plastic arts, the single elements co-operate immediately to produce a total impression which satisfies a very essential spiritual need in us. "

Kant, says Hoffding, to quote further, "lays very great weight on the entire immediacy of the æsthetic judgment, and undervalues the more remote ideas which the pictures may have excited. He only recognizes *free* beauty as such ; secondary beauty has no right to the name of beauty, since it presupposes certain ideas. A flower, an arabesque, a musical fantasia are examples of free beauty ; the beauty of a human being is secondary, because it presupposes an idea of that which is called a man."

Mohammedans proscribe the use of the human form in pictures for very different reasons than that of secondary beauty ; their reasons are a continuation of folklore survivals and detestation of idolatry. But nevertheless it is remarkable that while one type of German thinker, the devout Jesuit, can find no spiritual compulsion in the finest examples of Islamic architecture, another type, the master-philosopher, finds exactly in those examples the purest appeal to the spirit—art of a noble cathartic power, no mere illustrations of the human life about us but an appeal to a higher reason, above the disturbing waves of human emotion, such as Ruskin urged as fitting decoration for a church.

Both the austere thinker of the misty, icebound Baltic shores, and the warriors of the burning deserts of the South, stand in this respect in the strongest contrast to the sculptors of the Florentine School, of whom Pater wrote : " The creation of man had haunted the mind of the Middle

Ages like a dream ; and weaving it into a hundred carved ornaments of capital or doorway, the Italian sculptors had early impressed upon it that pregnancy of expression which seems to give it many veiled meanings." And how different are the Mosque and the Tomb, which lead one away to silence and rest of heart, from the ceaseless call to the senses enumerated by a recent writer on the Gothic cathedral :

" The cathedral was a Bible, the Old Testament was figured without, the New Testament within. The very tiles of the pavements gave teaching as the worshippers trod them ; the wave-patterns imaged the Sea of Glass, the fish were an emblem of baptism, the winding and convoluted maze showed the difficult journey of life ! The animal world and the vegetable world were brought in to share in the cosmos of the cathedral : teeming with life and variety is the sculpture on capitals and arcadings, it is almost the wild luxuriance of Nature itself. And there was meaning in the Gothic flora ; it was not acanthine, classically monotonous and symmetrically inane. The vine and its branches are shown for Christ and his followers ; the palm stands for victory and for justice, the cypress typifies the Just made ready for their death. Here too, are animals in stone ; the Lamb of God, the goat, the Lion of Judah, the serpent accursed ; and birds, the raven and the dove. The oxen which drew the great blocks of granite across the plain to the site of the cathedral are sculptured here, and not for ornament only ; man, woman, child, angel, muses, sibyl, and musician are shown. Five thousand statues and statuettes stand here, each the image of some living thing, some being, concept, quality or state. Even crimes and vices are personified, to show comprehensiveness and pardon, and that " it takes all sorts to make a world." Hell and the fiends themselves are not omitted ; witness the cynical gargoyles, and the devils of Notre-Dame. Here, too, are effigies of all trades, arts, crafts and occupations, the whole story of mankind, the fall of Adam, and human regeneration ; here are the chronicles and parables of God."

Here are associative factors and illustration with a vengeance ! And that is why, to later ages, with different ways of thinking and an insight into the story of mankind the world never dreamed of in those Middle Ages, except by such men as Brúno, who were not allowed to live, the cathedrals have become little more than museums. No wonder man turned from them in time to the simple

conventicle, to the Friends' Meeting House, as the Mosque might also well be named. Islamic architecture had also its wealth of decoration, and the origin and symbolism of it are deeply interesting to follow down to their origins by the banks of the great rivers of Africa and Assyria, but they were not a matter of consciousness to the worshippers, nor were they felt as "classically monotonous and symmetrically inane." The Mariolatrous cathedrals of France tell their own story. There is nothing farfetched in interpreting their meaning as Sir James Yoxall has done. Architecture and theology worked side by side to build them, as the record clearly stands to-day. Further, it is obvious that: "A cathedral was meant to be lofty and universal; it was to lift itself as a divine work and image of the infinite." But with Islamic religious architecture there is no such patient reflection of the life around; the buildings do not talk to you as such a cathedral does, with a thousand voices. They are quiet as the ancient mountains. They are not treatises on orthodoxy, but they may assuredly be termed symbols of the four great things which Ruskin preached with prophetic fervour to his own age,—Obedience, Unity, Fellowship and Order.

There is a further point to be noted. It is not merely a question as to whether arabesque and geometrical design, on surface and in planes, can be more spiritual than architecture adorned by representations of ideal human figures and scenes. It is a question of whether the ardour of the faith which inspired the master builders has informed the architecture to such a degree that a distinct and powerful impression is made upon the observer, of personality behind the mass of stone whose inertness has been transmuted into living beauty which, though rooted in the dark earth, blends with the sunshine and the storm, the far-travelled lights of noon and midnight, the trees and waters and human life around, as no other creation of the human mind.

Of the ardour of Islamic faith there can be no more question than of the unique and solemn, as well as radiant beauty of the great monuments of the architecture of Islam. This beauty is now often a beauty of ruin, which so often induces regret and melancholy in the beholder. But is there not something forbidding in perfection, whether of the Tâj or the Parthenon? And is it not a very ancient human feeling that such perfection and finish invite disaster? A Japanese student told me that his landlady would never allow all the paper windows to

be in order : she would always make a hole in one of the tiny panes. Rodin leaves so much of his work still a part of the virgin rock, as though unwilling to lose his power over it, perhaps from the same intention which Novalis expressed so strikingly :

“ With each portion perfected the work separates itself from the master by immeasurable distances ; and with the last lines the master has his work separated from himself by a spiritual abyss of which he himself is scarcely able to conceive the extent.”

All Islamic cities are in ruin, and rarely is there an effort from inside to retain perfection. I am not at all sure that this is to be explained as mere neglect. It may be due to some pre-Islamic superstition hinted at in what I have just mentioned, or it may be the carelessness of the artistic spirit—the work is done, and therefore done with. And it may be in part due to some subconscious theory of beauty such as that expressed by the Arab poet Zohair, of whom Abu'l 'Ala wrote :

Zohair the poet sang of loveliness
which is the flight of things—

a thought which we find hovering like a butterfly in the mind of a modern English poet, Walter de la Mare :

Look thy last on all things lovely
Every hour—

and made memorable of old by Augustine :

The lovely forms a moment's sparkle gave
Then fell and mingled with the falling wave.
So perish all things fair, to re-adorn
The Beauteous One whence all fair things were born.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

*THE REAL ALAMGIR*¹

The Modern English histories of India attempt to paint Aurangzaib as a fiend in human form, the personification of tyranny, inordinate ambition and deceit. It is true that, even from contemporary histories, evidence can be adduced to support this perverse view, but those dissatisfied historians are unanimous in their testimony that personally Aurangzaib was a man of the simplest habits and dervish-like manners. He despised all kinds of luxuries and pomp and splendour—indeed, the very ceremonies and conventions which mark the distinction between kings and common folk. His affection for his subjects and children, his kindness and clemency towards his subordinates were proverbial. He never throughout his life spoke harshly to anyone. When his children fell ill, he often took the insipid food prescribed for the sick with them for days together. No one had ever cause to doubt his piety and abstinence. He spent many nights in divine worship and many days of the year in fasting. But this singular character of an anchorite in royal garb had no tinge of superstition or blind religious devotion, for Aurangzaib was a remarkably intelligent scholar of theology and literature, and a number of his scholastic criticisms are still preserved to delight the learned. It was the fruit of a strictly disciplined life as well as his wonderful energy that, though he daily spent a good part of his time in prayers and other devotional exercises, and conversations with the doctors of theology and metaphysics, Aurangzaib could still find time to deal with all the smallest details of the civil and military administration of the country. He regularly read all reports from the districts and every important town, and issued orders or necessary instructions generally in his own handwriting.

(1) The first article of this series appeared in our issue of April 1928. Ed.—“I, C,”

I have already briefly spoken of Aurangzaib's great gifts of generalship—an extremely important qualification for a ruler in those days. His personal valour was extraordinary yet different from the daring of the soldier who fights recklessly for the mere love of the thing, or under provocation and excitement. His contempt of death and his amazing coolness in the hour of danger was a manifestation—at least, so his contemporaries concluded—of his complete resignation to the will of God to whose divine designs it was man's ideal duty to submit contentedly. It was perhaps from this exalted sense of devotion that on several occasions we see him, in the thick of battles, getting down off his horse, in order to perform the appointed prayers, which he would do "with perfect coolness and presence of mind." "And if," the historian continues, "during this (prayer-time) the whole world and its inhabitants were drawn together, not the slightest disturbance could occur in the peace and tranquility of (his) noble soul, which phenomenon from that sovereign of mind and body has been witnessed by friends and foes alike frequently in the most dangerous situations. As a matter of fact, there is, in accordance with (the saying) that 'he, who seeks the love of God, does not fear anything else,' no fear, terror, or timidity in his exalted person from anything or anyone other than the Almighty God, the incomparable Creator¹."

Were we to imagine that these austere habits—a whole life of piety and self-abnegation—were nothing but a screen to hide a devilish character, then it would certainly become impossible to find a standard of sincerity and truth. It should also be borne in mind that all learned and thoughtful (Sunni) Muslims of India have always acknowledged Aurangzaib as one of the ideal Muslim emperors, and no impartial student of history, having before him their considered judgment, should hasten to believe the vague generalisations and rash assertions of foreign, often definitely hostile, authors of Muslim histories².

(1) Almost all historians are unanimous in extolling these prominent features of Aurangzaib's character. For reference, see *Alamgir-Nama* (p., 1070 etc.); *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 525—533) *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* (p. 1 and 2) *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (p. '099'2'1 etc. Lane Poole dilates upon these great qualities in his romance-like biography of Aurangzaib (ch. 3 & 4) and Babu Jadu Nath Sarkar does not deny them (*History of Aurangzeb*, Introduction I Vol. p XV).

(2) For generations, it seems, the English did not forget the damage and humiliation caused by an order of the Emperor for the expulsion of

After the victory at Samangadh Aurangzaib had to fight two more battles with his elder brothers. The first with Shujâ', who in spite of the fact that he had made a treaty of peace with Aurangzaib¹ marched from Bihâr, planning to reach Agra before Aurangzaib's return from the Panjâb, where he had gone in pursuit of Dâra-Shukoh. But this was to overrate his own capacity and underrate the energy of his adversary. The Bengal armies under their slothful master had barely advanced beyond Allahabad, when they came in contact with the vanguard of Aurangzaib, who—having chased Dâra out of the Panjâb—himself arrived three days later on the spot. This was a memorable sweep of about 1,200 miles in less than 80 days and the Bengal army naturally trembled at having to meet men, capable of such a feat, on the battle-field. Shujâ' was totally defeated in spite of his superior equipment—in spite also of Jaswant Singh's treacherous desertion of Aurangzaib at a critical moment.² (1069 A.H. ; 1659 A.D.)

Against such an opponent Dâra could hardly fare better. True, the Governor of Gujrât submitted to his authority and Jaswant Singh and other Rajput chiefs promised him help, so that he was able to muster a considerable force and take possession of Ajmer with the hope of making another dash for Agra if Shujâ' could continue to embarrass Aurangzaib for a few weeks longer. But these hopes were soon dispelled and the victorious army of his rival advanced too rapidly to leave him sufficient time to make good his retreat. Hopelessly beaten, he fled towards Sindh and Balûchistân, hotly pursued for about three months, till a treacherous Bilûch chieftain captured the heart-broken, miserable refugee and delivered him up to the Imperial officers who brought him to Delhi. (Zû'lhijja 1069 A.H. 1659 A.D.). Now that all opposition had completely broken down and the whole country was under his feet, was there anything to prevent Alamgîr from having his captive enemy killed outright or trampled by an elephant, the usual course for the successful claimant of an absolute monarchy, which would assuredly have been the fate of Aurangzaib had Dâra or Shujâ' won

their traders from the Empire, who, after a futile naval war, had to seek pardon and renew their undertaking to conform in future to the regulations and authority of the local governors, which they had for some time past refused to do. *Imp. Gazetteer* ii 460—464. Mill's *History*. Book 1, Ch, v.

(2) Alamgîr Nâmah 211, 223.

the war? Aurangzaib's self-control and respect for the Law led him to set up a regular tribunal consisting of the highest authorities of canonical law, whose learning and honest independence of opinion no contemporary, so far as I know, has impeached; and from them obtained an unanimous verdict of death against Dâra-Shukôh, for heresy and on account of his insulting propaganda against Islâm as well as his disturbance of the public peace¹. The assembly might have been swayed in judging the case of the unfortunate prince, by the personal views and interests of his triumphant rival, but some of Dâra's works on mysticism and comparative theology still exist, which will always prove him guilty before a sensitive court of orthodox Islâm.

If Aurangzaib was a hypocrite, he was certainly consistent throughout his life even at the expense of his personal comfort and popularity. The whole administration took a religious colour as soon as he ascended the throne of the Great Mughals. One of his first acts as Emperor was to abolish numerous taxes and duties that had become a very considerable source of revenue to the Government, but were oppressive of the poor. Such were the transit duties on grains, clothes and other necessities, as well as an obnoxious impost on tobacco. The offering of 'Nazars,' or the system of making presents in cash or kind to the Emperor on every important occasion by the chief nobles, who, in their turn, collected more from their clients than they thus presented, was entirely stopped by Aurangzaib. He had to undertake a regular

(1) Alamgîr Nâmah 432. Khafi Khan ii, 87.

(2) Maharaja Jaswant Singh (of Jodhpur) had fought in the first battle of the civil war against Aurangzaib near Ujjain. But after the decisive victory of that prince over Dâra, he humbly solicited and received unconditional pardon from Aurangzaib, whom on this occasion he accompanied with his contingent to participate in the war against Shujâ'. He, however, was in secret correspondence with the enemy. The night before the battle this Raja with his force rushed out of the Imperial camp, plundering a part of it that lay in his way. In the dark night this treacherous act caused the greatest confusion and alarm throughout the camp. Only the Emperor was unmoved. He was saying his *tahajjud* prayers when an excited officer brought the news of Jaswant Singh's desertion. The Emperor simply gave the necessary commands for rearrangement of the order of battle, and turned his face away to finish his prayers. (Khafi Khan ii, 53. *Alamgîr Namah* 255).

After Aurangzaib's victory over his brother, Jaswant Singh again besought the Emperor's clemency and was again forgiven by this "cruel, petty minded, bigoted tyrant" who is said to have been entertaining nothing but enmity and hatred towards his Rajput subjects.

campaign to uproot the prevalent corruption and dishonest dealing in the government departments. It was during this process of overhauling an almost rotten machine that hundreds of dishonest petty officials were dismissed and, as the majority of them happened to be Kayastha (Hindu) clerks, well known for their loquacity and malice, the reforming zeal of the Emperor was plausibly misconstrued into an anti-Hindu activity. With particular reference to the Muslims, an elaborate department of censorship was instituted to put a stop to the evils of wine-drinking, gambling, adultery and other immoral practices. The censor was also expected to punish heretics, atheists and innovators, who in the garb of pious mystics preached indifference to the dictates of the Holy Law, and to exhort the Faithful to pursue the virtuous path of religion. In the court-life drastic changes were made. In place of the costly splendour of Shâh Jahân and Jahângîr, a dignified austerity reigned. Many Indian customs, distasteful to the democratic and strictly monotheistic spirit of Islâm—such as prostration before the sovereign, the ‘Darshan’ or daily appearing of the Emperor as a quasi-divine individual on the balcony, and so forth—were abolished. Gold and silver ornaments and other costly luxuries, even the use of pure silk, were banned. Musicians, poets, ballad-singers, story-tellers, astrologers, mummers, buffoons—altogether a whole host of parasites who had been employed merely to provide frivolous amusement for the emperor—were dismissed. The post of court-annalist, the occupant of which had in reality played the part of an official panegyrist from the days of Abû'l-Fazal, was reduced, as, after reading the description of his first ten years of rule, the Emperor would no longer tolerate such fulsome flattery¹.

A ruler of this type, coming in the wake of a series of magnificent, if extravagant, predecessors, could scarcely hope to become popular. Nor was he so blinded with zeal as to imagine that he could entirely change the character of a degenerate, ease-loving society. It was, however, his sacred duty, as he repeatedly states in his letters, to do his utmost, as viceregent of God, to work out the salva-

(1) These annals of the first ten years have been preserved and published under the name *Alamgir-Namah*. In utter disregard of truth and even sense some of the modern writers represent this act of Aurangzaib as an attempt to conceal his evil deeds from posterity! Perversity could go no further. As a matter of fact, continuance of the institution would have been a far better means to conceal his doings than its abolition.

tion of his people according to his own honest convictions. The reforms were not introduced all at once but gradually and cautiously. Owing to this patience it was only in the 12th year of his reign that, after enforcing the religious regulations of the Zakât (obligatory charity) tax on the wealthy Muslims, Alamgîr renewed the imposition of Jazia on the non-Muslims who were exempt from military service. It was levied on non military, well-to-do male adults only, who had an income of at least 200 dirhams a year, which, at the lowest estimate, should be computed in its purchasing value as the equivalent of about 500 rupees in the terms of the present-day currency. On this income $3\frac{1}{3}$ rd rupees per annum were charged, while the maximum rate of the tax was about Rs. 14 per annum levied on an income of more than 10,000 Dirhams a year. I leave it to the reader to judge whether, after all, it was such a heavy and unjust burden¹ for the comparatively wealthy civil population as to justify the indignant protests by the critics of an age still groaning under military taxation. The rates of Jazia were ridiculously low in comparison with the Zakât money which the wealthier classes of the Muslims were required to pay and which was in every case $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the gross value of their property.

The revival of Jazia, which had remained in abeyance for about a century, was not popular; no taxation is; and the Hindus of Delhi protested against the levy. But the Emperor had traced a certain line of policy for himself and did not budge from it for Muslim or non-Muslim. The opposition soon died down.

During the long reign of Alamgîr we read of some other disturbances in the detailed private histories of the period. But in studying these useful annals we should take care not to lose the right perspective. or we may be greatly misled. We read, for instance, accounts of local disorders and riots, with the description of which the historians have filled pages, whereas they were hardly more serious than a communal fracas or political demonstration nowadays on an Id or Diwali Festival. The only difference is that, in those days, the people of India generally possessed arms, knew how to use them and were more warlike and sensitive; so trivial affairs, which now end in an ap-

(1) I have taken care to compare the rates of the Jazia-tax with those given by Prof. J. N. Sarkar in the XXXIV Chapter of his *History of Aurangzeb*, where he seems to have concentrated all his energies in attacking the theocracy of Islam.

plication to the criminal courts, assumed a more serious aspect. Such were the riots of the Jats of Mathra (1079 A.H.), the Satnamis of Narnôl (1081 A.H.) and the Tazia processionists of Burhanpur, which could not be suppressed by the local police, and regular forces had to be sent in from outside military stations. The revolt of the Afghan clans of the Khaibar and the Rajputs of Mewar and Marwar were, however, of quite a different nature, and to suppress them the Emperor was obliged to stay near the scene of disturbance for some time, and personally direct the military operations.

The Afghans and the Rajputs.—The Pathan tribes inhabiting the bleak mountainous country round the Khaibar Pass had always been as brave, wild and unamenable to law and order as they are to-day. They were a source of constant trouble to the Mughal rulers of India, much intermittent fighting since the days of Akbar had never brought them under effective control. Divided into numerous warring factions among themselves, and bound, unlike the Arabs or Rajputs, by a weak tie of allegiance to their own local chiefs, it was almost impossible to make any permanent peace with them as a whole nation—though they were quite capable of uniting against a foreign invader. So the merry game of raiding and plundering their peaceful neighbours of the plains went on for centuries, and punitive measures on a large scale always developed into a regular war with these hardy mountaineers. But the resistance they offered could not last long against a firm and resolute Emperor like Aurangzaib, who himself advanced to Hasan Abdal (1081 A.H.) and, hunting them back into their mountain lairs, so skilfully established outposts at important points that the Afghans could no longer come out and combine after their sound chastisement by the Imperial forces under Aghar Khan, whose very name is reported to have become a terror among the Pathans

The rebellion of the Rajputs took place some years after the submission of the Pathans of Khaibar. Anglo-Indian histories have, with much exaggeration, given it a false colouring of a religious war between Hindus and Muslims, whereas it was caused by ordinary misunderstandings and was repressed in the ordinary way after several months of desultory fighting. The trouble began when Jaswant Singh, the Râja of Marwar (Jodhpur), died at Kâbul in 1089 A.H. (1678 A.D.), leaving no male issue to succeed him. "At the death of the Maharaja,"

in the words of a Hindu historian, "the head of every Rajput house in Marwar, out of his proud ambition to assert his leadership, got ready to create disturbance and mischief."¹ Having realized this state of affairs, Aurangzaib sent some nobles to Jodhpur to keep these mischief-makers in check as long as the question of succession was undecided. A few days later Inder Singh, the nephew of Jaswant Singh, was given "the title of Raja and the robes of honour with a scimitar studded with gems..... as well as colours, arms and kettle-drums....." and was entrusted with the administration of Marwar.

This reasonable decision was obviously very disappointing to the self-seekers, who now got ready to defy the authority of the Emperor and forcibly carry away the remaining child (one being dead in the meantime) to Jodhpur. The news of the conspiracy seems to have leaked out and a guard was stationed round their camp. But the plotters somehow managed atrociously to kill the Ranis, who either refused or were not fit to accompany them, and fly away with the child. There is some ground to believe that it was only a counterfeit son of the late Raja, whom they produced at Jodhpur as his lawful heir. Anyway, Durgadas was now in open revolt and by his strenuous propaganda easily gathered a considerable army from a combustible population of professional soldiers. Finally the hyper-sensitive Maharana of Udaipur, who could no longer evade the demand of Jazia for his non-serving people, lent his support to the rebels, who were driven out from their own country.² The Emperor had to return for the second time to the military base at Ajmere; and the campaign, which could only end one way, was prolonged for another year. But the tissue of wonderful inventions with which Tod and others of his ilk have tried to represent the Rajput rebellion as a Holy War of the Hindus against their Malichh rulers, can be refuted by the single and undisputed fact of the rebels entering into negotiations with Prince Akbar, the third son of the Emperor and nominal commander of the Imperial army, and pledging their loyal allegiance to him if he would break with his father.³ The foolish lad, lately disgraced by the Emperor on account of his slackness, was seduced by the Rajput intriguers into declaring

(1) Ishwar-das, quoted by Sarkar, III 372.

(2) Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri, p. 176.

(3) "We clasp the skirt of your robe and hope for deliverance and happiness at your hands." So concluded a submissive message of the proud Maharana to the young Prince. See Sarkar, III 405.

his independence and preparing to attack the Emperor. The news of Akbar's defection and treasonable designs caused consternation at Ajmere, where only a handful of men had remained as guard to the Imperial camp. But the main Mughal army, who knew nothing of the conspiracy till Akbar's public proclamation of his sovereignty, soon showed their anger and contempt at the proceeding and deserted the rebellious Prince *en masse*. This is, perhaps, the only instance of Indian mercenary troops displaying loyalty to an absent and forsaken master against the will of their immediate commander, a Prince of the royal blood, thus sacrificing rich prospects of reward. With the greatest difficulty the unfortunate Prince made his escape and, with his flight, the whole rebellion collapsed. Marwar was already in the hands of the Imperialists; it was now the turn of Udaipur to beseech the gracious forgiveness of the Emperor and surrender two districts in lieu of the cash payment of the Jazia¹ (1092 H. 1681 A.D.). Thus, the Rajput rising ended within two years of its outbreak; and not only was there no serious disturbance thereafter in Rajputana during the long absence of the Emperor in the distant South, but many Rajput chiefs and soldiers fought under the banner of Alamgîr with their traditional bravery and fidelity throughout his prolonged Deccan campaigns and continued to receive rewards and promotions for their gallant services.²

The rebel Prince whom the offended Emperor ever afterwards used to call "Akbar, the eternal loser," (اکبر ابد ہار) had taken refuge with Sambhaji, the son and successor of Sivaji, and intrigued hard with the Deccan States of Bîjapûr and Golconda, whose relations with the Mughals had been anything but satisfactory during the

(1) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* 208. Khâfi Khân p. 277 etc., Sarkar, with all his prejudice, could not deny the glaring facts and had to append an elaborate criticism to expose the alterations of Col. Tod (*History of Aurangzeb III* p. 430).

(2) M. Shibli has prepared from the most authentic sources a list of Rajput noblemen and army officers of Alamgîr, representing almost all the ruling families of the Rajputs, who faithfully served him till the end of his long reign, (*Alamgîr par ek nazar*, p. 70) with numerous evidences of the complete submission and reconciliation of the Rajputs, which are to be found in every contemporary history. The temerity of J. N. Sarkar in asserting that "the Bundela clan and a few Hada and Kachhwah families supplied the only Rajput soldiers he (Alamgîr) could secure for fighting his battles" can be only explained as an attempt to escape from an embarrassing position in which his prepossessions had entangled him.

25 years which had elapsed since Aurangzaib had left Aurangabad to fight the War of Succession. To the old difficulties fresh complications were being constantly added. The way forcibly to annex the Deccan was shown by the Emperor Akbar, but the sentimental attachment of Aurangzaib for the country of his youthful exploits augmented his hearty disgust for the degenerate kings of the Deccan, whom he regarded as unworthy of so great a trust. It was mainly owing to their weakness and unstable policy that a daring Marhatta leader, Sivaji to wit, had been enabled to develop his organisation into a menacing factor in the Deccan politics, as was very early foreseen by Aurangzaib. During the War of Succession in the north and the internal distractions of Bījapūr the Marhatta leader gathered greater strength but it was only his audacious raid on the rich port of the Empire, Sûrat, that brought him into open conflict with the Mughal Emperor. (1074 A.H. 1663 A.D.) The outrageous act called forth drastic reprisals and an Imperial army was despatched under Raja Jai Singh and Dilair Khan to bring the offender to book. The Mughals soon broke the Marhatta resistance, capturing almost all the forts of Sivaji, who was forced to submit to the Suzerain Power, surrender two-thirds of his possessions and pledge himself to loyal service of the empire. "Thus," says Sarkar "in less than three months from the date when he opened the campaign, Jai Singh had succeeded in bringing Sivaji down on his knees; he had made this haughty chief cede a large part of his dominion and consent to serve as a dependent vassal of the Emperor. It was a splendid victory. Shiva loyally carried out his promises: in the war with Bījapūr he with his contingent rendered distinguished service under the Moghal banner and was mentioned in despatches¹." At the next annual Darbar Sivaji was invited to attend the royal court at Agra (1076 A.H. 1666 A.D.), when the Emperor greeted him with "Come up, Sivaji Raja²." But he was shocked to receive the rank of 5 thousand, usually bestowed on a vassal chief in the beginning of his career, and strongly resented the imagined insult. His wild speeches and violent temper gave ground for suspicion and till advices from Raja Jai Singh regarding his rank were received he was ordered to be guarded. Sivaji, however, contrived to escape and, suffering great hardships in the way, at last reached his

(1) Vol. IV. p. 81.

(2) Ibid 84.

capital. But he had returned with a chastened spirit and, offering submission through the intercession of the local governors, was again forgiven by the Emperor. Later he busied himself in organising his new State and greatly increasing its strength at the expense of Golconda and Bijapûr, whose rotten governments, no longer capable of checking the Mahratta aggression, were sometimes taken by surprise and sometimes duped by Sivaji, who never scrupled to exploit a neighbour's weakness.

The hopeless corruption of the Deccan courts, unceasing depredations of lawless Marhatta bands, constant local disorders, and the inefficiency of the Mughal viceroys all combined to bring large regions of the Deccan to a state of utter chaos and misery. In fact, as a petition (1091 A.H., 1681 A.D.) of the Burhanpur notables bewailed, there was no peace or safety left for the ryots that side of the river Narbada.

So when the Rajput rebellion was suppressed, Alamgîr turned to the Deccan and moved his camp to Burhanpur (1093 A.H.). The military operations began with the advance of a punitive force which chased the Marhattas out of Mughal territory and ravaged that of the enemy, (1094). Many forts, officers and even the family of Sambhaji, the son and successor of Sivaji, were captured and the northern provinces of Deccan cleared, though Sambhaji himself escaped and continued to defend his remaining forts with active help from Bijapûr and Golconda. These vassal kingdoms were repeatedly warned, and invited by the Emperor to co-operate in crushing the marauding bands, but, as almost all contemporary histories, including the court annals of the Bijapûr kingdom itself, show, they practically refused to leave the side of Sambhaji.¹ The Emperor no longer hesitated to decree the final destruction of these two decrepit monarchies. Advancing to Ahmadnagar, he skilfully planned to blockade the troublesome Marhattas in their own mountainous tract of Konkan on the one hand, and sent out a larger army against Bijapûr, on the other. After the only pitched battle of Indi, the strong and spacious fortress of Bijapûr was besieged for more than a year, till its puppet king surrendered and delivered the city to the conquerors. (1097 A.H. 1685 A.D.). A similar fate overtook the Qutub Shahis of Golconda, who could display even less power of resistance than that of Bijapûr, though the

(1) *Basatin-us-Salatin*. Account of the last reign. Also see Sarkar Ch : XLV.

siege of Golconda has acquired a greater fame—thanks to the writings of a popular lampoonist who conceals his bigotry under the cloak of satire. Thus a single blow brought these tottering edifices to the ground. Both the kingdoms were finally annexed, and after suffering from untold miseries and terrible anarchy for more than a quarter of a century their wretched inhabitants at last saw the dawn of prosperity. It took years, however, to restore the famished, almost ruined country.

Lastly, a body of picked horsemen was despatched to hunt down Sambhaji who was dragged out of a hole in which he had hidden¹ and brought in chains to the Imperial Camp (110 A. H. 1689 A. D.). As he is said scurrilously to have abused the Emperor and the holy founder of Islam, he was beheaded, while his little son, Sahuji, was taken care of by the Emperor himself and grew up to inherit his State.

(1) Sarkar IV 400.

SYED HASHIMI (FARIDABADI).

(To be continued).

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

A MIGHTY WORK OF EDUCATION.

IN the July number of *Islamic Culture* under the heading "Russia and Turkey" we noticed at some length an article by M. Castagne on the Latinisation of the Turkish Alphabet which had appeared in *La Revue des Etudes Islamiques* (Paris). There has since appeared in the same review an article by Professor N. Yakovlev of Moscow entitled *La developpement d'une Langue Ecrite Nationale* ("The development of a national written language") which describes the educational work of the Union of Soviet Republics in respect of the vast agglomeration of nationalities great and small which, in the Soviet vocabulary, are termed "Oriental Peoples." "Among these Oriental peoples," says Prof. Yakovlev, "we include to-day in the bosom of the Soviet Union :

" (1) All the peoples of Islamic culture ;

" (2) Peoples, independent of Islam, of comparatively well developed Oriental culture (Georgians, Armenians, civilized individuals from the Far East. etc.) ;

" (3) All peoples of relatively backward culture, best characterized by the absence or weak development of a written national language. In the present movement of constructive political and cultural activity the development of a national civilization among them has called especially for scientific help. That is the theoretical and practical meaning of the expression 'Oriental Peoples of the Soviet Union.' "

The attempt to form a national civilization and a national spirit is not limited to the larger ethnic groups. Every tribe and clan and dialect of the Union is given its autonomy and special treatment.

There are several classes of autonomy in the Soviet system : Republics of the Union, composed of autonomous republics and of autonomous provinces. There exist also "autonomous districts" and "autonomous tracts," all

mapped out on a linguistic-ethnic basis. Thus, the Republic of the Turcomans contains the autonomous Republics of the Bashkirs, the Buriato-Mongols, of Daghestan, of the Yakuts, of the Kazaks, of Crimea, of the Tatars, of the Chuvashes, and autonomous provinces of the Adighes (Cherkass), Ingush, Kabardo-Balkans, Kaimuks, Karakalpaks, Karachi, Kirghiz, Komi, Mari and others. For every one of these linguistic groups, so numerous that to recount them would be merely to bewilder and fatigue the general reader, the central authority is trying to provide a system of education called national, and to promote and foster the growth of a national culture. In many cases it has had to provide an alphabet, in others it has urged a modification of the existing alphabet in the interests of the peoples and for practical reasons of policy. Prof. Yakovlev describes this stupendous educational undertaking in a matter-of-fact way, as if it were nothing new or surprising, but merely the natural work of any Peoples' Government which takes its duties seriously. He writes without a trace of any bias, and when he mentions that a certain Muslim republic (Uzbekistan) had shown indifference to the general movement because there "a cultural-religious orientation of an Islamic type has developed powerfully and there is hardly any national proletariat," he mentions it without a word implying disapproval or regret. Similarly, when he tells how the people of another Muslim region literally fired at the primers which were provided for their education, and drove the schoolmasters away by force, he tells it just as an amusing incident. We are left, after reading his article, with nothing but a sense of wonder at the scientific thoroughness, sincerity and logic of the Soviet work and theory of education on so huge a scale. There is not a word of propaganda against anyone's opinions.

But appended to this article, in the same Review is a note by Monsieur J. Castagne on an exhibition of literature provided in the various languages of the "Oriental Peoples of the Soviet Union" which was held in Paris at the School of Oriental Languages by the same Prof. Yakovlev. In Catalogue No. 9 "of brochures and works in the Tartar language" we find:

- "Theses on the National Question"....Staline and Trotzky.
- "The Fall of the Caliphate"....Navchirvanov.
- "The Economic Theory of Karl Marx"....K. Kavtzky.
- "Political Notions"....Kovalenko.

- “Imperialism as a stage towards Capitalism” .
Lenin.
- “The Red Army” Rafes.
- “The State and the Revolution” Lenin.
- “Collection of the Laws of Work” Ismailov.
- “What the workman who enters the communist
party should know” Ismailov.
- “Communism” Nigmatuline.
- “Spartacus” Guravich
- “The War between Man and Nature” Beren.

in a long list of works only ten, at most, of which can be considered other than very definitely propagandist. In another list the title of Navchirvanov's work is translated as “The Death of the Caliphate,” and its contents are thus described: “The author rapidly relates the principal moments and the development of the Caliphate and Sultanate. He then dwells upon political events in Turkey during these last years, emphasising the important part played by the Turkish Communist Party. In conclusion he criticises the present *Bourgeois* Republic of the Kemalists and expresses the certainty that the revolutionary movement which has taken hold of the East will lead infallibly to the social revolution and to the triumph of the Communist party under the direction of the Komintern over the old *bourgeois* world.”

In the Uzbek language :

“A. Fitrat.—“The Life of the Hereafter”—With a preface by N. Tipuriakulov 1923, 28 pages. Price 15 kopecs.

“In a story of a lively and attractive form the author ridicules the Musulman's conception of the life hereafter the judgment of sinners, paradise, hell, etc. The humour and art with which this exposition is made produce a great impression on the readers. M. Tiuriakulov declares in his preface that Fitrat's story will have the same importance for the Muslim world as that of the *Divina Comedia* in Italy.” And again :

“A. Fitrat.—*Beydal* (a philosophic and anti-religious sketch) 1923, 56 pages. Price 30 kopecs.

“Baydal (ʿAbdul Qadir Bidil, died at Delhi 1133 A. H. 1720 A.D., a prose-writer and poet in Persian and Urdu) is the typical representative of Oriental humanism in the Middle Ages. He belongs to the Indian branch of the philosophical school of mystical Sufis.

"At the time of the spread of world-commerce, when the India of the Great Moguls with its legendary riches attracted the attention of the whole West to a structure of Muslim feudalism which was beginning to decay, appears this paradoxical genius. That is the setting of his work. From the artistic point of view, his finely chiselled poems, profoundly philosophical, are so many pearls from the Oriental pen. Practically, this book is extremely useful for anti-religious propaganda in Central Asia, where the name of this philosopher is pretty well known. His pitiless criticism of the foundations of the Musulman Church, his mordant satire against the clergy, will be very useful for our anti-religious work. From the scientific point of view, Fitrat's book offers rich material for those who make a study of the history of the intellectual development of the East."

Among other works by authors of evident Mohammedan descent, of which the names keep recurring in the catalogues of works newly published in the various languages, we notice "Man and the Animal Kingdom," "The Life of Plants," By Mukhamedov; "The Tartars and the years of the first Revolution," by G. Mansurov. "The Communist Movement among Children" by Mukhtar. "Karl Liebknecht" by Maksudov. "Songs of the Hammer" by Karimov. "Little Fighters" by Usmanov. "The Commune" by M. Haidar Faiz, "The Red Soldier's Alphabet" by Sattarov. "Omar Khayyam and his Works," by A. Aliev and the poems of Tewfik Fitrat, the Turkish positivist poet and philosopher who died in 1925.

For the more backward and nomadic peoples there are simple stories, poems of the steppes, and manuals of cultivation and of stock-raising. In short, the Soviet government has undertaken, and is accomplishing at high pressure, a task, which has only once before been done in the world: the work of bringing countless backward and oppressed peoples up to culture and an equal status with the ruling race. In the great days of the spread of Islam, this was done as a part of religion; in Russia it is being done as a part of a policy that aims at the destruction of "religion" as the Russians understand it. Orthodox Islam has had a longer respite and much more indulgence shown to it than was accorded to Orthodox Christianity in the Russian sphere; but it is no less threatened. Have the Russian Muslims a conception of essential Islam, which is not threatened, and cannot be threatened, by Karl Marx's

theory, or any other theory of existence based upon the facts of life? That is the question upon the historical answer to which depends the future of the greater part of Asia.

THE MAYKHANA*

We are indebted to Professor Muhammad Shafi' for a critical edition of the "*Maykhana*" or the "*Tavern*" of Mullâ 'Abdu'n-Nabî Fakhru'z-Zamânî of Qazwîn, a work so little known, yet so full of genuine information regarding the development of the Persian poetry in India and elsewhere effected particularly during the 16th and 17th centuries of the Christian era.

The learned editor's introduction to this book forms a valuable piece of that scientific criticism so scholarly instituted by one of the greatest of the Orientalists, the late Professor E. G. Browne of Cambridge, and so wonderfully upheld by the editors of the texts in the Gibb Memorial Fund Series, chiefly by Prof. R. A. Nicholson, Prof. D. S. Margoliouth and Aqa Mirzâ Muhammad Khân Qazwînî. This review is mainly based on it.

The introduction covers 34 lithographed pages and deals with the following important subjects :—

1. The life of the author of the *Maykhana*.
2. His poetry and knowledge of tales and stories.
3. His works.
4. A detailed account of the *Maykhana*.
5. Its distinguishing features.

6. The text as adopted in the present lithographed edition of the *Maykhana*.

7. The description of the MSS. which formed the base of the present text and of those with which the learned editor has collated them.

8. A survey of the evolution of the kind of literature known as Sâqî-nâma.

9. A note on the compilations and anthologies of verses of various authors who sang of wine.

Then follows a list of signs and abbreviations used in editing the text. After a full list of the contents of the book, which is divided into three sections, the text begins on page 1 and ends on p. 579. At the end of the book are given three indices and some valuable comments.

* A Critical Estimate of the "*Maykhana*" of 'Abdu'n-Nabî. (Size 9.5 6", lithographed at the Co-operative Art Printing Works, Lahore, 1926, and published by Messrs 'Itr Chand Kapur and Son, Publishers, Lahore).

As is the case with many great Persian authors, the dates of the birth and the death of Mullâ 'Abdu'n-Nabî are unascertainable ; but we are lucky in having an autobiographical account of the author in the text of the *Maykhana* (see pp. 498-510) which throws light on various incidents of his life. The author and his parents came from the city of Qazwîn. His father Khalaf Beg was a merchant with Sûfî inclinations. After a pilgrimage to Mecca, he led the life of a Darwish and died in 1001 in Qazwîn of plague. On the mother's side 'Abdu'n-Nabî came from the family of Khwâja 'Abdu'llah Ansârî, the famous saint. His maternal grandfather was Fakhru'z-Zamân, who held the *Qazaat* of Qazwîn and was a talented scholar. The author draws his patronymic or *Nisba* of Fakhru'z-Zamânî from him, as he mentions in his autobiographical note. 'Abdu'n-Nabî had his early education in Qazwîn. From his youth up, he evinced a taste for poetry and used to associate with various contemporary poets. He wrote verses under the *nom-de-plume* of 'Izzatî and had a great passion for story-telling. His memory was very retentive. It is said of him that, he remembered by heart the whole of the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza*. When he was in his nineteenth year, he visited Mashhad and stayed there for about a month. The Mughal Emperors of India were at that time attracting many talented people from various parts of the Muslim world. We therefore find 'Abdu'n-Nabî, undertaking a journey to India. In 1017 A.H. he reached Lahore *via* Qandahâr after a painful journey. After a stay of 4 months, he went to Agra in 1018 and was employed as a story-teller by a relation of his, Mîrzâ Nizâmi, who was an official chronicler at the Court. This kept 'Abdu'n-Nabî engaged in literary pursuits. He attained much skill in the art of story-telling.

In 1022, 'Abdu'n Nabî obtained employment in Ajmere under Mahâbat Khân, the son of Mîrzâ Amân-u'llah Khân through the recommendation of a countryman of his. The Mîrzâ was skilled in the art of versification. 'Abdu'n Nabî's association with him and his profession as a librarian gave him ample opportunities for developing his poetical talents.

During this period the young author prepared sketches for three books of the nature of prose selections and anthologies. He did not, however, stay at Ajmere very long, for a shameful disease troubled him, so much so that he had to leave Ajmere under the pretext of going on long leave. He then arrived in Lahore in 1025 A.H. in the guise

of a beggar, bringing with him his incomplete works. Lahore was undergoing a severe epidemic of plague at the time, the author therefore hurried to Kashmîr and joined his relation Mîrzâ Nizâmî, who had been recently appointed the Bakhshî and Diwân of the place. During his stay in Kashmîr, he completed one of his works, the *Dasturu'l-Fusaha*. He then accompanied Mîrza Nizâmî to Mandû in 1026 and to Patna in 1027. In Patna he found a patron in Sardar Khân, the brother of 'Abdu'llah Khân Fîrîz Jung to whom he dedicated the *Maykhana* which he had by then compiled. He also finished his *Saqi-nama* under his literary auspices. In 1029, while he was yet in Patna, his house caught fire with the result that some of his papers were burnt, thus causing a great loss to the author. He then went to Agra once more. Henceforward we miss the train of those incidents of his life which led up to his death. Not much is known of this period, except that he wrote a preface to the *Nawadiru'l Hikayat* which was written in 1041 A.H. In his *Saqi-nama*, he has expressed an ardent desire to go back to Persia. Whether this was fulfilled at all, and where and when he died, is not known.

From the above it is evident that the author had few opportunities of receiving a systematic literary training. When he was still a boy, he had to come to India and seek employment, which did not leave him much time or scope for proper education; but from the very beginning his retentive memory had marked him out for story-telling, in which he excelled. Along with this he was gradually developing a talent for writing verse. We have in the *Maykhana* nearly 200 lines of his own composition and a statement to the effect that by 1028 A.H. he had composed verses to the extent of 1,500, of which we find no trace in any anthology or memoir of poets.

With his employment as the Librarian of Mîrzâ Amânu'llah Khân begins the era of his literary activities. Soon, and wisely, he decided to compile the works of other writers rather than undertake independent contribution to poetry. He found out that the "accounts of eminent men" and those of "gifted people or men of taste" would bring him greater fame and benefit than his own verses. Therefore he planned the following three books:

1. *Dasturu'l-Fusaha*, a manual dealing with the mode of reciting the *Tale of Amir Hamza* which was a very popular hobby at the court of Akbar, and also in the reign

of Jahângîr. This work was intended to serve as a guide to the story-tellers. The book is lost.

Nawadir-u'l-Hikayat or *Bahru'n-Nawadir*, was a collection of "sweet anecdotes and attractive tales." The book was finished about 1041 A.H. A copy of it is preserved in the British Museum.

3. *Maykhana* is an anthology of the works of both the earlier and the later poets who sang of wine.

Of all his compilations, the author completed the *Maykhana* first, since that kind of literature was very much in demand in those days. About 1023 or 1024, while he was staying in Ajmere, he began compiling 15 *Saqi-namas* to which he attached biographical notes of the authors selected. As already stated, he left Ajmere before finishing any of his works. The *Maykhana* was ultimately finished in 1029, when he was in Patna.

The author deems this his 'life-work.' There are 71 biographies in it. Ten of these belong to the poets who had died before the accession of Akbar to the throne (in 963) and had no connection whatsoever with India. The remaining 61 are contemporaries of either Akbar or Jahângîr or of both, who were intimately connected with the Mughal Court. Eleven of them were born and bred in India, and 8 of them were natives of Qazwîn and fellow-townsmen of the author. The author has divided the whole of the work into three main sections. In the first section he has dealt with 26 poets, who, all of them, had died before the completion of the *Maykhana*. The earliest of them is Nizâmî of Ganja who died in 610 A.H. and the last of them is Hakîm Faghfûr Gilânî who died in 1029, according to the statement of the author. He has followed the necrological order, except in the case of Partawî. Of these poets Shakîbî is the only poet whom the author knew personally.

In the second section 20 poets are accounted for, who had written *Sâqî-nâmâs* and were also alive at the time of the compilation of this work. The author was directly in touch with most of them.

The third section, according to the author, deals with 25 poets whom he had met and who had not written *Sâqî-nâmâs* till then. This is, however, not quite correct, as we find in this section three *sâqî-nâmâs* composed by one or other of those poets.

Unlike most compilers of anthologies and memoirs of poets, the author has taken pains to supply the following

details concerning each poet. The poet's proper name, pen-name, pedigree, literary acumen and status, experiences of countries and courts, or kings and nobles, to whom he had paid a visit, his personal acquaintance with the poet or otherwise, sources of information, direct or indirect, his works and the form in which they were accessible, a detailed account of the poetical collections of the author with the number of verses, the author's personal acquaintance with the works of the poet, the date of the death of the poet, his burial place, a specimen of the *Saqi-nama* or other verses of the poet under review. This treatment of the facts of the lives of the poets furnishes valuable guidance to the research student in tracing the development of the art of the poets concerned.

The author was at pains to investigate the available material for his biographies. In the preface to the second section, he says that he has written the lives of the poets in the First Section "on the authority of wise and reliable persons;" and for the Second Section he has collected material personally from the poets concerned or from their nearest relations and friends. As regards the third category it can be assumed that, as most of them were his contemporaries, the accounts were based on personal knowledge.

The author has indicated invariably his sources throughout the book, though at times not quite explicitly. Concerning the poets prior to Akbar's reign, he has drawn his material on 9 different occasions from Mîr Mukhtâr's book, *Makhzan-i-Akhbar*, which is so little known to us. A few other passages can be traced to the *Tuhfa-i-Samî* of Sâ'm Mîrzâ and *Nafisu'l-Ma'athir* of 'Alâ'u'd-Dawla Qazwînî. The *Tadhkira* of Dawlatshah, *Jawahir-u'l-Asrar-i-Adhari*, *Baharistan* and *Nafahatu'l-Uns* of Jami have also been occasionally utilized.

The author has made a discreet use of the prefaces attached to the *Diwâns* of various poets, e.g., the prefaces to the *Diwan-i-'Iraqi*, *Ghurratu'l-Kamal*, *Diwan-i-Husayn Thana'i* and *Diwan-i-Faydhi*. He has culled several facts about them from the internal clues furnished in the works of the poets themselves or of their contemporaries, e.g., the accounts of Aqdasî, Mîrzâ Ghâzî, Sahîfî and others. The accounts of poets like Shakîbî, Muhammad Sûfî, Shâpûr-i-Râzî, 'Arif Igî, Wâslî Kâmil-i-Jahramî and 'Askarî-i-Kâshânî, were obtained in detail from them by the author personally.

Besides, the author lived with Ruknā and Murshid for more than a year in the service of Mahābat Khān. It can therefore be safely assumed that he collected information about them and Malik, Fuznūi and Awjī and about many other poets of the third section from them personally.

The accounts of the following poets are based on the authority of their relatives, friends, pupils and servants, Wahshī, 'Urfī, Ghiyāthā, Sanjar, Qiummī, Furqatī, Faghfūr, Sūfī, Fasīhī, Dūstī-i-Samarqandī and Gharrū.

It is necessary to point out here that most of the statements of the author about the dates of Jahāngīr's movements and that of his nobles exactly tally with those given in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, which is a clear proof of the authenticity of the material employed by the author in general.

Contrary to the favourite habit of the old biographers, that of indulging in puns, conceits, epigrams, vagaries for the sake of verbal ornamentations, the author has written the biographies of the poets in a remarkably simple and lucid style.

The author has preserved for us thousands of verses of Persian poets. Apart from miscellaneous verses, in the *Maykhana* he has treasured for us the entire text of 32 *Saqinamas* and 5 *Tarji* or *Tarkib-bands* and extracts from 5 other *Saqi-namas*. The value of this collection is enhanced when we find that the accounts of most of the contemporaries of the author are not found anywhere with such admirable accuracy and detail as in the *Maykhana*.

There are certain poets, whose lives are not to be obtained from any work except the *Maykhana*, e.g., Waslī, Malikī, Qazwīnī, 'Askarī Kāshī, Safā'ī-i-Tabrīzī, Harīfī-i-Musannif, Mīr 'Abdu'llah Mizha, Dhiyā'ī-i-Muwashshihī, Rāmī; while other poets of lesser merit are also noticed in detail in this work, e.g., Partawī, Ghiyāthā, Shāpūr-i-Rāzī, Fuzūnī-i-Astrābādī, Gharūrī-i-Kāshī, Kāmīl-i-Jahramī, 'Awjī-i-Kashmīrī, Sharārī-i-Hamdānī, and Mawzun-ul-Mulk. (Some of these poets are very, briefly noticed by Khushgū).

The author has thrown sufficient light on the poetic taste as well as the patronage of poets at the courts of some of the contemporary monarchs in India and Persia and their nobles. It is clear from various passages in the *Maykhana* that India had a great fascination for most of

the Persian poets. It was a period when the Persian literature of India was assuming a definite style and expression of its own.

The present edition is based on two MSS. A, which belongs to Prof. Shaffi, the learned editor himself. Several portions of this MS. are missing. There are here and there emendations and corrections which probably, according to Prof. Shaffi, are from the pen of the author himself. The date is not given. R, which is in the Râmpûr State Library; though it varies in order and number of biographies, and is of a later period than A, does not materially differ in text from it. Both these MSS. are not very remote in time from the original MS. of the author.

The learned editor has ably traced this kind of literature from the days of the Jâhiliya and given specimens from the odes of Adîb Zayd and 'Abid bin Abras, and shown the culmination of the Arabic wine-poetry during the 'Abbâsids in the personality of Abû Nuwâs, the prince of *Khamriya* poets. In Persian, Minuchihrî is one of the earliest poets who wrote on this topic, but the typical verse which is styled *Saqi-nama*, in *Mathnawi* form and *Mutaqarib* metre, began, as the author of the *Maykhana* has gathered from the *Sikandar-nama*, from Nizâmî of Ganja. The first systematic Sâqî-nâma was apparently written by Khâjû-i-Kirmânî (died in 753 A.H.), but it was Hâfiz (died in 791 A.H.) who wrote a Sâqî-nâma in the form of an independent composition, which was followed by the writings of a host of later poets, the accounts of which are given in detail in this work. Zuhûrî wrote a Sâqî-nâma of 4,500 lines.

There is only one work in Arabic entitled the *Qutbu's-Surur-fi-Awsafil-Khumur* by Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm al-Nadîm which was written in the fourth century A.H., and which deals with verses and anecdotes connected with the drinking of wine; and in Persian the *Maykhana* appears to be the first work of its kind. Many other *Saqi-namas* were written after it.

In spite of the meticulous care of the editor several misprints have crept into the book. So long as the lithograph system rules the Indian Press, textual accuracy of any book thus printed cannot be guaranteed.

THE POET MIR*

Each new publication of the Anjuman is a positive gain to the reader and comes to him in a delightful form. This is the first complete edition of the autobiography of the poet Mir Taqi Mir ever published in India. Moulvi Abdul Haque is to be congratulated on his discovery of rare MSS. and his skilful arrangements of them. The book is carefully and clearly printed and well bound

*Mazamin-i-Farhat (Urdu) by Mirza Farhatulah Beg
Hyderabad-Deccan Rs. 2-6-0*

A comprehensive collection of examples of light humour in Urdu. The author has a masterly knowledge of the language with a preference for the Delhi idiom.

NOTE ON THE KITAB AL-MAGHAZI OF MUSA B. 'UQBAH,

In his valuable article on the books of the biography of the Prophet, Professor Horovitz mentions casually that Sprenger had been assured of the existence of manuscripts of the work in Syria. Enquiries among scholars in Damascus have so far been fruitless. In the biographical dictionary of Ibn Hajar entitled "*ad-Durar al-Kaminah*," dealing with the lives of learned men of the eighth century of the Hijrah, frequent allusion is made to the work, and several traditionists made the book a subject of their teaching and granted licences for its propagation. Judging from the fragment edited by Professor Sachau, one might come to the conclusion that perhaps only fragments were in existence. That this was not so is evident from distinct mention of the *whole* work on several occasions. Among many examples I may mention that in the biography of 'Isa b. 'Abd al-Karam b. 'Asâkir (born 675, died 741) it is clearly stated that "he received the Maghâzî of Mûsâ b. 'Uqbah *complete* from Ibn Abî'l Yusr. As Ibn Abî'l Yusr taught in Halab (Aleppo as well, we should look in that quarter for the probable recovery of a complete copy, and it is to be hoped that readers in that part of Syria will make enquiries with a view to recovering what was supposed to be the most truthful biography of the Prophet).

F. KRENKOW.

**Zikr-i-Mir* : (Persian) by Moulvi Abdul Haque, B.A., Secretary Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-i-Urdu, Aurangabad, Deccan. Price Rs. 2.



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"I find the purpose of the Review most interesting." *PROF. DR. JOHS. PEDERSEN, COPENHAGEN.*

"May I express my high appreciation of your journal and of the good work I am sure it is doing." *CAPT. C. G. OXLEY BRENNAN,
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"I congratulate you for the great success won by the 'Islamic Culture' which represents the noblest effort to serve Islam not only in India but all over the World." *H. E. ESSAD FOUAD BEY.*

"Wish you all success in the enterprise." *RT. HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI.*

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